GIVEN AND NEWS

Media discourse and
the construction of community
on national days

Diana ben-Aaron

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FOREWORD

Shortly before I was born, my parents settled in an area of Massachusetts which is famous for its Revolutionary War history and which enjoyed a boom in tourism and re-enactment events during the Bicentennial of Independence in the mid-1970s. We watched the local Minutemen march in their parades each Patriot's Day, Fourth of July and Bedford Day (the town's birthday), and generally enjoyed being part of the crowd. At the same time, my parents had come from two different countries and lived in a third before settling down, and it was always clear to me that the forms of "patriotism" I was taught in school represented only one way to do things, and could have been constructed in many other ways. This subjective split was a motivating factor throughout the study: how do nationalism and other group socialization processes work on us, through our daily reading, and by what means do we claim or disown them? The proximate impulse for the research came from my earlier work on immigration discourse in newspapers. I noticed that stories about naturalization ceremonies on national holidays have become a regular newspaper feature in some countries, and acquiring citizenship on a national day is felt to be especially appropriate, a judgment that begged for explication.

I have been investigating linguistic phenomena of discourse, nationalism and celebration for seven years and now I believe I can present some findings that may advance our understanding. The writing of a PhD is an intense project that begs forbearance and support from all around one, and this work is no exception. Generous contributions by many people in many areas are here acknowledged only by short thanks to abbreviated lists but my gratitude is for everything.

No language is adequate to express my debt to my supervisor, Jan-Ola Östman, who welcomed me into his project on Pragmatics, Ideology and Contacts and allowed me to share his critical but not pessimistic outlook on linguistics. He never told me what to work on, and that is why you have this book in your hands and not one on some more familiar and comforting subject. Despite his many interests and commitments, Jan-Ola always took my work seriously and his questions and suggestions improved the manuscript a thousandfold. I am also enormously grateful to Kay Richardson and Robin Tolmach Lakoff for taking time from their busy schedules to read my work and make critical comments which were both helpful and stimulating. What remains is my own responsibility.

I am also outstandingly thankful to the many colleagues, teachers, students and friends who provided the intersubjective data in the 'celebrate' chapter and shared their views on the language of national public events in seminars and informal discussions. In addition, the chapter on evaluation benefited from exchanges with Peter R.R. White and Jim Martin in various venues, and from editorial comments by Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz and three anonymous referees at *Text*. The politeness chapter profited from discussant comments by Allan Bell and others at Sociolinguistics Seminar 14 in Gent. Nely Keinänen kindly acted as a deadline control and backup reader at a critical point in the project. Frances Karttunen gave valuable advice on research plans at the outset, and Gerda Lauerbach shared her work on political language which was a significant inspiration. The staff at the University of Helsinki main library, the MIT libraries, and the Boston Public Library helped tremendously with the initial data collection. At the Research Unit for Variation and Change in English ("Varieng"), Arja Nurmi and Martti Mäkinen patiently fielded my questions about corpus software and Minna Nevala helped me sort bureaucratic woes. Mikko Laaksonen and Antti Summala saved or recovered my work from virtual destruction on numerous occasions.

My closest collegial association for more than ten years has been with other full-time members of the Pragmatics, Ideology and Contacts Group

My family was not particularly surprised that I chose to work through my childhood parade and fireworks memories by writing a book on the linguistic organization of public events, though they would have preferred me to do even more local in-person data collection. My mother, Jean Hunt ben-Aaron, died before she could read this book but kept her promise to haunt me until it was finished. To her and the rest of my nuclear family, Max ben-Aaron, James ben-Aaron and Kerry Craven – all of them still living in Bicentennial country – I dedicate this work with love.

Diana ben-Aaron
Helsinki, November 2005

ABSTRACT

National anniversaries such as independence days demand precise coordination in order to make citizens change their routines to forego work and spend the day at rest or at festivities that provide social focus and spectacle. The complex social construction of national days is taken for granted and operates as a given in the news media, which are the main agents responsible for coordinating these planned disruptions of normal routines. This study examines the language used in the news to construct the rather unnatural idea of national days and to align people in observing them. The data for the study consist of news stories about the Fourth of July in the *New York Times*, sampled over 150 years and are supplemented by material from other sources and other countries. The study is multidimensional, applying concepts from pragmatics (speech acts, politeness, information structure), systemic functional linguistics (the interpersonal metafunction and the Appraisal framework) and cognitive linguistics (frames, metaphor) as well as journalism and communications to arrive at an interdisciplinary understanding of how resources for meaning are used by writers and readers of the news stories.

The analysis shows that on national anniversaries, nations tend to be metaphorized as persons having birthdays, to whom politeness should be shown. The face of the nation is to be respected in the sense of identifying the nation's interests as one's own (positive face) and speaking of citizen responsibilities rather than rights (negative face). Resources are available for both positive and negative evaluations of events and participants and the newspaper deftly changes footings (Goffman 1981) to demonstrate the required politeness while also heteroglossically allowing for a certain amount of disattention and

even protest – within limits, for state holidays are almost never construed as Bakhtinian festivals, as they tend to reaffirm the hierarchy rather than invert it. Celebrations are evaluated mainly for impressiveness, and for the essentially contested quality of appropriateness, which covers norms of predictability, size, audience response, aesthetics, and explicit reference to the past. Events may also be negatively evaluated as dull ("banal") or inauthentic ("hoopla"). Audiences are evaluated chiefly in terms of their enthusiasm, or production of appropriate displays for emotional response, for national days are supposed to be occasions of flooding-out of nationalistic feeling. By making these evaluations, the newspaper reinforces its powerful position as an independent critic, while at the same time playing an active role in the construction and reproduction of emotional order embodied in "the nation's birthday." As an occasion for mobilization and demonstrations of power, national days may be seen to stand to war in the relation of play to fighting (Bateson 1955). Evidence from the newspaper's coverage of recent conflicts is adduced to support this analysis.

In the course of the investigation, methods are developed for analyzing large collections of newspaper content, particularly topical soft news and feature materials that have hitherto been considered less influential and worthy of study than so-called hard news. In his work on evaluation in newspaper stories, White (1998) proposed that the classic hard news story is focused on an event that threatens the social order, but news of holidays and celebrations in general does not fit this pattern, in fact its central event is a reproduction of the social order. Thus in the system of news values (Galtung and Ruge 1965), national holiday news draws on "ground" news values such as continuity and predictability rather than "figure" news values such as negativity and surprise. It is argued that this ground helps form a necessary space for hard news to be seen as important, similar to the way in which the information structure of language is seen to rely on the regular alternation of given and new information (Chafe 1994).

Of all the nations of the earth, this alone has its birthday celebration.
Of all peoples we alone can point to the day and hour
when we became a recognized nationality.
There are celebrations elsewhere, and days of national observance.
The birthdays of monarchs,
the memories of battles won or conspiracies defeated,
the martyrdom of saints, the building of temples –
these have their appropriate ceremony on each recurring anniversary.
But they are of limited significance.
An artillery salute and morning reception, a ridiculous pageant,
a few additional genuflexions before an altar
and a few words counted on a rosary,
are all that they call forth.
By such the popular heart is untouched.
There is on their account no national holiday.
There is no general rejoicing among the people.

Editorial in the *New York Times*, July 4, 1866

In France we always celebrate the year's end with good wishes and an exchange of gifts. We celebrate Twelfth Night, Mardi Gras, Easter, Midsummer Day, and ten other days in the year that were "folklorized" well before Christianity … Just try to do away with all that! Try merely to drop the short school holidays that celebrate religious feast days! You'd be reviled by the unbelievers themselves. And I haven't mentioned events such as the Carnival of Nice or the July 14th parade or the ribbon that's cut to inaugurate just about anything at all or the bottles of champagne that are smashed against the prows of new ships. It wouldn't be easy to give all that up, would it? Yet when you come to think of it, we're right back in the Middle Ages …

Folklore continues to take on new shapes right under our very eyes. Its shapes evolve, of course, and today more quickly than ever before. It is very adaptable. But true folklore has nothing to do with fashion. It is the opposite of fashion. It takes more than a lifetime to become established. It still symbolizes the continued existence of man.

Pierre-Jakez Hélias, *The Horse of Pride: Life in a Breton Village,* 1975: 330-1

There can be no society that does not experience the need at regular intervals to maintain and strengthen the collective feelings and ideas that provide its coherence and its distinct individuality. This moral remaking can be achieved only through meetings, assemblies and congregations in which the individuals, pressing close to one another, reaffirm in common their common sentiments. Such is the origin of ceremonies that by their origin, by their results, and by the techniques used, are not different in kind from ceremonies that are specifically religious. What basic difference is there between Christians' celebrating the principal dates of Christ's life, Jews' celebrating the exodus from Egypt or the promulgation of the Decalogue, and a citizens' meeting commemorating the advent of a new moral charter or some other great event of national life?

Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 1912: 429

In the Trenton *Times* I find holiday news, most of it not good. A man in Providence has sneaked a peek down a fireworks cannon at the most imperfect of moments and lost his life. Two people in far distant parts of the country have been shot with crossbows (both times at picnics). There's a "rash" of arsons, though fewer boating mishaps than might seem likely. I've even found a squib for the murder I stumbled upon three nights back …

On the briefer, lighter side, the Beach Boys are at Bally's grandstand for one show only, flag-pole sales have once again skyrocketed, harness racing is celebrating its birthday (150), and a kidney transplant team (five men and a black Lab) is at this hour swimming the Channel …

Richard Ford, *Independence Day,* 1995: 408-409

I   INTRODUCTION

1.1   News that isn't new

News is supposed to be new. Yet the pages of newspapers include a great deal of "news" that is in fact broadly predictable, but still has some interest. For example, rites of passage such as births, marriages and deaths occur every day and are described using ritualistic story formulas, although the names of the participants are new each time. In other cases recurring events are given a gloss of newness through innovation by journalists in what to report and how; for example behind-the-scenes stories about political campaigns seemed very new when they first appeared, but are now part of expected and routine campaign coverage. The perception of newness also depends on the reader's experience: newspapers regularly run feature stories about trends that have already been noticed by some readers, but are new to others. For those already aware of the trend, the new information lies in the confirmation of the trend, and the documentation of its scope.

This study investigates one particular type of mostly non-new news, namely stories about celebrations of national political anniversaries. I will mainly be referring to these holidays as national days, for two reasons: first to avoid confusing them with holidays such as Christmas and New Year which are enforced on a national scale but are not primarily political in their ideology; and second, to take into account the fact that in some countries the primary political holiday is not a day off. Newspapers pay attention to anniversaries at many levels, from individual birthdays of celebrities and centenarians, to anniversaries of

particular groups and institutions, to national days that may apply to almost everyone who speaks the language in which the newspaper is written. Occasionally a supranational anniversary may also make the news, such as the anniversary of the end of World War II in Europe (V-E Day) or the Millennium celebration.

At least four factors make national days an appealing case for the investigation of the linguistic aspects of anniversaries and other celebrations:

First, the institutional and traditional nature of national days means that many customs remain largely the same from year to year, which gives a better chance of isolating purely linguistic changes in the stories over time.

Second, in contrast to a focused celebration like a wedding or coronation, national day celebrations often have multiple points of focus, which enable a wide range of alternative stories about them, providing instances of competing discourses on the grand scale, as well as smaller scale variability in matters such as metaphors for the nation and evaluations of the events.

Third, the business of getting millions of people to do something at the same time requires a high and effective level of abstraction, involving ideological coordination, attitudinal alignment, and immediate pragmatics. While a private celebration can be launched nonverbally in certain contexts by, say, opening a champagne bottle, the coordination of national days is always language dependent, and so these occasions provide a rich field of study for pragmatic phenomena.

Fourth, the construction of the national community is also language dependent and is integrated with the problem of establishing and maintaining national habits and customs such as holidays. That is, the community constructs customs and customs (re)construct the community.

Alignment must be produced over the long as well as the short term. Like many dissertations in discourse analysis, this study began with material that haunted the researcher because it did not seem to conform

to previous findings about how texts are organized and used. News stories about national days do not describe unique and surprising events or give information that is useful in getting through one's daily round; therefore they (and the large quantity of similarly predictable and apparently irrelevant material found in newspapers) must play some other role in the social order other than being prototypical news that warns of threats and changes. The news stories also demand to be examined as political language. Political language is certainly a focal area for discourse analysis, but most studies are concerned with competitive politics such as elections, state of the union addresses, parliamentary and public debates, and television interviews. National days are a locus of political discourse that passes largely unnoticed, since occasions, practices and activity types whose keynote is political unity remain relatively unstudied, with a few exceptions such as Dayan and Katz (1992) and related work on ceremonial politics. Thus news about national days is not political in the competitive sense of the word that is usually employed in talking about news, and yet it is clearly political in other ways that demand elucidation.

My main aim is to show how power is exercised in media language about national days through constructing an apparent consensus on the national project as well as – even more immediately – promoting agreement on the matters to do with the holiday itself. Participation in a holiday may not be contrary to the individual citizen's interests, but it is nevertheless an externally required performance that is both a result of the hegemony maintained by state and media, and a mechanism for reproducing it. The hegemonic compact is made and remade at a concrete level between the journalists and the readers of individual stories; and at an abstract level between the corporate entity of the newspaper, and the nation as embodied in its government. Picking it apart requires analyzing the activity type[1] of celebration itself and

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[1] In the work of Levinson, 'activity type' is defined as "a fuzzy category whose focal goal-defined, socially constituted, bounded events with constraints on participants, setting and so on [such as] teaching, a job interview, a jural interrogation, a football game, a task in a workshop, a dinner party or so on" (1979: 368). This framework is in active use in conversation analysis, though in discourse analysis of written texts it

national day celebrations in particular, as well as the underlying propositions and relationships in the media discourse about these celebrations, and the role of the media in reproducing the activity through the discourse. One of the most powerful metaphorical images of the newspaper is the "imagined community" suggested by Anderson in the book of the same name (1991: 26):

> The idea of a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogeneous, empty time is a precise analogue of the idea of the nation, which is also conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history. An American will never meet, or even know the names of more than a handful of his 240,000,000-odd fellow-Americans. He has no idea of what they are up to at any one time, but he has complete confidence in their steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity.

The process of creating this virtual community and keeping it synchronized is often imperceptible, but not neutral or value-free. A subsidiary question to be explored is the way modern politically and economically liberal – that is to say, individualist and possessive – ideologies of nationhood and citizenship are implicated in the creation of community. A consequence of individualism is that while the perception must be created that most people are going along with the celebration plan, some emancipatory communicative potential is usually available to make disattention possible – at least as long as the nation is not perceived to be under threat.

In addition to examining questions of power and ideology, I shall be developing linguistic methods for looking at news stories that are generally considered peripheral because they are not concerned with crises of politics or order; that is, stories generally classified as topical news (such as business or sports), local community news, human interest stories, and especially "soft news" or non-time-dependent stories, and "features" or long background stories. Stories of these kinds appear in practically every edition of every newspaper (except perhaps

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has been largely overshadowed by the concept of speech genres which is implicated by the mention of constraints. We shall have to take some notion of an activity celebration type for granted here.

for special editions published in active war zones). The methodological innovations needed for working with soft news involve close reading of particular news stories, as well as the development of techniques for working with subject-focused text collections. At present, linguistics researchers consider subject focused text collections to be peripheral to general corpora that purport to reflect entire languages or broadly constructed genres, but they are clearly of prime importance in advancing work in discourse analysis and placing it on a more scientific footing.

1.2   Discourse of national days

The Fourth of July, United States Independence Day, is the focus of this study because it is probably the oldest continuously operating modern independence day, having been celebrated for over 225 years. In this period the form of government in the United States has not changed and therefore no other holiday has emerged to supplant this one as the primary national day; a rare situation. Furthermore, a newspaper run of 150 years of event coverage is available in the *New York Times.* Over this period, the Fourth of July has grown from a face-to-face public gathering to a diverse and highly mediatized event, and the *New York Times* has evolved from a local penny newspaper, one among many, to the primary national newspaper of record, while many of the basic holiday practices that are prioritized for coverage, such as parades, speeches, and fireworks, have nevertheless stayed the same. Evidence from other records of Fourth of July celebrations (regional newspapers, television, speeches, Internet pages), as well as stories about national days in other countries will be used to expand and (indirectly) support the core analysis of the Fourth of July in the *New York Times*.

The generic and communal nature of discourse is widely acknowledged, as is the relatively deterministic nature of most institutional discourse, and the historical relationship between the growth of modern media and the growth of modern nationalistic practices. Care must be taken to distinguish changes in media discourse conventions from changes in the

discourse of nationalistic practices themselves. Thus the study must take into account the history of American newspaper language over the last 150 years, including variation and change in the conventional structure and forms of this language, as well as in the system of values that construct social reality and affect the actual events reported on. These two aspects cannot be separated, since meanings are contested and negotiated on national days in part by the degree of flexibility and heteroglossia allowed in the presentation chosen for the news.

Postwar works on nationalism by historians have mainly concentrated on the extreme nationalism of wartime, or of particularly militant regimes. Billig (1991) was one of the first in recent years to give attention to the regular peacetime commemorative observances in England and the United States, which he subsumed under the rubric of "banal nationalism." Studies of ordinary nationalism can now be found in a range of disciplines including history, anthropology, and sociology of memory. These studies, which will be discussed in the next chapter, have concentrated largely on the semiotics of material practices, with scant attention given to language and almost all of that to general considerations of genre and particular keywords, neglecting the subclausal mechanics through which matters like evaluation, face and footing are expressed. At the same time, the considerable body of more linguistically oriented work on political language has, as noted, been devoted mainly to language at crisis points such as wars and elections, not to the regular daily reproduction of the nation through language.

When we look at how a community is constructed or suggested or imagined into being, it is necessary to also look at the resources for resistance. National days generally reinforce the status quo; despite an occasional strain of exuberant self-mockery, they do not exhibit the level of subversion seen in some other kinds of rituals and holidays of the type called "carnivals" by Bakhtin (1968). However, many editors and journalists as well as the citizens they quote evince a level of discomfort with the holiday and the authorities who run it, which is generally expressed through heteroglossia and ambivalent wording rather than clear statements of opposition.

I will show how ambivalence about the national project and displays of nationalism is encoded through use of indirectness, playfulness and irony, both in journalistic writing and in quoted reports of feelings about the celebration. This ambivalence is manifested at different levels. Sometimes the nationalistic sentiment and the ambivalence about it are encoded in the same utterance, setting limits for each other, and at other times they are distributed into different sections of the news story, or different stories. These multivocal utterances on the Fourth of July construct a critical or "cool" patriot position contrasting with the automatic or "hot" patriot position that is treated as the default. Limits and lacunae are also visible in the stock of expressions of appraisal that are most frequently used to evaluate the festivities in the newspaper. In modern, self-reflective times, banal nationalism seems to make people uncomfortable – perhaps even more so than warlike nationalism, about which they can take clear positions that are less likely to be undermined by their observable practices. It is necessary to recognize here the impossibility of impartial analysis.

I have already referred to one of the three linguistic frameworks this study relies on, namely discourse analysis based on systemic-functional approaches to language. Such approaches generally involve the linking of systemic-functional grammar or some similar system for text analysis with explanations of observed social phenomena, based on theories from extralinguistic disciplines including history, ethnography, cultural studies, political science, literary studies, philosophy, and multimodal (particularly image and sound) analysis. Production and consumption practices must also be invoked here to help explain the variation in the materials, and the cultural training needed by readers to make sense of the things they read. This principled relation of text to practices to society is most often claimed as the hallmark of Critical Discourse Analysis, but it ought to be part of any responsible analysis of discourse.

The second linguistic framework I will be using is pragmatics, in its senses of competent language behaviour, implicit meaning, and use of words to get people to do things. Here I will focus on the relationship between national authority (government or media) and the individual which is encoded in the news stories. The newspaper certainly suggests

the ways in which people should observe the national day, and later evaluates their response, providing feedback for the next occasion. At the same time, the newspaper treats the nation with clear tokens of folk and linguistic politeness; that is, both the content and form of its language suggest that facework is being done, and explicit suggestions are made that readers should follow suit on this facework. At the most basic pragmatic level, before the celebration the media tell people what is supposed to happen, subtly requesting and directing their participation while usually documenting the planning activities that went on beforehand. After the event, the media evaluate both the celebration and its reception by the public, and these evaluations function as suggestions for the next occasion. But the situation is more complicated than that, for as a socially constructed, sliding signifier, the national day may also be a site of contestation between different groups, whether or not this is made evident to readers.

The third linguistic framework is cognitive linguistics. The use of politeness toward the nation suggests a metaphor of the nation as person, which needs to be investigated in more detail. Furthermore, holidays draw on the basic underlying frame of celebration. The social construction of emotion through language has been widely studied, but the emotion-behavior frame of celebration (and the inverse one of mourning) has not. As with such famous examples as 'game,' 'cup,' 'climb,' 'mother' – and perhaps most everyday words, if we look hard enough – it is hard to say precisely what 'celebrate' means to different people, but the core of the English word seems to be a combination of social behavior and underlying emotion prompted by an exceptional event or marked time period (which is usually linked to an exceptional event in the past). It is not clear whether celebration is a human universal and this study does not claim that it is; however, celebratory practices have been observed throughout recorded history and are reinforced in the current system of nation-states, as well as by new information technologies built around international calendar and clock systems.

The larger goal is not just to define the word 'celebrate' or to chart changes in newspaper language about an invariant topic, but to

elucidate ideologies of national political celebration in late modernity. Holiday celebrations are a situation where people are on public behavior, and folk notions of politeness, social appropriateness and face come into play as they are urged to defer to the nation or the community in their plans. Who has not had the experience of feeling unready to stop regular activities for a holiday, as well as that of wishing for a holiday when none was forthcoming? Scheduled, regulated interactions on holidays are popularly idealized as sites of communal identity formation, change management, and social cohesion; it is thought that they help maintain the social fabric by acting as hooks for further interaction, and prepare the community to act as a unit on other occasions. What is less often realized is that national days can also be a rehearsal for war or mobilization, standing somewhat in the relation of play to serious fighting among animals. This will become apparent as some of the subject positions available on national days are compared with those available during the 1991 Gulf War or the days after the September 11 attacks.

Thus we can study the exercise of power, in the oft-cited theoretical sense of being able to force one's will on others, through national day discourse and, in addition, we can examine the naturalization of the national day itself. National days are not a natural kind like solstices and seasonal changes, although today they may seem natural. Arising from the intersection of the frames of nation, calendar, history, and celebration, these holidays initially required a great deal of explanation and figurative speech to place them among other customs. Language is still important in distinguishing national days from other holidays; consider that in many places, local, regional, and national days, or state, royal, and religious holidays share some of the same symbolism and traditions. The speeches and announcements at public gatherings fulfil a communicative purpose in identifying the occasion, as well as an iconic purpose in the sense that special occasions are generally supposed to have some ritual language. In the earliest celebrations, audiences heard the ritual language in person (acoustic conditions permitting)[2], or

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[2] Schudson (1996) makes the point that the outdoor speeches of the nineteenth century, often referred to as a model of the public sphere by present-day

through shared written forms such as wall notices and pamphlets; today, people increasingly connect with public events through media consumption in private. Thus the material conditions of the national day activity type, and certainly of the Fourth of July, have gradually changed over the years although the media may behave as if they have not.

The most common form of general holiday news story that people read or hear grows out of a macroproposition built around the verb 'celebrate' (or a near synonym) and its complementation. Prototypically, this story summarizes scattered holiday activities and speeches occurring simultaneously across a community, nation, or world. At various times complements of 'celebrate' corresponding to the frames of calendar, community, history, nation and practice have been foregrounded. The salience of each complement/frame varies over time, as does the way the story develops after the lead. As we will see, the cycling of these frames helps construct the nation's path to increasing reflexivity and self-awareness, as well as the reader's apprenticeship in reading nationalism in the news. Of course, not all readers may be citizens or residents. Where linguistic and national boundaries coincide, the community of celebration may be almost coextensive with the possible readers of the national newspaper, yet even where this is not the case (as in local newspapers, cross-national newspapers like *The International Herald Tribune* and diaspora newspapers), national day news still appears regularly and newspapers play a key role in perpetuating the social, national, and international order.

1.3   A first look at the data

Before entering the study proper, let us examine a typical story and pick out of the data a few features that seem to spring forth as characteristics of the discourse of national days. This story was chosen more or less at random to satisfy three requirements: it is a general celebration report; it

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communications theorists, were quite difficult to hear, so the degree of audience involvement is questionable. Glassberg also describes the way acoustic difficulties caused disattention at outdoor spectacles (1989: 155, 192-3).

is from the middle of the data chronologically; and it is short. It is a rather typical multifocal "roundup" story, describing the various events of an outdoor gathering in the densely populated surroundings of Manhattan[3]:

> 5,000 DANCE IN STREET.
> 　　Vacation Society Has Old-Fashioned Village Celebration.
>
> There was an old-fashioned village Fourth of July celebration last night in the block between Fifth and Sixth Avenues on Thirty-ninth Street last evening [*sic*], where the Vacation Society was helping the Mayor's committee in the observance of a safe and sane Independence Day. Five thousand big people and little people, rich people and poor people, danced and sang, cheered the flag and the soldiers in the moving pictures, and applauded the speakers.
>
> The street in front of the vacation headquarters, 38 East Thirty-ninth Street, was canopied with a curtain of lanterns in red, white, and blue. From 8 o'clock until 11, with only the intervals for speeches, the Sixty-ninth Regiment Band played patriotic airs and dance music.
>
> The street was the dancing floor. The Vacation Society headquarters on one side and the band and speakers' stand with the sheet for the moving pictures on the other formed the sides of the ballroom. There were little folks dancing, pretty young girls, and their escorts, older people too, and the most noticeable couple was a dignified old colored man dancing with a funny little pickaninny. Inside the Vacation headquarters there was more dancing, and here and there on the sidewalks were stray couples who did not like the limelight of the asphalt dancing floor.
>
> Everybody sang the "Star-Spangled Banner" as the words were thrown on the screen. Then there were war pictures – pictures of the civil war, the Spanish-American war, and the American soldiers on the border. The crowd applauded Dudley Field Malone when he called for a full democracy and votes for women. Mrs. Richard Aldrich told of the flag she loved, the Red Cross flag, and asked for a big membership for the Red Cross. Dr. Katharine B. Davis also spoke. (July 5, 1916, p. 12)

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[3] Headlines, and the multiple layers or "decks" that usually compose them, are typically distinguished from each other by the use of different typefonts and styles. In reproducing them I will use indenting to give some of the same effect without distracting too much from the rest of the page.

Toward the end of the study I will examine the story in more detail and set it properly in context. Here I will merely attempt to build a rough taxonomy of national day language in the newspaper. National days are an intersection point for other discourses besides that of nationalism, and many of the locutions that are found in national day contexts are not specific to the national day itself.

First there are certain regularly repeated expressions that seem to be phatic in their banality, and that really are about the holiday as a holiday. These expressions, which have been widely used as toasts, advertising slogans and headlines, could not be uttered congruously on any other day of the year:

The Day We Celebrate	(8 occurrences 1856-1936)[4]
The Glorious Fourth	(24 occurrences 1856-1996)
Safe and Sane	(21 occurrences 1911-1981)
Happy Birthday [, America]	(14 occurrences 1976-1996)

Three are self-explanatory at this stage; the fourth, "Safe and Sane," which appears in the first paragraph of the story above, is an admonition referring to safe use of fireworks, and it appears to be used only on the Fourth of July because this is the only United States holiday where fireworks play an important part.

Within holiday discourse, there are also a number of general political slogans, metonyms for political ideas, extracts from song lyrics, and other phrases that work intertextually to remind the audience of American political history. These references are not exclusive to the holiday and could be produced in any national political context. We see faint traces of these expressions above in the title "Star-Spangled Banner" as well as in the phrases "rich people and poor people," "red,

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[4] The news stories were sampled every five years, as will be explained in Chapter III; hence all the years end in –1 or –6.

white and blue," and "votes for women." "A full democracy" may also have had intertextual resonance at the time. Other common occurrences of explicit intertextuality in the data as a whole include:

> Liberty, equality, and fraternity.

> Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

> Liberty and justice for all.

Both the holiday slogans and the political catchphrases represent an extreme of not-newness. A large proportion of their meaning is interpersonal; that is, the recognition of them marks out and reproduces a community of acculturated citizens. Not surprisingly, these fixed expressions account for only a tiny fraction of the words collected; however, there is a much larger body of less formulaic language that declares the glories of the nation and the day in phrasing and concepts that demonstrate intertextuality at least with each other. In his popular work on political language, Hayakawa (1963: 79) referred to this kind of non-new language as "meaningfully meaningless": repetitive articles and barely original speeches that state the obvious, the banal or the mythical; their phatic and rhythmic (or, in the case of the newspaper, graphic) qualities overriding their propositional message. However, while many holidays, notably religious feasts, are characterized by frozen expressions and ritual prayers, most utterances associated with national days are supposed to give at least the appearance of creativity and responsiveness to present circumstances. (Corporate annual reports are another genre where standard utterances must be adjusted to look spontaneous each year.) A great deal of national day language consists of variations on familiar themes such as praise for the nation. There are no prominent examples of this in the story reproduced above, although the entire story could be considered an example. Variations on familiar themes seem to be especially frequent in speeches:

> This is a hallowed place; this is a hallowed day! Here and now, in the name of Pennsylvania, I accept these colors fitly, for we are assembled upon the

birthday and in the birthplace of American liberty. ("The National
Anniversary," July 5, 1866, p. 8, speech by Governor Curtin)[5]

"Liberty," [President Ford] says in a speech prepared for delivery at
Independence Hall in Philadelphia tomorrow, "is a living flame to be fed, not
dead ashes to be revered, even in a Bicentennial year. " ("Ford Says the
'American Adventure' Remains an Example to the World," July 4, 1976, p. 25)

"It's a great day for the United States and for me." ("In Surge to Be Americans,
Thousands Take Oath," July 5, 1997, p. 1, on-the-street quotation from new
citizen Absalom Williams)

It seems to be tacitly assumed that if this variation is performed
effectively, that is if the familiar tropes are integrated with awareness of
the current context, the audience will experience a feeling of unity that is
tied to the present moment, although it may include elements of
memory and hopes for the future. Thus speeches and other public
remarks on national days can be used to have a corrective or
inspirational effect on the people, or to use the national day as one step
toward a more specific political purpose. Recent presidential speeches,
archived on White House and Presidential Library websites, show a
clear tendency to use Fourth of July speeches to promote the programs of
the administration, such as environmental preservation (Bill Clinton) or
devolution of public functions to the private sector (George H.W. Bush).

A subclass of this varied yet constrained language is the personal
affirmations of emotions by participants. These emotional statements
have become much more frequent in recent years with the general
increase in the number of people quoted in American news stories. The
statements may be in the form of direct quotation, paraphrased
quotation, description or they may be merely implied. In the example
story, "Mrs. Richard Aldrich told of the flag she loved, the Red Cross
flag," is an utterance of this type, although obviously it would be more
typical if the flag in question were the national flag. When dealing with
quotations in news discourse in general, it is important to consider that,
especially where they are not part of a speech, these sentiments were

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[5] Where not otherwise noted, all quotations are from the *New York Times.*

probably elicited by reporters' questions or by face expectations emerging from the occasion, and should not be treated as utterly unprompted. Thus, quotations like these are not at the same level of naturalness as ordinary conversation:

> My heart goes pitty-pat and I get tears in my eyes when the flag goes by. It means that much to me. ("After War, Patriotism Unfurls for Fourth of July," July 4, 1991, p. A8)

> Mr. Monachello … added that he flies a flag outside his farmhouse, but not out of patriotism. "I do it for esthetic reasons, it just looks good on an old farmhouse." ("Amid Flags and Fireworks, New Meanings of Patriotism," July 4, 1996, p.A1)

Qualifications like "but not out of patriotism" (or the oft-implied 'I don't go around flag-waving, but…') clearly reflect ambivalence about demonstrations of patriotism on the part of the speaker, but more importantly, including these quotes in the article manifests an openness to heteroglossia by the newspaper which is more evident at some times than others. Here we see some of the evidence that people are uncomfortable with banal nationalism: for example, in the use of negation in the quoted statements, and in the understatement and irony in the news stories in which they are embedded. The mention in the example story of "the flag she loved, the Red Cross flag," calls attention to the fact that emotions are being applied to a flag other than the national one by exploiting a pattern more usually seen in patriotic songs as "the land I love," and by postposing the identification of the flag, introducing an element of surprise. We cannot recapture the context and learn exactly why this was done, or how the audience made meaning from it, but we can at least identify a pragmatic gap that would stimulate reasoning by the audience. Marked uses and gaps of this kind appear frequently in national day discourse, and their presence signals ambivalence about patriotism on the part of the speaker, the reporter (if different from the speaker), and the institution of the newspaper, since the statement must pass through all three to appear in print.

National day discourse in the newspaper may also include some restrained debate about what the day means, how it should be

celebrated, what one should feel, and what the nation is. Propriety judgments are frequently made about actions on national days, and also, reflexively, about communicative events on the holidays. The speakers here may be ordinary people, or politicians:

> General Aloe declared: "Our patriotism today compares favorably with that of our patriotic forefathers. ("Fourth Observed at Eternal Light," July 5, 1956, p. 16)

> "Patriotism is the love of the land, the country, the people. It's our bond with the past and an appreciation of a whole way of life. Patriotism is making the country great from within, not being tough with the rest of the world. That's a crappy, empty, chest-thumping kind of patriotism that doesn't help anybody." ("After War, Patriotism Unfurls for the Fourth of July," July 4, 1991, p. A8)

> "You don't have to have served in the military to be patriotic," said Mr. Byro, noting that none of his children joined the armed forces. ("Amid Flags and Fireworks, New Meanings of Patriotism," July 4, 1996, p. 1)

Such explicitly stated opinions differ from the more emotional pronouncements in their overt appeal to general values rather than personal affective systems. In discussions in later chapters I will examine the relationship between affect, aesthetics, and judgment as ways in which people categorize their experiences through language, using the Appraisal framework from systemic-functional linguistics.

It can be argued that any of the utterances will mean something different in a story running after the holiday to what they will mean before the holiday. In contrast to prototypical hard news stories, which are reports of past events, "the first rough draft of history,"[6] public celebration stories involve a clear cycle of announcement or invitation to the public, followed by reports on events. Daily journalists write stories called "advances," describing or speculating on events that will happen, for example:

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[6] A phrase credited to *Washington Post* publisher Philip L. Graham in describing his vision for *Newsweek* in 1961 (Halberstam 1979: 229).

CITY PLANS BIGGEST JULY 4 CELEBRATION
    Independence Anniversary To Be Widely Marked Today
    By Patriotic Services
      WILL CONTINUE TOMORROW
         Official Observance Will Start With Raising of Flag
         in City Hall Park This Morning (headline, July 4, 1926, p. 5)

as well as reports, which are descriptions and evaluations of events:

> Buoyed by panoramic spectacles that included a unique armada of tall-masted ships, a massive fireworks display and a series of festivals that took over downtown Manhattan, millions of New Yorkers and visitors in a happy mood observed the nation's Bicentennial yesterday. ("Panoply of Sails: Harbor Armada Led By Tall Ships In Salute to Fourth," July 5, 1976, p. 1)

They may also write feature stories that are all background, giving details of historical events or other local color to support the advance-report story cycle. These "backgrounders" are less time-dependent and their categorization as national day stories is questionable, but there is a noticeable increase in history features in newspapers around the Fourth of July, which together with Memorial Day and the Massachusetts holiday of Patriot's Day falls during the spring-summer tourist season in the Northeast. Here, national days, public memory, and tourism support and mutually reinforce each other.

Thus, pragmatically speaking, advances about future events represent invitations, promises, requests, warnings, suggestions, and similar categories of speech acts involving felicity conditions and contingent acts; while reports inhabit the categories of statements, declarations and other less performative speech acts that have attracted less attention in classical pragmatic analyses; and historical backgrounders are even more difficult to theorize in terms of intentions and effects upon hearers, since their effects are subtle and implicit. I will have more to say in later chapters about the ways the newspaper uses words to try to get the audience to do things.

1.4   Plan of the study

Language used on Independence Day demonstrates the dictum of Foucault and others that language does not extend evenly through all situations and dimensions: not anyone can say anything in any time or place. Holiday language is specialized by role: Not everyone can utter a speech that will be treated as a master text, and not everything can be casually said – conflict that would rupture the holiday mood is to be avoided, and so is the appearance of disloyalty to the nation, even more than usual. Generally, the role of the ordinary person in the events is constructed by the newspaper as participating in an involved but discreet way, without too much original or critical comment; but even in personal exchanges of ritual greetings, the conventionally agreed-on character of the holiday constrains greetings to be interpreted in a constructive way vis-à-vis the national enterprise. In addition to spaces between permitted and unpermitted language, safe spaces between events and ordinary life, events and potential disruptions, and different kinds of events are maintained.

This study has implications for the interaction between language, the media and the nation. The media help construct and maintain roles for those who redefine, praise, and criticize the nation on national days, and those who must listen or follow. They select certain celebrants (implicitly or explicitly) as prototypical or exceptional, and in doing so, help define and construct the nation. The categories of patriots and traitors are especially likely to attract concentrations of linguistic resources for their construction and reproduction. The media are thus partly responsible for logogenesis which has a downstream ontogenic effect on whole discourses, whether by the coining of evocational expressions like "When in the course of human events," which eventually become constructions of their own, or by the establishment of an opposition between *itsenäisyys* and *iloisuus* ('independence' and 'joyfulness') in Finnish to promote seriousness about the national enterprise. Media language thus also affects emerging practices and the development of celebration as a general activity type.

Use affects structure; social systems and linguistic systems are mutually dependent, particularly in the charged atmosphere of an occasion where the speech and behavior of participants are perforce subjected to a kind of loyalty test. Since Biblical times, participation in holidays has been a way of marking identity and membership in a community, constituting it not just as something imagined but as something performed. How this performance is elicited and evaluated in words will be explained in the following chapters, in the course of building an argument for the way power is exercised through apparently trivial news stories about recurring events constructed as noncontroversial.

The next two chapters set the scene for the analysis. Chapter II reviews the relevant extralinguistic literature and some of the linguistic background leading up to this study, working from general theories of language and society inward to close textual analysis. A variety of relevant social theories, including studies of holidays and ritual by historians as well as structuralist and poststructuralist anthropologists, are briefly surveyed. Some major theories of media discourse are outlined and the scene is set for the main linguistic directions. In addition, a synchronic view of news story structure is given. Chapter III describes the construction of the text collection and outlines its basic dimensions, as well as giving a diachronic picture of American newspapers and the development of news story structure.

This background is followed by the major analysis chapters. Chapter IV looks more closely at 'celebrate,' which operates as a master verb that organizes the news coverage, before comparing definitions and usages elicited from native speakers to materials in the data. Chapter V examines evaluation in the texts, identifying the most typical tokens of positive and negative evaluations that help align reader responses to the holiday and building up a theory of the values that underlie the evaluations; the reproduction of social hierarchy in the sourcing and content of news texts is also discussed. Chapter VI analyzes metaphorical and figurative language, both language used about the nation on the holiday and language about the holiday itself. Chapter VII looks at how the news reports help reproduce folk politeness practices on national holidays and also at how they directly implement facework

with respect to the nation. Chapter VIII treats the place of national day news in the system of news values, as well as investigating what is 'new' in these stories and questioning some tacit assumptions in research on news. Chapter IX summarizes the conclusions about non-new news stories and the functions and workings of language associated with the celebration activity type in general, as well as the historical interactions between national practices, media, and language, and returns to "5,000 Dance In Street," the news story discussed in the last section, for a second analysis that places it in context and demonstrates the findings of the study.

II   CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

2.1   Introduction

A range of different linguistic approaches have been enlisted in the investigation, notably discourse analysis, cognitive linguistics, pragmatics and politeness, and systemic-functional linguistics. The present chapter will begin with areas that provide a non-linguistic context for the materials of the study, namely nationalism, ritual, and public memory, as well as a review of the specifics of national days. A brief survey of relevant approaches in pragmatics and cognitive linguistics will follow, though discussion of recent work in these fields will be relegated to the relevant chapters later in the study. Next, previous approaches to media discourse and to newspaper stories in particular will be reviewed briefly, ending with the recent work of Peter White within the systemic-functional linguistics framework. This multiplicity of different frameworks is needed in order to explain how the features in the data encode the different levels of meaning that connect the immediate lifeworlds[7] of language users to larger patterns in culture and history; and this connection across extremely disparate scales is, as we will see, fundamental to the construction of national days and the meaning of celebration itself.

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[7] The term "lifeworld," popularized by Habermas, refers to everyday models and cognitive structures of social life, developed through face-to-face practice; it is contrasted with top-down models of social life which fall under the rubric of "system" (Habermas 1984-87).

2.2 Background from disciplines outside linguistics

2.2.1 Historical studies of nationalism

For an interdisciplinary investigation like this one, setting boundaries is always problematic. An endless variety of material that might be related to a study of national days can be found in history (professional and folk), anthropology, sociology, political science, social psychology, semiotics, literary history, and the emerging interdisciplinary field of social memory studies, among other fields. Out of these I will be referring mainly the two areas of social studies I have found most useful, namely the subdiscipline of nationalism studies within history, and that of ritual studies within anthropology. However, I will first borrow from a postcolonial theorist an observation about nationalism that underpins everything else in this study. Like many other objects of study, nations can be conceived as fixed, essentialist entities; or alternatively as series of performative acts by which the national community is reproduced. In Homi Bhabha's formulation (1990: 247):

> The scraps, patches and rags of daily life must be repeatedly turned into the signs of a coherent national culture, while the very act of the narrative performance interpellates a growing circle of national subjects. In the production of the nation as narration there is a split between the continuist, accumulative temporality of the pedagogical, and the repetitious, recursive strategy of the performative.

Historians of nationalism have largely been essentialists, concentrating first on the aspects perceived as static, and leaving the study of dynamic practices and the practical daily aspects of nationalism to anthropology and cultural studies. This was true of early studies such as Hayes (1931), Kohn (1944, 1957), Curti (1946) and Kemiläinen (1964) as well as of widely read later works such as Gellner (1983), Smith (1986), and Hobsbawm (1992). Only relatively recently, in the work of Anderson (1991) and other historians influenced by discourse analysis and cultural

studies[8], has there been a real focus on reproductive practices. In the last few years, historians have finally begun to integrate materialist and discourse analyses in order to analyze what might be called practical nationalism.[9]

The mid-twentieth century in the United States was a boom period for studies of nationalism, relatively speaking. Some of these works investigated nationalism in general (Hayes 1931), or nationalism in the United States (Curti 1946, Kohn 1957) while others examined the nationalism of non-English speaking peoples and particularly that of militarized states or states opponent to the Anglo-American alliance; thus the years after World War II produced important studies of Nazi Germany (Klemperer 1947) and Soviet Russia (Lasswell 1949) with a teleological aim of improving national security or achieving world peace. The primary sources for the studies were mainly elite discourse (for example, Curti relies mainly on political speeches), mass media or "propaganda," and the writer's own intuition. Throughout, the focus

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[8] The discursive turn among historians is not uncontroversial within their field. Historians who identify discourse as their object of study are criticized by historians for ignoring material aspects of history (see Palmer 1990 for a critical analysis) while their analysis of texts falls far short of truly linguistic work; typically they are concerned mainly with production practices, rhetoric and intertextuality, and ignore units of analysis whose scale falls between text and word. Nevertheless their work can help linguists by providing a fuller account of circumstances of production and interpretive contexts.

[9] In addition to holidays and other aspects of national time and space division, practical nationalism might include media nationalism; consumer nationalism; nationalism in both national sports (after James 1963) and international sporting events such as the Olympic Games; perceptions of the national in art, music and architecture; nationalism in the military (after Enloe 1989); national language policies, folklore and ideology; marketing of the nation as a site for tourism and business travel; marketing of chocolate, beer and other nationally branded foods; national airline marketing; politics of beauty contests; currency and postage stamp design; national themes in children's literature and folklore; perceptions of authority, criminality, and national character as expressed in fiction; citizenship training in schools; citizenship training for naturalization. Notice that many of these involve nationalism as popular culture, or consumerist manifestations of nationhood.

was on nationalism as an excess of feeling that could be mobilized by politicians to legitimize the state. A major insight eventually achieved by a number of authors was the fact that nationalism is perceived and expressed differently in each nation (Hayes 1931, and see Özkırımlı 2000 for an overview of subsequent work); thus in one place nationalism may be based explicitly on an extension of kinship relations while in another it may be based on a long tradition that admits converts, and still elsewhere based on a unique and isolated geographic position, or a deliberate agreement, or some combination of these – and the people of each nation might evaluate the right to nationhood of others based on their own prime requisites. Differences in individual perception can occur as well. The point is that there is not one single model of nationalism based on essential features, but many *nationalisms.* This change in perception results in the raising of nationalism from a fixed concept to a principle (Gellner 1983) to "a discourse that constantly shapes our consciousness and the way we constitute the meaning of the world," produces and reproduces us as "nationals," and influences our identity, speech, behaviours and attitudes (Özkırımlı 2000: 4, Billig 1995: 6). As Özkırımlı argues (2000: 5):

> … the Serbian Militia in Kosovo or the ETA militants have different motives than ordinary French or American citizens, yet all these motives despite their varying forms and intensity, belong to the same family. What unites them is the nationalist discourse: both the ETA militants who commit acts of terrorism and the French citizens who sing *La Marseillaise* in their football stadiums use the nationalist discourse to explain, justify, and hence legitimize their actions. The motives and the actions might take different forms, but they are all of the same kind. [The definition of nationalism as a discourse] spots this commonality and shows that seemingly disparate emotions, beliefs and actions are all manifestations of the same phenomenon.

At the same time we must note the often observed fact that nationalism as a discourse has profited from the channels of discourse provided by the mass media. For example, Deutsch (1966) argued that "complementarity of communications," including convergence on a national language and common press, postal and educational systems, is the key factor in nation-building, while McLuhan (1962) although sadly outdated in many ways, is unassailable in his assertion, later taken up by

Anderson (1991) and others, that print was the engine that allowed modern states to foster a collective consciousness.

Two major strains in nationalist discourse are of importance for the present study: the metaphorical and the banal. First, the conception of the nation as a common origin, a combination of family of descent, long history and traditional culture, as is common for example in European countries. Discussions of nations within this discourse frequently center on the growth and migration of a 'people' descended from a cohesive extended family or tribe, or a 'population' formed by the blending of several peoples in the wake of a migration. In the second important type of nationalist discourse, the nation is prototypically conceived as a common destination, a combination of geography and deliberate social contract; there is common history, but it goes back at most a few centuries and not millennia. This type of discourse is common in 'settler countries' that are former European colonies, such as the United States. Discussions of nations in this discourse tend to center on the deliberate social construction and social engineering of political systems to govern the national territory. We will see how these family-based and territory-based prototypes (or stereotypes) of nationalism, which correspond to the frequently referenced concepts of *jus sanguinis* and *jus solis* (see for example Kristeva 1988: 139-142), ethnic and civic, 'thick' and 'thin' nationalism (Hannerz 2004: 22) are expressed in metaphors in the study data.

After 1989 the focus in nationalism studies turned to Eastern Europe, with the particular aim of accounting for the fall of the Soviet bloc and the breakup of Yugoslavia. Despite the increasingly nuanced theoretical treatment of nationalism, the focus was still on its extreme manifestations such as nation-building and wartime. It was not until the 1990s that the lens was finally turned back to First World countries and their settled everyday practices. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1992) and Billig (1992, 1995) were among the earliest contributors to the new wave of literature on what Billig termed 'banal nationalism'[10] – banal because

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[10] In addition to the historians of public events and patriotism mentioned later in this section, interest in banal nationalism has spread to literary scholars, such as those

it seems familiar to the English-speaking target audience, as well as because it is an everyday phenomenon. In Billig's view, national identity is backgrounded most of the time. However, it is reinforced and kept ready for use by continuously repeated, almost subliminal "flaggings" of the nation, such as physical displays of flags; use of 'we' and 'here' to set boundaries and point to a deictic center; and separation of domestic from foreign affairs in law and the media. The national card is thus kept peripherally active in the minds of the citizenry, and is ready to be played on the more salient national occasions such as holidays and wars. In Britain and other monarchies, references to royalty often function as the flaggings that reproduce the nation (Billig 1992). Billig's statement of the relationship between daily flaggings and national days (1995: 45-46) furnishes an important grounding for the current study:

> All nation-states have occasions when ordinary routines are suspended, as when the state celebrates itself. Then, sentiments of patriotic emotion, which the rest of the year have to be kept far from the business of ordinary life, can surge forth. The yearly calendar of the modern nation would replicate in miniature its longer political history: brief moments of nationalist emotion punctuate longer periods of settled calm, during which nationalism seems to disappear.

This metaphor of national feeling as a fluid under pressure will be examined further in later chapters. Further, it must be noted that Billig makes a reflexive criticism of scholars of nationalism as helping maintain the mechanism of banal nationalism by focusing on extreme or "surplus" manifestations of nationalism, and by arguing that such extreme nationalism is universal and inevitable (1992: 16-17); thus these researchers avoid criticizing any nationalistic practices, or creating feedback loops that might result in changing them.

National political holidays are associated with the rise of the modern

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collected in the volume introduced by Bhabha (1990) and in Parker et al. (1992), as well as specific book-length studies such as Craig (1995) on Scottish nationalism. Nationalism has become a focus of interest for scholars with postcolonial, postmodern, and gender studies orientations, among others, and it is beyond the scope of the present study to do these works justice.

nation-state in the 18th and 19th centuries, so it is not surprising that they came to scholarly attention first as an instance of an "invented tradition," a term coined by Hobsbawm and Ranger in their work on social constructions associated with nation-building in the British Empire (1992). Hobsbawm stressed in his introduction to the book the function of tradition in getting people to feel loyal to vaguely defined values (rather as if an OLDER IS BETTER conceptual metaphor were operating), and the fact that tradition, and the construction of holidays in general, often relies on repetition that assumes continuity with a historic past (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992: 11). Here the performative and essential aspects of nationalism referred to by Bhabha complement each other especially closely.

Although national days are associated with the rise of the modern nation-state, it would be a mistake to treat them as either uniform in construction or necessarily modern in conception. If religious or tribal holidays are included, the oldest continuously celebrated annual independence day might be Passover; the language in the Old Testament contains the critical elements of deliberately changing the calendar and enjoining the people to celebrate repeatedly:

> *1:* And the LORD spake unto Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt, saying,
> *2:* This month shall be unto you the beginning of months: it shall be the first month of the year to you …
> *14:* And this day shall be unto you for a memorial; and ye shall keep it a feast to the LORD throughout your generations; ye shall keep it a feast by an ordinance for ever. (KJB: Exodus 12)

The present study, however, will be limited to independence days of modern nation-states, with modern media that capture linguistic records of their practices. Modern national days are most commonly associated with a declaration, constitution, battle, treaty, covenant or some other effective act of independence or state formation. In some cases, they may instead be an important date in the life of a saint, monarch, poet, or some other important figure, going back up to a thousand years. Among the nations currently in operation, Andorra appears to have the oldest continuously celebrated national day of any kind, a saint's day

commemorating its founding in 1278; other residual city-states in Europe also have holidays of this type (CIA World Factbook 2000, 2005).[11]

United States Independence Day, the Fourth of July, is generally considered to be the oldest continuously celebrated national secular political holiday.[12] [13] It is the anniversary of the presentation of the

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[11] Royal rites of passage and their anniversaries (including birthdays) can still be found to function as the chief national holidays in some monarchies such as the Netherlands and, until recent years, Britain; and religious holidays or saints' days are used as national holidays in some countries such as Ireland. In England, Guy Fawkes Day, though not a public or "Bank" holiday, fulfils many of the functions commonly served by national independence days of the more exuberant type, such as the opportunity to set off explosions with relative impunity, but British citizens I have interviewed seem disinclined to name it as a national day comparable to the Fourth of July, and are in fact unsure whether England or Britain as a whole can be said to have a true national day. Officially, St. George's Day is the national day (UK Government 2004) but it is not nearly as widely observed as St. David's Day in Wales and St. Andrew's Day in Scotland, and as of this writing none of these three saints' days are days off. Empire Day (May 24, Queen Victoria's birthday, now Commonwealth Day) seems to have functioned as a regular national day in the early twentieth century (Opie 1959: 262-3).

[12] The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'independence day' as "July 4, the day on which, in 1776, the Declaration of Independence was made, celebrated annually by the United States as a national holiday." The sense is marked "also *transf.*" where *transf.* stands for "transferred sense" and would mean that it had been transferred to uses elsewhere. The citations support this, with citations referring to United States Independence Day from 1791 to 1967, and a Caribbean and a Nigerian cite from later years. *Independence* itself is a relatively modern word with the first citation at 1640 referring to church organization. It would be well, however, not to assume the Fourth of July is necessarily the model for independence days around the world. Bastille Day began to be celebrated later, but has a stronger position as a kind of Ur-national holiday to be celebrated by Francophiles everywhere.

[13] If subnational holidays are included, Tynwald Day on the Isle of Man would be another contender for the oldest political holiday; it has been celebrated continuously since 1417, and involves officials reading the laws of the Thing or Tyn (the Manx parliament) on the hill where it meets, and swearing to execute them "as indifferently as the herring's backbone doth lie in the midst of the fish" (Coakley 2003). Tynwald Day is a classic example of the regular reproduction through re-

Declaration of Independence to the Continental Congress on July 4, 1776 – not, as often believed, the anniversary of its composition, its signing, or the resolution of independence that led to its drafting. The Fourth of July was developed as a rallying day during the Revolutionary War and celebrated widely but not always officially in towns and cities in the years after the war. Despite general and regular observance continuously since 1780, it did not become a federal legal holiday until 1941 (Maier, 1997, Appelbaum 1989). In 1866 the *New York Times* published an editorial boasting that, "Of all the nations of the earth, this alone has its birthday celebration. Of all peoples we alone can point to the day and hour when we became a recognized nationality…" It is difficult to judge the veracity of this claim to unique authenticity at the time, but it soon became moot as France recognized observances of Bastille Day by making it an official holiday in 1880 (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1990: 271) and other nations followed suit. Although nationalisms as discourses vary so much that any two arbitrarily chosen instances may have few or no features in common, the practices of nationalism, and particularly national days, are rather more homogenized for reasons of imperialism and cultural transfer; the rise of mass media made it easier to see what other peoples around the world were doing and to copy and adapt ideas from them.

Many of the practices that became associated with emerging national independence days were recycled from earlier religious or royal holidays. Fireworks, feasts, speeches, musical parades and other practices in the United States were borrowed from the king's birthday and accession anniversary, religious holidays, Guy Fawkes Day, and the anniversary of the Boston Massacre, an early (1770) conflict between the British and their colonists which was commemorated for a time; in addition, the fireworks recalled the explosions of the war (Travers 1997: 16, 32-33, 41ff). Similar patterns can be seen around the world: the tradition of placing candles in windows on Finnish Independence Day had previously been used for occasions related to the Russian royal family, including visits to Finland (Karjalainen 1994), and in the days

utterance of an operating text or constitution.

before streetlights the candles gave cities a safe and festive appearance. The President's Independence Day reception in Finland is modeled on receptions held by the czars during the Russian period, and since its independence Estonia has adopted the tradition of a presidential reception for high officials, prominent citizens, and diplomats. The traditional blowing of conch shells in India, symbolizing the start of a celebration, was applied to Independence Day in that nation from 1947 onward (Times of India 1947). Other symbols used on national days, such as flags, anthems, and poems, are typically drawn from the paraphernalia of the independence movements in the various countries. Some practices may have emerged or been invented specifically for the national days, but people seem to feel most at ease with customs that can be presented as outgrowths of older ways, as can be seen for example in the rhetorical ease with which some white majority members have been able to dispute the legitimacy of Kwanzaa, an African-American winter celebration whose invention is recent (1966), clear and acknowledged by its practicers.[14]

As the custom of national days spread during the 19th and early 20th centuries, it encountered considerable resistance. In some countries employers protested or refused the extra day off, though the celebration often took hold anyway; in some countries there was also competition between church and state for control of the holiday calendar (Zerubavel 1981: 82-100, Bohman 1997: 115). State religions could take supporting positions as well; for instance the Lutheran Church in Finland traditionally holds a national Independence Day church service. Any royal families still in place usually maintained involvement; thus in Norway the royal family officiates at the palace on May 17, reviewing a parade and a carnival. In Sweden and Denmark the royal family celebrates almost as a surrogate for the people, since the national day is not a full day off for all.

The concept of national days was fairly well entrenched by World War I,

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[14] The deliberately invented holiday of Festivus, a kind of anti-Christmas simultaneously popularized and lampooned by the television show *Seinfeld*, provides another, although spurious example.

along with national flags, anthems, currencies, postal systems, sports teams, and similar nationally branded paraphernalia forming the hegemonic system of practices that tiles the world into nations. Thus most nation-states formed or legitimated in the twentieth century have had official national days since the year of their inception, as new regimes have generally sought to take control of time[15] as well as space by foregrounding a new system of significant days and associated practices. Today every one of the world's independent nations has at least one day it considers a (or the) national day. The few remaining colonial territories often celebrate 'national' holidays of their own in addition to those of their colonizers; for example, Puerto Rico celebrates both the Fourth of July and Puerto Rico Day. Even Norfolk Island, an Australian territory in the Pacific with a population of less than 2,000, fêtes its genesis with Pitcairn Arrival Day Anniversary. Of the approximately 267 geopolitical entities in the world (as of the issue of the *CIA World Factbook* 2000), 37 had no national days because they were uninhabited, transiently populated, or unrecognized as states; 12 celebrated the holidays of their colonizers only; 21 celebrated their own holidays as well as those of their colonizers[16]; and the remaining 197 were independent nations with their own national independence days – the prototypical case.

The names of these holidays may be generic (Independence Day, Flag Day, Constitution Day) or particular (Fourth of July, Bastille Day, Canada Day), and the same holiday may be referred to by multiple names, but even from a crude analysis of probably flawed data[17] (Table

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[15] The most radical example is perhaps the failed French revolutionary calendar (Zerubavel 1981: 87ff); the Soviet jettisoning of the church calendar and the Israeli re-establishment of the biblical calendar alongside the common calendar could also be mentioned.

[16] Typically, English-speaking colonies have their own holidays while French colonies only celebrate Bastille Day.

[17] There were obvious errors in the *Factbook*: for example, Tuva is entirely missing, no national day is listed for such an important nation as Somalia (which in fact has at least three national political holidays) and sometimes the day that is listed does not

2-1), it is clear that in most cases there is an attempt to adopt a holiday that fits modern secular polycultural democracies and resembles the holidays in other countries.

Table 2-1: Names of national days

Name of holiday	Number	Comments
Independence Day	116	
National Day	25	
Royal birthday or installation day	16	incl. Vatican City
Constitution Day	9	
Liberation Day	9	most often World War II
Revolution Day	6	
Specific, e.g. Waitangi Day	6	
[Name of country] Day	5	
Proclamation of Republic Day	5	
Saint's day	5	
Union / Unity / Unification Day	3	Saudi Arabia, Tanzania, Germany
[Territorial] Flag Day	3	
Anniversary of the [name/no.] Republic	2	
Royal anniversary (historical)	2	
Independence and National Day	2	
National Statehood Day	2	
Rebellion Day	1	Cuba
Transfer Day	1	Virgin Islands
Foundation Day	1	North Korea
Confederation Day	1	Switzerland
Emancipation Day	1	Tonga
Freedom Day	1	South Africa
Commonwealth Day	1	Gibraltar, Northern Marianas
Islamic Republic Day	1	Iran

match the anecdotal evidence from the country's citizens. Some entries listed more than one day. For purposes of this table, I took only the first holiday listed, which I assumed was the most important (since the days usually were not listed in calendar order), and the one on which diplomats would normally visit each other's embassies.

| Victory of Muslim Nation Day | 1 | Afghanistan |
| Religious (not a saint's day) | 1 | Liechtenstein (Assumption Day) |

source: CIA World Factbook, based on information from January 1, 2000[18]

Here we see a clear prototype that what is celebrated most often is independence from another power (Independence, Liberation, Revolution Days) or reification of a new state system (Constitution Day, Unification Day, Confederation Day). In addition to nations, many regions, such as Flanders, and non-national ethnic groups, such as the Sámi, have special days, often commemorating a culturally rather than politically constitutive event. These results are confirmed by the similar analysis in Zerubavel (2003).

We can now start to build a prototype of the national day: it marks some kind of independence; it is a general holiday from work to which government and employers give their consent (but some such as Swedish Flag Day are not); all those who belong to the nation can take part in special observances (but in some cases such as Denmark, the leaders symbolically observe the day on behalf of all); expatriates may also celebrate; countries, embodied by leaders and diplomats, acknowledge one another's independence days.

Many nations have multiple national days that assume different roles and configurations, forming a grammar of commemoration that can be modulated to meet changing contemporary demands. For example in Israel, the traditional Jewish Passover celebration retelling the Biblical Exodus is followed by three ordered holidays (Holocaust Day, Remembrance Day, and Independence Day) constructing a modern Exodus story that is implied to be biblically inevitable (Handelman 1990: 191-223). The formerly Communist countries of eastern Europe typically have a day honoring a national romantic poet, a day marking their first perceived independence from foreign empire (however temporary), a

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[18] A quick check was made with the 2005 version of the Factbook and the data are almost exactly the same. Perhaps the most significant change is that Iraq has ceased to celebrate Revolution Day and has not designated a new national holiday.

day marking their independence from the Soviet Union, and a memorial day or partisan uprising day associated with World War II; not all of these may be days off work, however. Finnish flag days include Independence Day, which marks the 1917 proclamation of independence by the Senate, as well as three military/memorial/veterans' days, the supranational United Nations Day, and half a dozen established cultural flag days including days honoring four poets and writers, the national epic (the Kalevala), and the Swedish-speaking minority; the semiautonomous Åland Islands have their own flag and additional flag days. With the exception of Independence Day, these are not days off (most days off are church holidays) but they could be made into full national holidays if desired. The United States has, in addition to the Fourth of July, Washington's Birthday (which was renamed President's Day in 1968 and combined with nearby Lincoln's birthday, which was also a holiday in many states), Martin Luther King Day, Memorial Day, Veterans' Day, and Columbus Day, as well as regional holidays like Patriot's Day (Massachusetts) and Robert E. Lee's birthday (Confederate states) and the African-American holiday of Juneteenth (O'Leary 1999: 113).[19] All of these are available to be emphasized as needed; for example Memorial Day was originally a Civil War holiday that acquired new functions as a World War II memorial day (Warner 1953), and Veterans Day began as Armistice day for World War I and was generalized to honor all American war dead following the Korean War.

In some countries, citizens may disagree about which holiday is the primary national day; for example, it has been proposed that the primary Australian national day is or should be Anzac Day, a memorial day for defeat of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps at the Battle of Gallipolli in World War I (Vietnam Legion Veterans of Queensland 2001) – not Australia Day, which marks the establishment of the New South Wales colony under Captain Philip Sidney (Spillman 1997, Australia Day 2004), and is celebrated less enthusiastically than Anzac Day. A problem

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[19] There are not complete lists; countries also have nonpolitical holidays which may be marked with the flag, such as labor days (which derive meaning from being days off as well), Mothers' and Fathers' Days, and holidays of the dominant religion.

with the Anzac Day proposal is that the holiday is also celebrated in New Zealand, pointing up the fact that national days work best when they are unique to the nation in question. January 1, the day in 1901 when the six colonies formed the federation of Australia, is also problematic because it would be in the shadow of the international New Year's holiday. In post-colonial and post-communist republics with multiple independence days, in particular, the various holidays are associated with conflicting narratives, raising the question of which liberation was the real liberation that should be celebrated. However, the central case in this study, the United States, has a relatively simple narrative with one occasion of independence: from Britain. Although the actual moment of national coalescence could be debated – the national day could have commemorated the Boston Massacre or the Battle of Lexington-Concord or the end of the Revolutionary War or the signing of the Constitution – the anniversary of the presentation of the Declaration of Independence, the Fourth of July, seems to be accepted without much debate.[20] Finland, from which the second largest number of examples in this study are taken, achieved independence from Russia in 1917 through a similar declaration; war with the former occupiers did not follow, or at least not until World War II and under other circumstances. Thus in both the United States and Finland, there is little public debate about which date should be the national day. This is not the usual case for the world as a whole, although once a national day is settled on, efforts will be made to find and create long-term continuity similar to the Fourth of July and other stable national days. The atypically stable Fourth thus does function to some degree as a model.

It is clear from the Fourth of July news stories examined in this study as well as from some of the examples above that the discourse around any specific national day at any given moment is influenced more by the contemporary present than the historical past, much as Billig (1990) and

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[20] There is, however, an occasional pedantic suggestion that the Fourth of July should be the Second of July, the date the Continental Congress adopted a resolution of independence and began to review and revise Jefferson's Declaration, a process that took two days.

Cannadine (1992: 105) found for British coronations and royal jubilees. Social scientists generally assume that nationalism is governed by some underlying belief systems; but it is widely acknowledged that any individual's personal beliefs are multiple, variable, and negotiated, and people may even hold mutually contradictory beliefs at the same time. Thus, what people say, think, and argue will show "discursive variability"; the recourse to one repertoire, rather than another, may depend upon the functions of the discourse and the context in which it occurs (Billig 1990: 18). A brief pilot study with some examples of the changing discourse of the Fourth of July is available in ben-Aaron (2000), and this material will be reprised as relevant in the current study.

Many historical studies support the finding of variability in national day discourse, although these studies too need to be read through the historical contexts in which they appeared. Tumarkin (1994, 1997) examined nationalistic practices related to Lenin and to World War II over the life of the Soviet Union. National holidays related to the October Revolution and to Lenin were important in the early USSR, and were then eclipsed by the cult of Stalin. After 1945, war-related holidays were used as a way of building unity in a population that had lost faith in the promises of communism. Khrushchev revived the revolutionary and Lenin-related holidays as his way of putting the stamp on the calendar, and these were continued during the early Brezhnev period, but with a less serious, even sometimes ironic tone. In the American context, O'Leary (1999) surveyed the construction of American patriotism from the Civil War to World War II, focusing on the varying roles accorded to veterans, women, African-Americans, and immigrants, and the citizens' movements that produced the culture of the flag and the Pledge of Allegiance. One of her most important findings is that nationalistic practices were not imposed unilaterally from above but often grew out of local, popular and commercial movements. Bodnar (1992) deals with controversies over history and public memory, touching on Civil War centennial ceremonies in which interests of Northerners, Southerners, and African-Americans had to be balanced, as well as the Bicentennial of Independence in 1976. The Bicentennial came after Watergate and the Vietnam War, when it was particularly difficult to find support for national pageantry, and additionally presented the

logistical problem of coordinating a nationwide megacelebration. More studies of diachronic, geographic, and individual variation in commemorative practice are appearing annually and provide a necessary background for diachronic linguistic analyses of commemorative language. Thus we see that national days are by no means as stable in content as their organizers might like them to appear.

It seems obvious that the mutually reinforcing system of national holidays and the reporting on them helps maintain the nation-state system itself as well as the power structures within it, but it is also necessary to ask whether the calendar might be evolving toward a supranational system through holidays such as Europe Day (V-E Day, May 9), as well as older transnational holidays like International Women's Day (March 8) and the May 1 labor holiday, not to mention New Year's Day. It seems that although supranational consciousness (pan-Europeanness, pan-Africanness) may be have some reality in terms of identity, the national citizens of the world are not yet postnational, for the reason that no supranational organization (yet) directly taxes or conscripts us, asks us to elect its government without reference to national origin, defends us or pays our social security. The Soviet Union was an attempted supranational state whose failure may prove telling. The nation is still the largest entity we regularly interact with in the course of our lifetime and in some cases it may already be too large. As Jay (1972) suggested, incorporation into units over a certain size tends to be resisted; the symbolic attempt by Britain in 1904 to install Queen Victoria's birthday as Empire Day throughout its possessions was less successful in distant colonies and the holiday never properly caught on under that name even in Britain (Cannadine 2001: 145).

2.2.2   *Studies of ritual and memory*

Commemorations have also been studied extensively by anthropologists under the rubric of ritual. The main characteristics of ritual (Bohman 1997: 109, based on work by Barbro Klein) are present in national days: First, there is repetition at identifiable points in time, in this case the same day every year. Second, there is a clear beginning and end that

separate the ritual from other events, for example the calendar boundaries of the national day, or the formal opening and closing ceremonies of a major public celebration. These boundaries clearly recall Durkheim's (1912) distinction between sacred and profane time. Third, there is stylized behavior, such as parades, flag ceremonies, and formalized speeches involving considerable reuse of language. A more sophisticated view of ritual is present in Couldry (2003: 3, 211ff): ritual as habitual action, ritual as formalized action, and ritual as action associated with transcendent values. National days are all of these, particularly the third, as we will see in the chapter on the meaning of celebration. At a more basic level, national days are clearly bound up with the four domains studied by anthropologists (as set forth in Yanigasaki and Delaney 1995: 11): politics (generally and through speeches referring to political matters), economics (through speeches promising prosperity), kinship (through attempts to construct the nation as a family, and through local and family celebrations), and religion (through references to gods and religious metaphors). Anthropologists and sociologists often start from the tacit assumption that holidays serve social functions such as building social solidarity, aiding collective memory, providing a release from everyday routines, and offering a point of contact with other members of the community who are not seen every day. However, Lukes (1975: 300-1) and Couldry (2003: 63-67), among others, have suggested that not all citizens are well served by political rituals, and the holidays are a unilateral exercise of power by elites and ruling regimes, which may serve to divide people from one another, or conceal the lack of consensus in society. Lukes cites official French May Day events (affirming the center) and the simultaneous street demonstrations (undermining it), and the meetings of leaders of the industrial powers are an obvious non-holiday example, with their official rock concerts and unofficial protests. In Chapters V and VII we will see a further example in the United States Bicentennial, which was variously reported as a climactic national celebration, as a narrow triumph of unificationist activity over a fringe of dissenters, and as a disappointing performance by the government of President Gerald Ford.

The early anthropological study of public holidays was rooted in the structuralist approaches built up in the course of studying ritual in non-

Western societies, particularly tribes in Africa and the Pacific. Following Durkheim and Lévi-Strauss, Rivière (1988, 2000) has been particularly active in structuralizing national political holidays along dimensions such as sequence of actions, roles, goals, means, communications, and symbols, while Abélès (1990) and Abélès and Jeudy (1997) have done somewhat less formalistic analyses of ceremonies in modern French public life. Mosse (1975) has examined nationalism as a civil religion in Germany, with particular emphasis on the monumental architecture and pageants that lent Nazism some of its credibility and appeal to the masses. Shils and Young (1953) published a Durkheimian analysis of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II as the manifestation of an emotional, spiritual, and moral center for the "national family," which was intensified and extended through radio and television coverage as well as local celebrations. In the United States, Bellah (1967), has identified national days as an element of a civil religion, an idea first described by Rousseau (1762) that fuses nationalism with a dilute Judeo-Christian theology (including monotheism, reward and punishment. In Bellah's view, Thanksgiving integrates the family into this civil religion, and Memorial Day, with its graveyard services for the war dead, integrates local communities into "the national cult." The Fourth of July was found by Bellah to be "less overtly religious" (1967: 11), although still a major national day. However, it must be remembered that Bellah's analysis is specific to its moment; the reading of Memorial Day was based on Warner (1953), which is probably somewhat outdated now. Comparatively few American families in the 21st century have actually lost members to wars within living memory, and Memorial Day is now simply a long weekend for most people. Nevertheless, the general point about the fusion of religion and politics can be taken.

Anthropological approaches to ritual and religion are now being integrated into historical studies of nationalism and public events. The Fourth of July study by Travers (1997) draws heavily on the model of ritual established by anthropologist Victor Turner (1969, 1974). Turner described rituals for barren couples and for multiple births among certain African tribes, trying at first to construct a theory of ritual starting from a Lévi-Straussian set of oppositions: the rituals themselves, for example, form an opposition since one is about lack of fertility and

the other about too much fertility, and the ritual structure is full of clear pairs such as male/female, white/red and hot/cold. In the process of analyzing for symmetry Turner uncovered a much more interesting system: a three-phase narrative structure (separation of the participants from normal life, liminal period, aggregation of ritual changes with transition back into normal life). Turner identified the central liminal period with his newly formed idea of *communitas*, a weakly structured society he described as consisting of "undifferentiated, equalitarian, direct, nonrational (though not *ir*rational), I-Thou or Essential We relationships, in Martin Buber's sense." (1974: 47) Liminality and *communitas*, Turner said, were characteristic not only of public ritual but of the early stages of new religious movements, and, crucially for the current study, revolutionary movements. *Communitas* might be a shared misery and breaking-down of boundaries, as when initiates who were being prepared for power were subjected to ritual oppression (and as in many psychological movements and cults); but it might also be the shared high of the crowd, temporarily operating as a single organism without internal social boundaries (see Canetti 1962 for a related analysis of crowds). Before Turner, rituals were mainly conceived of as equilibrating society, but Turner argued that they were places where society could experiment with alternative structures and exercise its capacity for change (1974: 57), an idea that will be important in this study as we ask how language is used on national days, and whether good things are done with it.

Handelman (1990) accommodates both the equilibrium and change models of ritual by proposing three prototypes of public events. First are *events that present*, which in this case simply display static images of hierarchy and power. An example of an event that presents would be a parade of army units in front of a president, which is a simple exhibition of existing might. Second are *events that model,* in which symbolic change is used to perform real change. An example of an event that models would be an exorcism ceremony in which a patient is 'cured' by symbolically driving out demons. Third are *events that re-present*, in which power relations are inverted or events are reframed by presentation of an image of society that is not the conventional and supposedly true image. An example of an event that re-presents would

be a Mardi Gras celebration in which playful characters in masks seem to take control of a city from its actual governors, or a recontextualization of a historical event by showing it from a different point of view. In addition to these clearly playful events, the re-presentation category could include such violent inversions as revolutions or Bakhtin's idea of carnival (1968). Of course, most events would not be pure examples of these types, but combine them somehow. For instance, an Independence Day ceremony welcoming newly naturalized citizens[21] would be demonstrably trying to integrate them (event that models) while still displaying the power of the state through the presence of an official leader of ceremonies (event that presents).

In his study of early Fourth of July celebrations, Travers stressed that the holiday was carefully designed and managed in such a way as to keep celebrations from getting out of hand and overturning the social order, even temporarily in the spirit of the Bakhtinian carnival: "Although celebration generally encouraged spontanteity and loosened customary restraints, the expressions of pent-up emotions were still fairly formalized … The Fourth of July was no Fifth of November; the 'birthday of freedom' was not a day of social inversion and lower-class revelry" (1997: 53, 67). National holidays (all holidays, in fact) and social control seem to be inextricably intertwined; if rejoicing is not mandated, at least its omission is noted. Conversely, the normative expectation of order and happiness also provides a meaningful space for protest – though the protests overwhelmingly tend to be modest and contained.

Another theoretical approach to national days emerges from the emerging field of "social memory studies," or historical sociology of

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[21] Such ceremonies have become common over the last few decades; in the US, Australia, and Canada, for example, it is possible to be sworn in as a citizen in a special ceremony on the national holiday (with a Mountie present to help symbolize the state in the Canadian case). In Sweden there is a reception in Stockholm for all who have become Swedish citizens over the past year. In Finland there has been at least one state-sponsored Independence Day celebration for Somalian immigrants (Pyykkönen 1997). The guests at that event arranged a performance of Somalian dancing, and thus the hierarchy was both represented and partly inverted.

mnemonistic practices (Olick and Robbins 1998). The term "collective memory" began to be used for public perceptions of history by historians in the early 20th century, and interest in public memory has grown enormously since then among scholars in fields from psychology to art history to business (see for example the work on British public memory in Samuel 1996 and Samuel and Light 1999). Kammen (1993) explains the interest in memory in terms of the rise of multiculturalism, the fall of Communism, and a politics of victimization and regret, among other factors. Even in its most practical guises, the current interest in memory seems more reflexive and self-aware than earlier enthusiasms for history (see for example Boorstin 1962 and 1965 on the establishment of American national traditions in the 19th century as a deliberate campaign to legitimize the nation). It would probably be accurate to say that since the rise of the national system and the mass media, people have been gradually acquiring the mental habits needed to acquire a sense of national history, and then to see national history as a social construction, and then to see social constructionism as a social construction, and so on, producing an increasingly layered, reflexive, and potentially heteroglossic sense of the past. McLuhan (1962) would no doubt agree.

Another feature of national memory studies is a focus on the study of time and its varieties, for example ordinary time which is idealized as constant in speed and quality, and "historical time" which has clusters of landmark moments between long stretches of nothing (Zerubavel 2003; note that Zerubavel 1981 opposes historical time to sacred time which is cyclical and outside the normal flow). Sociologists of memory such as Boyarin (1992) argue that traditional views of nationalism were primarily grounded in the spatial experience of the national group, for example its attachment to specific pieces of land and its creation of monuments and ceremonial spaces, rather than its extension through time. In this view, nations in diaspora, having lost their grip on space, conceive of themselves primarily in terms of timelines and information transmitted as memories or histories from one generation to the next – or at least have a different relation to space, as shown in the frequent discussions of geographic origins among diaspora population members (the conversation that goes, "Oh, my grandparents were from

Minsk/Mississippi/Manchester/ Macau too") would seem to argue against this. In any case, there are solid arguments for an increased emphasis on temporal experiences of nationalism, as well as on Bhabha's performative aspects, which are necessarily temporally grounded.

So far we have moved from the theory of nationalism to more concrete works based on vernacular sources (including some of the same newspaper sources being analyzed in the study at hand) and then back toward theory by way of studies of ritual and memory. It is now time to consider how the historical findings relate to conceptual and linguistic features of national day texts. On the evidence of the historians surveyed, we would expect discourse about holidays of any kind to emphasize continuity. Holiday practices and texts within a stable state might change over time in their form, apparent function, and projection in the media; but not too drastically since the aim is to show continuity with a past. Explicit and increasingly reflexive references to timescale and national memory could also be expected, along with references to an assumed common future. Furthermore, we would expect national day texts to stress unification: what binds the nation together rather than what makes its citizens different from each other. This model of national days is discussed in more detail in ben-Aaron 2002, and we will see evidence for and occasionally against it in the coming chapters. The next step toward actually performing the analyses is to bring up relevant concepts from general linguistics and subsequently from discourse analysis approaches that are relevant to media texts.

2.3 Linguistic background of the study

2.3.1 Pragmatics

From a linguistic point of view, the work in this study can be said to fall within the fields of both pragmatics and discourse analysis (which will be taken up in section 2.4). To claim to work in 'pragmatics' is to open the never-ending debate about what pragmatics is. Although the title of Austin's narrow but seminal work, *How to Do Things With Words* (1962), offers an apparently clear six-word definition, the concept of doing

things with words can be made to apply to almost every aspect of linguistics outside the narrowest definition of syntax and the phonetic sciences. Even Levinson, author of the canonical textbook on pragmatics (1983), has difficulty defining what pragmatics is. He attempts first a definition in terms of the relation between language and context, then one in terms of the grammaticalization of aspects of context, and finally abandons the definition effort in favor of a laundry list of topics including deixis, conversational implicature, presupposition, speech acts, and conversational structure. Other textbook authors have fared no better in the search for a specific and workable definition: Verschueren defines it very generally as "the study of language use" or "the study of linguistic phenomena from the point of view of their usage properties and processes" (1999: 1). Thomas (1995: 22) defines it as "meaning in interaction."

Leech (1993: 10) defines "general pragmatics" as "general conditions on the communicative use of language" and then goes on to split the field into linguistic pragmatics and sociological pragmatics, identifying the two main tendencies. The linguistic-philosophical direction (also sometimes designated as 'Anglo-American pragmatics') concentrates on the areas treated by Levinson, attempting to derive a 'logical' theory of inference that would be complementary to formal semantics. Pragmaticians who follow this line tend to view pragmatics as a module comparable to semantics, syntax, or phonology. Their main interest is the theory of speech acts and intentions. There are three threads to this: post-Griceanism, which continues Grice's work on a small set of maxims; Leech's pragmatics, which adds more maxims; and relevance theory which attempts to reduce the maxims to the single maxim of relevance, which can be roughly quantified for each inference relative to other possible inferences (Thomas 1995, Horn 2001). As Schiffrin has pointed out, Anglo-American pragmaticists often consider the other faces of pragmatics to fall under sociolinguistics or discourse analysis (1994: 229).

The social-anthropological line is more popular in Europe, and it is the area into which this study falls. Social-anthropological pragmaticians see pragmatics as the study of language (form and content) in relation to language users as biological and cultural beings (Östman 1986: 16-17);

pragmatics is viewed as a general competence informing all language behavior (Östman 1989). Verschueren calls pragmatics a "perspective" involving the "cognitive, social and cultural study of language and communication" (1995), but then the question arises of how to distinguish pragmatics from linguistic anthropology, or even from sociolinguistics. (Some claim it should be the umbrella field for these, see Östman 1988.) If pragmatics is the union of form, function and setting (Fillmore 1981: 144), is it not equivalent to linguistics, or even to the human sciences as a whole?

Within the linguistic-philosophical camp, arguments tend to be extremely detailed, and the more detailed they are, the greater the probability that readers will find something to disagree with. In the social-anthropological variety of pragmatics, the arguments may be so general as to raise the questions of whether anything new is being said. and the problem of delimitation arises perpetually. Where the broad and narrow fields of investigation overlap, as in studies of conversational inference, differences between the two camps are particularly visible. To take it to extremes, we could say that the linguistic-logical pragmaticians are usually unwilling to attribute to speakers undesirable motives like self-interest, insecurity, or intent to harm if more altruistic alternatives are still available (that is, if more altruistic alternatives have not already been eliminated), while social-anthropological pragmaticians are more agnostic about human nature, or in some cases quite suspicious about speakers' motives.

In the suspicious camp, Östman provided a useful everyday criterion for determining what counts as pragmatics: he defines pragmatics as *implicitness*, that is, as meaning that is not explicitly on the record and can be denied. Thus, pragmatics should account for the aspects of meaning that are not accounted for by the propositional, truth-functional, or spatial functions of semantics (1989: 31). More succinctly, "An implicit [i.e. pragmatic] choice is one that the speaker in principle can deny that s/he has made" and therefore does not have to take responsibility for (1986: 25). This criterion of deniability is especially important in media studies making use of pragmatics, since the modern mass media operate within tight legal constraints that periodically

require them to defend their choice of words and pictures. Suspicious theories of meaning will be revisited in section 2.4.2.

It is common for pragmatics researchers to identify several dimensions that especially interest them. For example, Sarangi (2004) has characterized pragmatics in terms of *cooperation, relevance* and *politeness*. Verschueren concentrates on the aspects of *variation, negotiability,* and *adapability*, producing a model of a speaker with an array of choices involved in continuous feedback with his environment. Especially valuable is his observation that choices have different degrees of salience in consciousness and purpose: "some are virtually automatic, others highly motivated" (1995: 15). In other words, speakers and writers do not necessarily choose their words carefully – and it is debatable whether carefully chosen or automatically generated words are the greater danger in terms of manipulation and reproduction of social systems.

Östman highlights three different aspects, which he sees as *coherence* (including the effect of culture/society on the speakers, linguistic congruence or incongruence with one's role in the culture, and internal cohesion in discourse), *politeness* (the choice of interactional strategies based on addresser-addressee relations), and *involvement* (the relation between choice of linguistic element and the speaker's inner state, including orientation to the situation in the Goffmanian sense). These aspects could also be seen as corresponding roughly to the textual and ideational aspects (coherence) and two sides of the interpersonal aspect (involvement and politeness) in systemic-functional linguistics (to be discussed further in upcoming sections). In Östman's view pragmatics encompasses both the conventional and crystallized aspects of language, including greetings and etiquette rules, as well as the irregularities and floutings that bring these conventions to light; and what is not conventional, including implicatures, norms that are in flux, and nonconventional ways of expressing politeness. Under the implicitness model of pragmatics, forms are allowed to be polysemous, as when 'you know' implies at the same time that the hearer knows (surface form) and that he does not (implicit meaning). Utterances can seem ambivalent to different recipients, to the same recipient at different times, even to the

same recipient at the same time. Östman's analysis relies on the identification of peaks of pragmatic meaning in words and expressions that, in his term, "anchor" the utterance to the context. The choice of this term is perhaps unfortunate, since the context is not a fixed seabed, but a shifting landscape that is affected by successive utterances.

In addition to Östman's earlier work, the study also draws on the model of *pragmatics, ideology and contacts* suggested in the publications of the Pragmatics, Ideology and Contacts group founded by Östman at the University of Helsinki in 1994 (PIC 1994-2004). My capsule interpretation of the model is as follows: when two language or variety groups come into contact with one another, they each acquire more alternatives for expressing concepts, and in some cases they acquire the concepts themselves. Obvious examples in the political arena include *glasnost* and *perestroika* as well as such basic terms as *nation* and *revolution*. The choice of concepts and alternatives in particular speech situations depends on pragmatic factors such as audience, context, speaker's intent, and the slate of information already known to both parties – or, in the conception of the more weakly characterized model from Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986), the assumptions already manifest. Speakers' choices are also influenced by ideologies, informally defined as systematic (though not necessarily consistent) complexes of beliefs held by speakers, and often shared to some degree with their communities. The output is not necessarily computable in advance, but can often be seen to be motivated in retrospect. The PIC approach to pragmatics is not necessarily unique; it has elements in common with Prince's investigations of semantic/pragmatic borrowing (1997), for example, but it is the local variety that has informed my work.

There is no shortage of provocative concepts. The problem is how to apply them in a principled way to the materials at hand. Most work in pragmatics has focused on spoken language, and used evidence from the surrounding co-text of conversation to evaluate the illocutionary and perlocutionary effects of each utterance, which are seen to be roughly aligned with speaker meaning and utterance understanding. Thomas (1995: 204ff) identifies the following kinds of evidence in pragmatics: perlocutionary effects, explicit commentary by the speaker, explicit

commentary by someone other than the speaker, and subsequent discourse. If we consider press articles, it is rare for the press to provide a meta-text on what it is trying to do with its words, so we can generally discard speaker commentary unless it is possible to find and interview the writers of the articles, or unless the circumstances of production are mentioned in memoirs (and even then, retroactive justifications are not necessarily trustworthy). Third party commentary on the media is sometimes available, in the form of letters to the editor, coverage in other media outlets (it has always been common for newspapers to selectively reproduce and evaluate one another's output), memoirs and histories. But the use of this material introduces problems of coverage and of bias – that is, it is impossible to be sure you have found all of the important commentary and understand its relation to the original, and there may be more important spoken commentary that goes unrecorded.

In a limited way, however, it is possible to discern a pragmatic cycle in stories about national days. The main textual evidence for the pragmatic force of the pre-announcement articles is the subsequent commentary in the newspaper, which also provides the best evidence of the perlocutionary effects. For example, if a celebration is announced, the effect of the announcement may later be evaluated in terms of the number of people who appeared at the celebration, and the degree of their enthusiasm. It can be difficult to read actual events and cause-effect relationships from linguistic features, however. If the evaluation of an annual event becomes more positive or more negative from year to year, we must ask if the revised evaluation is the result solely of an actual change in quality of the spectacle or public participation, or if it is influenced by stylistic changes in journalism, general shifts in national ideology, or a combination of these; just as the effectiveness of a fundraising letter as measured in dollars raised may depend on surrounding circumstances that have nothing to do with the letter itself, such as economic recessions or media coverage of the cause in question. Ceteris are never paribus.

Thus, it needs to be stressed that evidence for pragmatic arguments is difficult to establish for written language, especially for published writing (personal correspondence may be a slightly more tractable case):

most of what is written in the press elicits no direct feedback or follow-up, or at least no investigable traces of the same, though it may be recycled intertextually in subsequent articles (cf. Solin 2001). Nevertheless, it is possible that by looking at public texts as one side of an ongoing dialogue, and by looking at the perlocutionary effects of announcements (from records in the same media as the announcements themselves, unless triangulating data can be found), we may be able to establish pragmatic relationships in some cases. This is the approach of historical pragmatics, and I am skeptical about it because it is not possible to know what is left out or falsified in records; we all recognize distortions even in last week's meeting minutes. Thus I will try to make some pragmatic arguments about the national day materials, but cautiously and provisionally, and with the understanding that we may only have uncovered an expert interpretation that still diverges from the experience of contemporary readers of the materials, however revealing it may be of what goes on in experts' heads many years later.

With this caveat, the pragmatic dimension of politeness is especially applicable to this study, in two ways. The first is the idea that if metaphorically A NATION IS A PERSON then a nation may have face, and manifestations of 'patriotism' may be governed by rules to respect the face of the nation. Brown and Levinson (1987: 61-4) identify both positive face, which is defined as the need to have one's wants considered desirable by others (and can be more intuitively defined as the need to feel like an equal or insider, or to have a positive self-image), and negative face, which can be roughly defined as the need to have freedom of action. They assert that any face threatening act (FTA) may be expressed as a function of power differences, social distance, and the weight of the act or request. This and other models of politeness will be explored in more detail in Chapter VII. The concept of the nation as requiring personal politeness is further supported by existence of instructions in personal etiquette books regarding display of flags, behavior at public ceremonies, and diplomatic modes of address.

The second useful concept from politeness is Goffman's concept of co-presence; that is, in many situations it is necessary to demonstrate, at the very least, orientation to the situation (1981: 84-85), and preferably some

degree of involvement in it. This is relevant because evaluation of sincerity of participation is a recurrent theme in national day coverage. Goffman would probably have been in sympathy with at least some directions of this study since at one point he called for more study of "celebrative occasions," which he called "a fundamental organizational form of our public life," and defined as "a social affair that is looked forward to and back upon as a festivity of some kind whose business at hand, when any is discernible, is not the only reason for participation; rather import is intendedly given to social intercourse among the participants gathered under the auspices of honouring and commemorating something, if only their own social circle" (1981: 168). In other words, these are contexts where Couldry's transcendent values are invoked. He believed that participants see celebrative occasions as involving their total social personalities, and that organizations behave similarly in arranging prestigious trappings such as prominent speakers and impressive settings in order to enhance their own total prestige; the transient occasion was therefore less important than the persistent entities it supports.

To sum up, media discourse will be considered from a pragmatic point of view by attempting to consider the news stories, editorials, and columns as speech acts. Further questions can be posed under Östman's parameters of coherence, politeness, and involvement, not ignoring the dimensions of pragmatics proposed by other scholars:

- Coherence: What partially expressed metaphors and models can be filled in by pre-existing cognitive structures? What is the information structure of a "news" story about things that are maximally predictable or known? What inferences can readers draw from gaps in news stories?

- Politeness: How does the newspaper reproduce social structures on national days, and at what points is that reproduction open for negotiation and adaptation? How can the notions of face and footings be applied to large groups such as the newspaper, its readership and the nation-state?

- Involvement: How is (emotional) involvement in the national celebration signaled in descriptions of audience behavior events, and in the positions of the authors of the texts themselves?

2.3.2   *Cognitive linguistics*

Östman's definition of pragmatics as "the study of language (form and content) in relation to language users as biological and cultural beings" (1986: 16-17) leaves the door open for more cognitive approaches as part of the study of pragmatics. Over the past few decades, considerable progress has been made in relating language to lived experience, in a schematic if not computational way. The tools developed for thinking about this relationship include frames, conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), and prototype theory.

Frames and similar models[22] certainly have something to say to this study. The term frame is used with several different meanings. Frames were defined by Minsky (1975, 1980) as generalized situations where the entities perceived can be assigned to generalized roles; he had visual applications in mind. Goffman (1974: 10-11), drawing on Bateson's notions of play as opposed to serious activity (1955), analyzed frames as definitions of a situation built up in accordance with principles of organization for events and people's subjective involvement in them; in addition to types of abstraction and relation to 'reality,' he was particularly concerned with feedback, transformations, and transition in framing. Most linguistically, Fillmore (1982) defined frames as structured situations in which a particular word triggers into salience not only the rest of the associated lexicon, but also the set of complements that make up the rest of the frame. The most commonly used examples are transactional frames like buying/selling and

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[22] The similar models most frequently cited are *scripts*, defined by Schank and Abelson (1980) as structures that describe appropriate sequences of events in given contexts; and *schemas*, used by Bartlett (1932) to mean abstractions from experience that can be re-used in new situations, and in other senses by many others since.

restaurant meals, and, relevantly for the current study, calendars and timetables. The frame concept further indicates a certain wholeness or gestalt that persists throughout the situation, and it has important consequences in structuring expectations and interpretations (Tannen 1979).

The construction of a national day could be analyzed as the intersection of at least four other frames or schemata: *time (calendar)*, *time (history)*, *nation,* and *celebration.* As noted previously, the particular implementations of all four frame elements,[23] including time (calendar), have been targets of rewriting during times of societal change; Boyarin (1994) points out that statist ideologies "involve a particularly potent manipulation of dimensionalities of space and time, invoking rhetorically fixed national identities to legitimate their monopoly on administrative control." The general calendar frame implies, among other things, that some days are different and marked off; a calendrical system in which all days are exactly alike would be less than a calendar. Finally, the celebration frame relates events in historical and calendrical time; its implications will be explored in detail in Chapter IV.

Although frame analysis has not been much used in mainstream linguistics, verbs have been associated with cognitive frames in Construction Grammar: Goldberg (1995: 27-8) points out that many verbs, such as 'renege,' 'marry,' 'boycott,' and 'riot' require rich frame-semantic knowledge based on real-world experience. A major theoretical goal of this study is the representation of this kind of rich background, and it is important to note that the frames for these kinds of complex verbs are often associated with ideologies, for example 'revolution' invokes a different ideological frame from 'rebellion.'

Conceptual Metaphor Theory is another area with promise for this investigation. As used by G. Lakoff and Johnson (1980), it covers the extension of concrete and human-scale objects and events to more abstract metaphorical uses, for example, using a container model to

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[23] The rewriting of space, in particular the reallocation of land and people to make a more 'legible' field for the state, is discussed in Scott (1998).

structure ideas about a nation. The relation is usually stated in the opposite order: A NATION IS A CONTAINER. Some researchers have seen the prototypical extension of concrete to abstract as a limitation, since many useful metaphors are relations of concrete to concrete (A HOUSE IS A CASTLE) or abstract to concrete (A NATION IS A PERSON), and the concept of 'blending' (Coulson 2000, Coulson and Oakley 2000) has arisen to compete with the extension of supposed conceptual primitives. Further extensions to the theory allow for counterfactual and image-schematic links as well as the prototypical analogical ones; and integration with mental space theory which positions non-real and non-propositional areas of discourse in different spaces (Fauconnier 1997).

Prototype theory is a model of categorization which involves the replacement of strict category sorting with a prototype-extension model of structure. In some cases, it is possible to distinguish a center for a class of instances, in the form of a best or most typical or especially frequent example; this is especially useful when the edges of the set are fuzzy, with members that are marginal because they share a partial set of characteristics or have characteristics that are themselves members of fuzzy sets. In other cases, there is no single center, nor any minimal set of characteristics that, however fuzzy their individual definition, can be argued to all be present in some form for members of the set. Prototype theory been applied mostly to meanings of individual words (for example in G. Lakoff 1987) and to perceptual categories like color, but there is scope for application to more complicated concepts and larger discourse elements as well. For example, in the first part of this chapter it was asserted that the prototypical national day would probably be an independence day or constitution day that was a day off from work. The news stories that form the data for this study can be thought of in terms of prototypical stories and peripheral stories, both in terms of their typicality and of the extent to which the national day is the central topic, and the peripheral stories, if they are perceived as unusual, may even have a greater impact on readers.

Having briefly surveyed some of the linguistic concepts that will be used to deal with the material, including coherence, politeness, involvement, frames and metaphors, we will now turn to the social scientific and

discourse analytic study of media texts in particular.

2.4   Approaches to studying news texts

2.4.1   Cultural studies and the media

The field of cultural studies in English emerged from work by British
literary scholars and social scientists concerned with inequities of class
and race in post-war Britain; the Center for Contemporary Cultural
Studies at the University of Birmingham, under the direction of Richard
Hoggart and later Stuart Hall, was particularly influential. It is
important to realize that the mainstream of cultural studies is a basically
'critical' social approach, and like other 'critical' social approaches –
including critical legal theory, critical linguistics, critical discourse
analysis, and so-called critical theory itself – its fundamental intellectual
positions are drawn from Marx and the Frankfurt school. From Marx
come the starting point of class inequality based on ownership of
existing capital and means of production, and the emphasis on
ideologies; from the Frankfurt School comes the idea of culture as not
merely an ephemeral superstructure but as a substantial site of
inequality and contestation. The vision of culture as a system imposed
by a culture-producing class on a culture-consuming class follows from
this. These ideas have been revised and adapted over the intervening
decades, and the resulting foundation for media cultural studies is
outlined below. Many of the elements have been abstracted from
Kellner (1995), who practices a more entertainment-oriented,
deconstruction-influenced American form of cultural studies, but they
appear to be held in common or at least recognized as points for debate
by most other cultural studies specialists as well.

First, it is taken for granted that media culture, and specifically the
culture of mass media which are produced using teams and technologies
for a wide audience, is the dominant form and site of culture in
contemporary societies. Media are not just a description or reflection of
society, but form a public space of their own; the degree of public
involvement in forming that space is open to question. The Frankfurt

School distinction between 'high' culture (valorized as requiring active involvement in its consumption, and possibly transformative of social relations) and 'low' culture (devalued as passivizing and consent-inducing) has been loosened in recent theorizing; it is now frequently assumed that media are not rigidly stratified between boutique and mass markets, and individuals select products in consumer fashion from the array presented. Even though a media product may be targeted at a certain demographic group, it may be widely consumed outside this target group, particularly if the cost of access is low.

Second, cultural studies assumes that culture and communication are interdependent and can be treated as an object/event duality. Culture, including media culture, is not purely a social construction but begins from a material basis, however much this may be concealed or distorted in the discourse about it. As Yaganisaki and Delaney point out (1992: 19), the "bits and pieces" celebrated by postmodern theorists

> come not just with histories of embedded meanings which do not allow for the free play of signification; most of them also come through institutional structures which do not allow individuals to freely reinterpret them. Catholicism, for example, is not just what individual people say it is. There is a pope, an institutional apparatus, and structures of power quite removed from what any individual thinks.

It is therefore necessary to analyze the material bases, technologies, and artifacts of culture, and the practices for interacting with cultural artifacts, along with their 'content.'

Third, media can be seen as a vehicle for ideologies that help them accomplish their hegemonic purpose: domination not by force, but by consent or lack of imagination to see alternative possibilities. A key hegemonic function of media is to naturalize certain signs and values, or in the words of Eagleton, "convert culture into Nature" so that "saluting a flag, or agreeing that Western democracy represents the true meaning of the word 'freedom,' become the most obvious, spontaneous responses in the world" (1996: 117).

Cultural studies has made an important contribution to studies of media by supplying it with the beginnings of a theory of reception. Hall (1980) suggested three possible positions for the reader of a text, for which he coined the terms *dominant, negotiated* and *oppositional readings*. Readers who produce a dominant reading are following the path laid down for them by the authors (also called the *preferred reading,* see Selby and Cowdery 1995: 150) and arriving at the hegemonic conclusion with the sense that it is natural. Readers who produce a negotiated reading accept the general outlines of the preferred reading, but disagree with some parts of it based on their own positions. Readers who produce an oppositional or *resistant reading* understand the preferred reading, but deliberately reject it. Readings are said to be encoded by authors and decoded by readers; that is, the meaning does not lie on the surface but must be arrived at through an inferential process that may follow different paths and arrive at different conclusions. This model nevertheless assumes that texts have single dominant intended meanings, and implies as its default that authors and readers inhabit the same context. Further, the coding metaphor implies that texts are syntagmatically and paradigmatically assembled from separate elements that can be reassembled differently from the way the original writer intended, or may remain cryptic.

The hegemonic values or effects of media can be resisted, but resistance is not generally considered to be the norm, except by Popular Culture theorists such as Fiske (1989) and Jenkins (1992) who equate consumption of mass media products with genuine folk culture and focus on appropriative uses of texts (Kellner 1995: 33-35). The most common point of view in media cultural studies seems to be that creative decoding in the form of appropriation and recontextualization of images from media culture is frequent, but should not be mistaken for truly resistant readings. For purposes of this study, I will consider the question of determinism to be open; the assumption in many analyses of media that readers or viewers are sheep who believe everything they see and need professors to apply critical thinking for them is clearly elitist and out of touch with ordinary consumers' reading and viewing habits; but on the other hand it would be foolish not to admit the general predisposition to trust most factual details, particularly innocuous ones,

because it is simply too uncomfortable to live in a world where one cannot trust accepted sources of ordinary facts. Even when people disagree with the ideological direction or implied conclusion of a news story, there is a tendency to trust the 'factual' details except occasionally when the news outlet is known to have recently broken the public trust in its reporting (and often it is trusted even then). Obviously we know there are worlds in which citizens cannot trust any information presented as reported facts, but most of us, I think, would like to be able to rely on the news and other factual media – and media organizations certainly exploit that wish.

Cultural studies is thus intimately concerned with issues of determinism and free will, usually with pessimistic results for the individual cultural consumer. Nevertheless, the public is occasionally credited with some degree of discrimination. Much work in cultural studies makes the point that media consumption is a locus of pleasure, and treats the aesthetics as well as the political purposes of media. Even at the political level, things are not all bleak: Kellner (1995: 108ff) holds that all ideologies are by their nature reactionary in the literal sense of trying to redress the faults of past ideologies, and even the most reactionary (in the political sense) ideologies have some genuinely progressive elements – typically, modernistic visions of a controllable, pleasurable life – which make them attractive to their supporters. Overall, however, cultural studies is undeniably motivated by discomfort with current power structures (or, in some cases, any power structures) and a wish to challenge them. It shares with other critical perspectives "the values of resistance, empowerment, democracy and freedom … to criticize forms of oppression and domination … [and generally take] the side of progressive forces struggling against domination."[24] (Kellner 1995: 94, 100)

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[24] The valorizing of resistance can be problematic. Critical perspectives generally support the underdog, but not all underdogs are 'progressive' and not all critically motivated analysts would support, for example, repression within organizations of oppressed peoples, or terrorist acts by the oppressed; see the correspondence between Chilton and Kuzar on CRITICS-L (archived at Linguist List) in September 2001.

2.4.2   *Discourse analysis and the media*

The ideological landscape outlined above will sound familiar to linguists since it is substantially the same as the mandate of Critical Discourse Analysis, especially the well-known framework drawn up by Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995, and see also Wodak 1995). As noted, all of the critically oriented social sciences that have emerged in the last several decades share a common set of assumptions rooted in Marxist and neo-Marxist thought, with influences from more contemporary social philosophers such as Foucault and Bourdieu; no conservative competitor to CDA has emerged although some media discourse analysts do minimize the role of politics and power relations in their explanations, and distance themselves from the label of CDA.

The main differences between CDA and cultural studies lie in how they relate the text to the 'culture,' and this can be demonstrated with their graphical models. The style of analysis advocated by Fairclough is terraced in three levels: the text, the production practices associated with it, and the surrounding social practices:

Figure 2-1: Fairclough's nested diagram (cf. 1992: 73)

text

discursive practice
(production, distribution, consumption)

social practice
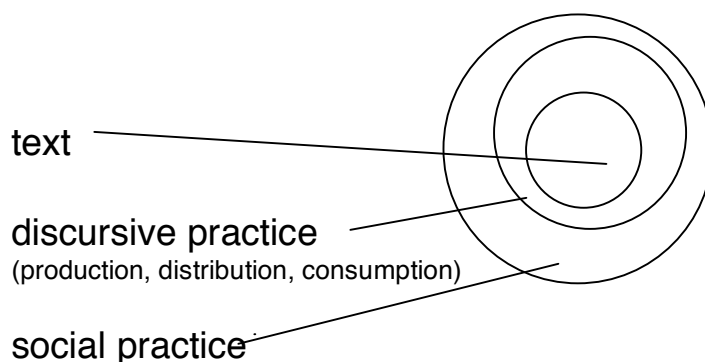
The textual part of the analysis is usually grounded in systemic-

functional linguistics,[25] whose main innovation is its multidimensional approach that examines language from the perspective of three 'metafunctions' (Halliday 1994): the *experiential* aspects of language (roughly, those that model the world through propositions and reference), the *interpersonal* aspects, and the *textual* aspects (roughly, those concerned with textual and generic aspects) as separate but interacting systems orthogonal to the kind of phonetic, syntactic and semantic systems traditionally studied by linguists (which are themselves recategorized into phonetics and the vast blur of lexicogrammar).

The systemic-functional analysis of genre leads to study of the production and consumption practices surrounding the textual object (the middle ring in the diagram), and this leads to some mention of the generally ambient social practices (the outer ring) – though the analysis of these frequently, and perhaps necessarily, has to be referred to sociologists and others outside linguistics. In its simplest form, this nested structure effectively separates texts from cultures and makes it difficult to see how texts can affect other texts (although this gap is beginning to be filled in, see for example Solin 2001 on intertextuality). Most of the analysts working within the CDA framework have concentrated their analysis of discursive practices on production and distribution. Any extra insight into the text tends to come from other texts, or, rarely, from interviews with text producers (as Solin has also done). Thus in practice CDA privileges producers and leaves recipients (in all their diversity) on the sidelines.

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[25] Systemic-functional linguistics is also widely known as systemic linguistics, functional linguistics, and systemic-functional grammar. These names highlight different aspects of the framework and different priorities within it (for example, analysts who work with larger discourse structures are more apt to invoke linguistics instead of grammar) but are often used interchangeably.

The alternative view from cultural studies can be seen in the 'cultural diamond' diagram devised by Griswold (1994) which allots a separate space to recipients of the text or other cultural object:

Figure 2-2: Griswold's cultural diamond (1994: 15)

social world

creator   receivers

cultural object
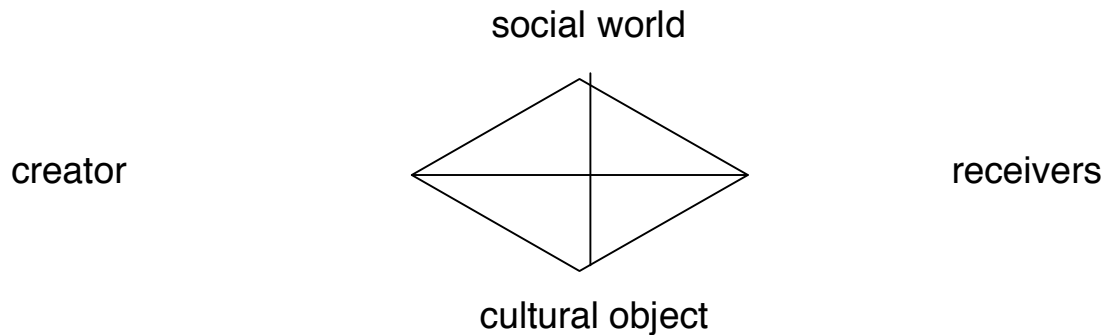
The four nodes can also be seen to match the preoccupations of the different philosophical and sociological schools influencing cultural studies: Marxism and cultural history emphasize the social world, the Frankfurt School emphasizes production, Popular Culture studies emphasizes reception of cultural objects, and linguistic approaches to text analysis emphasize the textual object itself. Still other nodes can be added; for example a node for other cultural objects similar to the one being examined. Cultural diamonds can be chained (for example by making the cultural object node of one diamond part of the social world of another), and arrows can be drawn on the diamond to indicate directions of influence, making clear underlying assumptions of effect and responsibility. The main point is that the responses of actual readers and the complexity of actual audiences are more of a preoccupation for cultural studies than for CDA, which has difficulty producing more than one reading of a text at a time.

A second and much noted shortcoming of CDA is that in the absence of authentic, situated readings by media consumers, it necessarily privileges the CDA analyst's intuition. Though Fairclough says that ideologies cannot be "read off" from the linguistic features of texts, and although in principle he is open to the polysemy of texts, most CDA analyses published so far consist of a single reading of each text, based

on a small number of linguistic features preselected for their likelihood of supporting the linguist's intuition. The practical limitations of the method have been noted by many internal and external critics of CDA, such as Widdowson (1995), Toolan (1997), Solin (1995, 1997). Stubbs puts the dilemma this way (1997: 104):

> CDA warns us that there are no brute facts and no disinterested texts, and emphasizes the force of history and of one's point of view. But if there are no disinterested texts, it follows that CDA is not itself immune to these points, and that its own interpretations also embody interests. The fact that this is noted from time to time by practitioners does not get CDA out of this particular Catch 22.

The linguist's intuition is further claimed to be capable of illuminating manipulations that are hidden to the average speaker; that is the justification for the scholarly enterprise. While it is not clear that media consumers read texts in the same way as practitioners of professional CDA do, neither is it clear that they read them differently; as Cameron observed, "If Orwell himself can cut through the verbiage of 'elimination of undesirable elements' and explain to us that what it really means is 'imprisoning or murdering your political opponents,' why should other people be unable to do the same?" (1995: 71) The usual response when this is pointed out is that CDA still has a job to do in finding out *how* these messages work – but it is not clear exactly what this contribution is.

A third and easily remedied shortcoming of CDA and other work in political linguistics is that much of the early work concentrated on fairly easy targets, such as racist discourse, Cold War discourse, Third Way and New World Order discourse, in which there are clear conflicts within which positions can be assigned based on fairly obvious traces. Less attention has so far been paid to forms of political language that seem apparently simply benevolent, innocuous or empty, such as those associated with national days. These and other problems with CDA have driven many linguists who share the aims and priorities of the approach to distance themselves from its label while still making use of the concepts and techniques they find sensible.

At their best, works of cultural studies like Hoggart (1957) and Hall (1980) and the media cultural studies they have inspired provide a useful stimulant to linguists in the way they explicitly credit most texts with the ability to support a range of readings and credit many readers with the ability to produce sophisticated and resistant readings on occasion – although not necessarily to the degree that those who focus on reader resistance would claim. As Kellner notes, "Any critic's specific reading is only their own reading and may or may not be the reading preferred by audiences (which themselves will be significantly different according to class, race, gender, region, ethnicity, sexual preferences, ideologies and so on)" (1995: 100). The range of actual readings is always more complex than simply 'acquiescent and resistant,' or 'reactionary and progressive,' or 'dominant, negotiated, and oppositional'; and the analyst is necessarily limited in the production of this range by his or her own background. Lemke (1995) has written extensively on the fallacy of universalism and the impossibility of accounting for all readings, something that can easily be tested by noting how the range of critiques of any political speech or world event on the Internet seems unpredictable, even among one's demographic peers. At the same time, it seems unlikely that the range of reaction to a text is unlimited; clustering would be expected here as with most other social and mental phenomena.

Media cultural studies provides an academic, theorized critique of media. But there are other critiques taking place at different levels within the commercial publishing industry, as journalists practice the homeostasis of their profession. The workings of the various organization-internal and profession-internal journalistic review panels are generally not accessible to outsiders apart from exceptional cases such as the recent housecleaning at the *New York Times*,[26] but it is clear

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[26] After a young reporter, Jayson Blair, was found to have fabricated and plagiarized details of stories over a period of years, the *Times* published a series of articles about its internal investigations and resulting actions, beginning on May 11, 2003. The newspaper also asked readers to assist editors in detecting further fabrications. A similar investigation of stories fabricated by the high-ranking reporter Jack Kelley took place at *USA Today* in early 2004 and was made public beginning with the newspaper's issue of January 14, 2004.

that the internal review panels might be profitably brought into dialogue with linguistic research on the media. In addition to these closed reviews, both journalists and outside observers produce a certain amount of critical comment on past stories for the general public, in the form of memoirs, ombudsman's columns, talk show appearances and so on; this metapragmatic commentary often serves primarily to settle scores and build the face of journalism as a responsible and self-regulating profession, but it sometimes helps researchers triangulate their findings as well (see ben-Aaron 2001 for further discussion).

Independent press criticism is a discipline older than it is generally given credit for. In the United States, almost as soon as the first mass media emerged in the 1830s with the "penny press" newspapers, denunciations of the powerful new organ of public opinion began. The novelist James Fenimore Cooper, who made a hobby of bringing libel suits against newspapers (sixteen in total), wrote in 1838 that "The entire nation breathes an atmosphere of falsehoods … The country cannot much longer exist in safety under the malign influence that now overshadows it … [The press] as a whole owes its influence to the schemes of interested political adventurers." (Mott 1950: 308). Almost 160 years later, Pierre Bourdieu declared in a public lecture that "television poses a serious danger for all the various areas of cultural production … [and] no less of a threat to political life and to democracy itself." (1998: 10) From Cooper to Bourdieu, the accusing tone has not changed though the theory has become more sophisticated, and this kind of criticism, as well, should be considered in accounts of journalistic motivation and of the relations between journalistsand audiences.

When we move from theories of reception to theories of production, the problem is equally complex. Hall (1997: 24-25) identifies three theories of representation: *reflective*, in which meaning is said to lie outside language, which merely reflects it; *intentional*, in which the author is thought to be the sole or unique source of meanings in language, and *constructionist*, in which social actors use the conceptual systems of their culture, including language, to make meaning and communicate meaningfully. Whether amateur, professional or academic, press critics generally frame their observations, at least implicitly, within one of

several basic models corresponding to one of these theories (see also Griswold 1994 and Scannell 1998).

The first theory is that *the media reflect society*. This view, sometimes called 'mirror theory,' is problematic both because it denies the power of the media and because in contemporary life there is no society prior to media; everyone grows up in a media-saturated world. Though mirror theory is no longer taken seriously by most researchers, it still has a great deal of force as folk wisdom and in normative discussions of media values. The argument that the mass media *should* reflect society is often made in the context of efforts to make the demographics of newsrooms reflect the demographics of the society around them, and in 'public journalism' and 'citizen journalism' campaigns that attempt to involve the audience in news production and adjust the news to their priorities (Merritt 1995, Rosen 2001).

The second theory is that *the media influence society*. This position may be stated in a weak form like Cooper's "malign influence" or in a more narrowly deterministic, behavioristic form: Media products form a clear stimulus that produces the response in the public which the authors predicted. Kellner, for example, argues that much of media culture is designed as "carefully constructed ideological machines that celebrate and reproduce hegemonic political positions and attitudes" (1995: 80). Such a determinedly intentional view is resisted by most people who have actually worked in media organizations. Journalists typically experience the companies that employ them as chaotic places where responsibility is diffused and managers govern according to their personal whims. In addition to catering to a stream of idiosyncratic bosses, individual knowledge workers must be responsive to outside stakeholders including the public, the advertisers, and the government, rather than imposing their own view of things.

Furthermore, many media products are noticeably polysemic and open-ended, allowing a variety of readings, as we will show in the upcoming chapters. This polysemy could however be seen as a way of exacting hegemony through plurality – in the words of Horkheimer and Adorno (1944: 123), "something for everyone, so that no one can escape."

Modern versions of the influence theory have tended toward a softer, social constructivist view: namely, the idea that with the collusion of its stakeholders and audiences the media produces and reproduces a vision of society that has a dominating-hegemonic effect. Along the same lines, Carey (1992, 1998) proposed a "transmission model" in which the media are conceived as transferring information to society – including information people already have.

The third and most moderate theory is *that the media are simply another part of society*. This constructionist position is similar to the view that debates about "the relationship between language and society" are counterproductively dualistic, for language is part of society and helps construct it (Joseph and Taylor 1990, Cameron 1990). It advocates an integrated model in which feedback flows both ways, avoiding the danger of hypothesizing crude scenarios of domination. For example, Tuchman (1978: 215) argues that centralization in society and centralization in the media feed on each other, creating a network of agreed-on truths which she refers to as the "web of facticity," and limiting alternative paths. She concludes that "news is a social resource whose construction limits understanding of contemporary life," but does not treat it as a separate and uniquely powerful phenomenon. Her analysis is notable for its focus on interlocking organizations and its characterization of journalists as "gatekeepers" between story sources (public relations specialists and others who are the sources of facts in stories and who often initiate the news by contacting the journalists) and the public.

While the gatekeeper image accurately depicts the journalist's sense of being caught between several unpleasant constituencies (sources, editors, and readers, and sometimes the government), viewing newsmakers only as intermediary institutions can seem to absolve journalists of responsibility for their acts. Some theorists also postulate gatekeepers on the side of media consumers, as with Katz and Lazarsfeld's (1955) idea of society as a dense network of small groups that could individually choose to resist elite domination and media control. A prominent example from cultural studies is Radway's (1984) ethnographic study of opinion leaders among romance readers. The

reader-gatekeeper model is finally becoming relevant to news as the most powerful webloggers and other Internet community leaders recycle and critique reports of current events for millions of readers who will never consult the original news outlet.

The fourth theory – *media encodes, society decodes* (Hall 1980) – is perhaps the most popular with linguists for its obvious resemblance to the transmission model of language. In this combination of intentional and constructionist theory, the media packages its view of the world according to an external elite and/or according to its professional preferences. But because the text is open, not determinate, the recipients may decode it in different ways, and mismatches may occur between the reading preferred by the authors and that (or those) preferred by readers. This model is attractive for considering national newspaper texts aimed at a maximally diverse audience, because it allows for different reader positions with different values and competences, rather than a generalized reader. It should not prevent us, however, from being able to say that some texts are construed more narrowly than others. Both Allan (1998) and Richardson (1998) found support for an encoding/decoding model in their work with real audiences, and although this study does not include any formal audience studies, every effort will be made to propose alternative interpretations of texts.

A combination of the gatekeeping and encoding/decoding view is evident in Bird and Dardenne's (1988) theory that newsmakers both inherit systems of categories and myths from the culture at large, and create new ones through their storytelling. The idea of the media as a species of tribal storyteller is also evident in Carey's ritual model (1992, 1998, counterposed to his transmission model mentioned above, see also Fiske and Hartley 1985 on the "bardic role" of television), in which the media are conceived as loci of community identity, rather like Anderson's conception of nations as imagined communities. Here the interpersonal and identity-forming features matter more than the transmission of any particular message. This view obviously has considerable relevance for the current study, particularly since once a text is categorized as a myth, it is generally acknowledged to be open to reframing and reinterpretation.

Thus the media can be seen as passively reflecting society, actively influencing it, being integrated with other elites in such a way that it has no privileged position with respect to them, or attempting to influence society with mixed results; the last view seems to account best for the complexities of the study at hand. Scannell (1998) divides theories of media into *suspicious theories*, which focus on produced texts and try to illuminate the ideologies behind them, assuming that surface structures proceed from some kind of analyzable subconscious; and *trusting theories*, which focus on how texts work for recipients and what meanings they make of them. Any of the models above can be either suspicious or trusting depending on the researcher's view of the media and society. At each level of this study we must choose whether to be suspicious or trusting; or, to put it more precisely, we must decide how suspicious to be about nationalism, about the media, and about language and its users.

The interaction of news genres and roles in society must also be taken into account here, in particular Foucault's observations on the "orders of discourse" (1971) – that 'truth' in a given society depends on who speaks it, when, and what it is, and many expressions are taboo or excluded in any particular circumstances – and Bourdieu's observation that language works not just through words but through the belief in the legitimacy of those who utter them and the system through which they utter them (1991: 170). This is particularly true of the media, where the boundary between ratified speakers and those who only listen is particularly well maintained (Fairclough 1992: 110, Couldry 2003: 63, 69-70).

There is a growing body of work that applies the broad range of concepts we have described since the beginning of this section to analyzing the media representation of public rituals, beginning with the pioneering work of the television researchers Dayan and Katz (1985, 1992), who studied "media events" such as elections, Olympic games and other contests in sports and politics; and celebrity rites of passage such as royal weddings (see also Lauerbach 1999 and 2000 on election night coverage). Such events are always broadcast and often pre-empt other broadcasts; they are "monopoly communications that function as

collective rites of communion," and can help integrate society, affirm its common values, legitimate its institutions, and reconcile different sectional elements. Dayan and Katz believe that these monopoly communications are not totalitarian because broadcast outlets could refuse the broadcasts (at least if they are independent of the government) or report them critically, and the public is also free not to watch them. Nevertheless, many and sometimes most viewers in a community do watch these events in order to be able to discuss them with others, even if the primary form of these discussions is critique, as it so often is with the increasingly self-referential awards ceremonies in the media arts. People participate in media rituals to connect with and reproduce their community, and this interpersonal function provides another important hegemonic function for the media besides the mere reproduction or encoding of a world view or views (Liebes and Curran 1998: 4ff).

So far this chapter has surveyed a number of text-external theoretical frameworks relevant to the study, including nationalism (and the particular foci of invented traditions and social memory), ritual studies, cultural studies, and media studies, and I have also identified the ideas I would like to apply from pragmatics and cognitive linguistics. The next sections deal with ways of studying print news texts in particular.

2.4.3   News texts viewed by writers and readers

Newspaper stories have been studied extensively in some ways and only superficially in others. The prototypical news story is well known to have a number of generic characteristics that distinguish it from other genres. The most striking structural differences are that news stories are built out of short paragraphs of typically one or two sentences, and that these paragraphs are not organized chronologically; and in fact considerable violence is done to natural chronology in writing the news story (Green 1979, 1997; Bell 1998). Any long series of sentences that does follow strict chronology tends to be isolated in sidebars or embedded in the middle to latter part of the story.[27]

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[27] There are exceptions to this aversion to chronology, such as the standard *New York*

Though news texts are disjunctive, they are not incoherent. The paragraphs are cohesively linked, mainly through reference and synonymy since ellipsis is difficult to use across paragraph boundaries and makes texts harder to read when using the skimming action favored by news readers. The newswriting taboo against noticeable verbatim repetition strengthens the impulse to use these devices. It has been claimed on the basis of a small corpus of hard news stories that cohesion mainly affects the relationship of each paragraph with the headline and lead[28], and links between adjacent paragraphs of a news story are less frequent (White 1998: 204, Toolan 2001: 207). Such links are not absent, however, as we will see later on.

In addition to cohesion devices, coherence aids such as references to common knowledge and conventional cognitive patterns (for example large to small, whole to parts, cause to effect, top to bottom, left to right) are used to bind the text into some sort of whole. As in other narrative texts, coherence effects are aided by a strong presumption of relevance; writers are discouraged from including details classed as extraneous by their norms, their sources, or their editors. The concept of relevance is intimately entwined with the system of news values, which we will examine in Chapter VIII, but for now we can simply say that all information in the story is supposed to be clearly relatable to the summary in the headline and the lead. These constraints do not mean that one cannot find stories with apparently extraneous facts or sentences, or stories where the same wording is repeated. It simply

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Times obituary, which consists of a one or two-paragraph lead about the circumstances of death and the significance of the deceased, followed by a long chronological biography and concluding with some reminiscences and a listing of survivors and burial arrangements. The "tick-tock," or minute-by-minute event chronology, is another exception, and again usually forms only part of a news story or news package.

[28] Journalists refer to the first sentence or two of a story as the "lead" with the traditional alternate spelling of "lede" to distinguish it from the use of "lead" in reference to the material of old-fashioned hot type (and the surviving term "leading" for interlinear spacing).

means that journalists strive to avoid these faults, and with modern technology and layered editing, they are usually able to.

Instead of a chronological structure, a news story has a different structure whose exact components vary with the particular subgenre of news and the authoring outlet. Early work by van Dijk on international political news stories (1988a, 1988b), elaborated by Bell (1991) identified a structure like the following:

Figure 2-3: Model for news stories (after Bell 1991: 171)
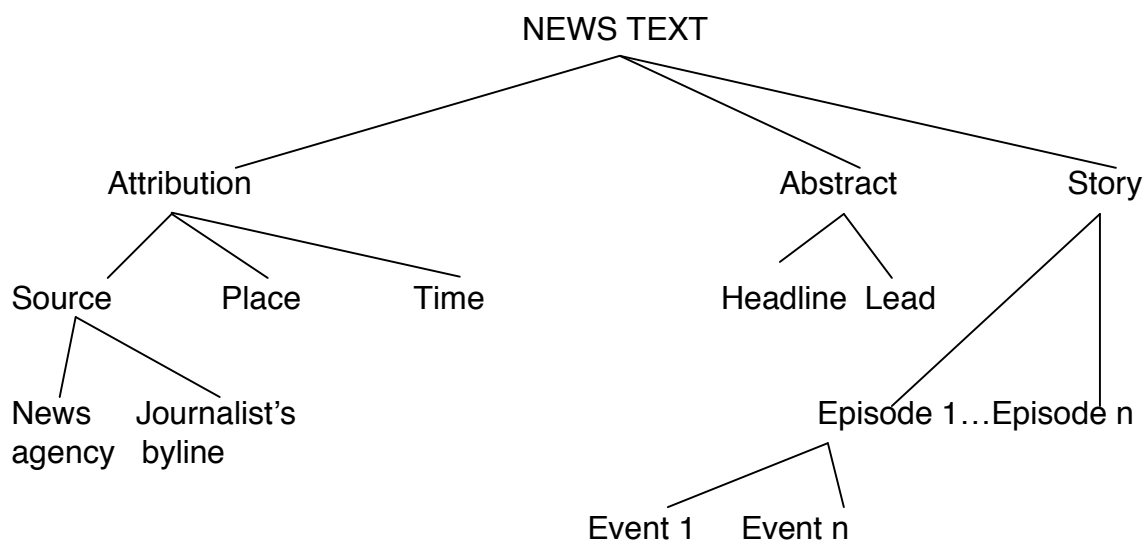
Figure 2-4: Structure within each event (after Bell 191: 171)
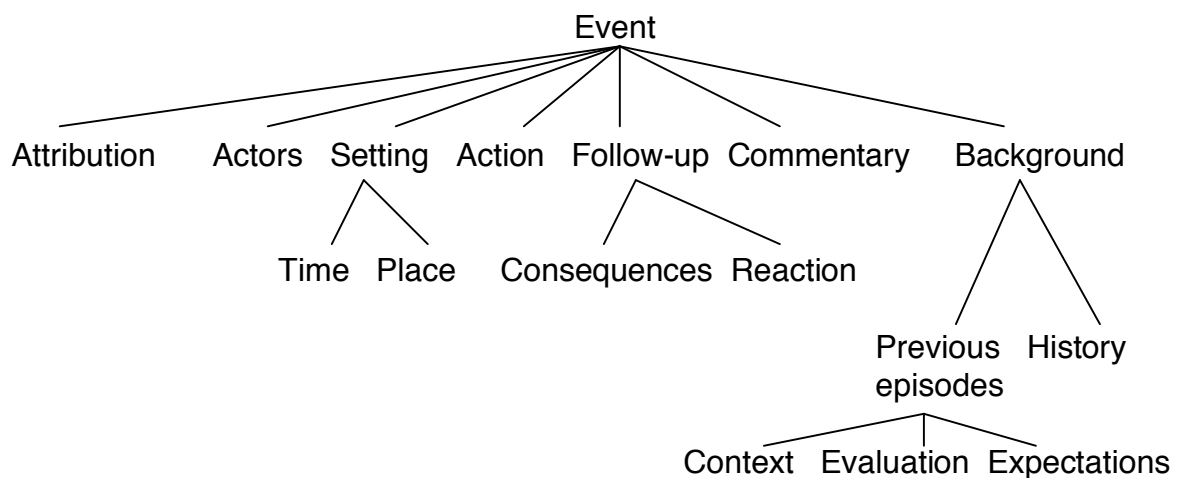
In the overall structure diagram (Figure 2-3), the abstract and attribution appear before the story; however, in the event-structure diagram (Figure 2-4) the elements can be rather freely rearranged. The key elements are the headline and the lead, which together are sometimes called the 'nucleus' of the story. The locations and boundaries of other categories identified by van Dijk are more fluid, although the categories themselves do map reasonably well to journalists' mental checklists of aspects to cover in reporting and writing (see particularly Blundell's feature story model referenced below). As noted, work by White has shown that these other elements are better connected to this nucleus through reference and synonymy than they are to each other, producing a structure he calls "nucleus and satellite." White showed that for the hard news stories in his small corpus, paragraphs after the headline and lead could be reshuffled with a certain amount of rewriting, producing several possible versions of any story; which one actually gets written depends on the intersection of the news organization's preferred story patterns (about which see more below) and the momentary mental states of the various journalists and editors who work on the story.

Van Dijk's tree-structure model of news stories has been compared with Labov and Waletzky's (1967) model for a grammar of spoken narration, which has elements of abstract, orientation, complicating actions, resolution (climax), coda and evaluation (Bell 1991, Toolan 2001). The abstract is the headline and lead, which provide a capsule of the action. The orientation is any background material that appears near the top of the story, such as time and place (this may rely on graphical elements such as the dateline and the newspaper's logo or "flag." The complicating actions are, as noted, chronologically scrambled or redistributed to satisfy other concerns, notably the news values we will be discussing at length later. The climax of the story typically occurs in the lead, although occasionally a particularly telling quotation or fact buried near the end of the story gives a better feeling of story arc or climax (much as some literary stories begin from a climactic event and proceed to a subtle 'how-done-it rather than whodunit' type of resolution). The coda of the news story resides in any paragraphs about what will happen next. Evaluation of the events may be present both in explicit comments attributed to news actors, and implicitly throughout

the story in the linguistic choices made by the journalist and the editors who set up the headline, photos, and layout. In news stories (as opposed to analysis, columns, or editorials), the journalist usually does not offer any explicit evaluation in the institutional voice (White 1998: 119ff). Evaluation will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

If we look at journalists' own perceptions of the moves in a typical story, the procedure is something like this.[29] Both the writing and the reading are assumed to move linearly from beginning to end. The writing is supposed to start with the lead, which is often metaphorized as the point of departure for a journey, or as an entry point that must draw readers into the story (conceived as a container or a maze). In fact, the headline and any accompanying photo will probably have more of a drawing-in effect on the reader, but these are usually arranged by an editor later, so from the journalist's point of view the lead is the main opportunity to attract readers – and, more importantly at this stage, to convince the editors that the story is worth running and the journalist is worth keeping on staff. The lead may be a simple summary of the story, or it may be a quote or anecdote that illuminates the main line of the story. When news stories were written by hand or on typewriters, there was more pressure to settle on the lead first to ensure a clean copy and, in the case of breaking stories, to facilitate layout and typesetting as the story was being written, but in the less sequential environment of modern word processing, journalists can delay committing to a lead until later in the writing process. The technique of writing the parts of the story out of sequence is generally more applicable to background stories and features[30], because these stories have longer deadlines and because they

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[29] In this section I am relying on my own training as a journalist on student newspapers, at *InformationWEEK* magazine, and the Columbia School of Journalism, more than on written sources. However, statements of the principles described can be found in standard American journalistic handbooks such as Mencher (1991) and Cappon (1991). A brief sketch of my view of these approaches can be found in Östman (1999) which integrates them into a theory of discourse patterns.

[30] From his research on foreign correspondents, Hannerz (2004: 31) formulated a definition of hard news as "major, unique events, temporally highly specified, with consequences that insist on the attention of newspeople and their audiences." The

fall outside the classifications for standard hard news stories with formulaic story lines (such as fire and disaster stories, crime stories, stock market rise/fall stories, meeting reports, weather reports, sports game reports).

Most of the linguistic work on print news, such as Bell (1984) and van Dijk (1989a, 1989b) has concentrated on "hard news" or immediate event stories, especially party politics, parliamentary politics, and crime – essentially taking the system of news values unchanged from the media producers themselves. When on the other hand researchers study news adjuncts such as entertainment-oriented talk shows, children's programming, women's pages and advertising, these are uncritically categorized as "soft" before the experiment is begun, and tend to lead the investigation in the direction of gender studies and cultural studies, rather than, say politics or narratology. Linguists have by and large ignored the sort of newspaper stories described by journalists as "soft news," "features," "human interest," and "trends" stories, although these stories, which make greater use of literary devices such as foreshadowing and suggestive characterization, may be more memorable and have a greater influence on the public mind than the political news on the front page (for a fuller discussion of the distinction, see Bird and Dardenne 1988).

Most stories about national days fulfill the minimal criterion for hard news in that they must be run within a certain window to seem coherent, but they may be soft news in other senses; that is, they may be runnable slightly earlier or later, and they could run at the same day or week the next year without cognitive dissonance (though probably not ten years

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opposition between hard and soft news is often based on time dependence: hard news is tied to a specific news cycle and must run immediately, soft news is not as immediate (Bell 1991: 14) and has fewer consequences for future coverage if it does not run. I will be using the term "soft news" to refer to stories which are somewhat dependent on daily developments but are not must-runs for the newspaper (for example, human-interest stories about unusual local occurrences, and stories on minor aspects of necessary daily news). The term "feature" here refers to longer, magazine-style stories that are not dependent on daily developments.

later, because of changes in news genres and society); they may contain more diverting turns of phrase than usable facts; they may be written in a chronological or literary rather than inverted-pyramid style, and so on. I am arguing against the tacit assumption, expressed in the majority of media studies which are devoted to reports of national and international political conflicts, that the kind of news that is most influential and worth the effort of study is hard news (if we accept that distinction), "bad news," overtly political news, front-page news. This assumption borrows the value system of the media itself, unquestioningly. In fact, "good news," feature news, and human interest stories may even be more influential than political news if they are more widely read, and their influence may be subtler because they are so apparently innocuous and trivial. Thus non-time dependent soft news and magazine-style feature stories will receive full consideration here, and there will even be some use of editorials and opinion columns – though these require a different kind of analysis because they are not presented under the cloak of 'objectivity.'

The rest of the story normally proceeds according to one of several patterns. In the so-called inverted pyramid structure, the story proceeds from the most important to the least important information, with importance determined according to the organization's and the community's complex news values. These may include severity of the event, negativity, recency, geographic proximity to the community, eliteness, and other factors; they will be discussed in more detail in Chapter VIII. The story canonically progresses from the general (in the sense of the facts important to the largest number of people) to the specific (Bell 1991: 168-9). According to conventional wisdom, the inverted pyramid style developed in the era of telegraphic communication when transmissions from field reporters to the home office, or between news organizations, were commonly interrupted in the middle. By prioritizing the material in the story, journalists could ensure that the most important facts made the paper. Today communications from the field are much more reliable, but the inverted pyramid is still frequently used, especially for shorter, less important stories that are written from press releases, and for information boxes. It is also used extensively for lead stories about accidents and other bad

news where a more artful treatment might seem tasteless or trivializing, and for breaking news where there is not enough time for subtler organization. It is no longer considered the best style for complex news analyses and features in major dailies, and stories written in this style rarely win industry awards for writing, although they may be lauded for quality of reporting.

Experienced journalists also teach their apprentices some specific "recipes" for common types of stories about conflicts or debatable trends.[31] One of these is sometimes known as *Washington Post* five-paragraph story structure:

- anecdotal lead
- "nut graph" that sums up the story in the manner of a summary lead
- one participant's side
- the other participant's side
- predictions for the future.

Once the five-paragraph outline is in place, the story can be expanded. Note that this formula constructs every development as having two and only two possible sides, a common simplification in journalism as elsewhere. Of course longer stories commonly do quote more than two sides – but rarely just one. Modern American news style prizes attempts to integrate all points of view in one story under the rubrics of 'objectivity,' 'fairness,' and 'balance,' and longer news stories that rely on a single source are derided as 'one-source stories' or 'just (rewritten) press releases.' This impulse to present diverse viewpoints is often said to be rooted in the fact American newspapers cannot afford to cover the vast country themselves and have relied since the 1840s on wire services, whose reporters had to satisfy news organizations with widely varying regional cultures and political ideologies; Schudson (1978) asserts that the aspiration to objectivity was instead an ideological movement in American journalism that arose as people became more aware of

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[31] The two formulas here were taught by Professor Robin Reisig of the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism in my National Affairs course in spring 1993.

publicity and propaganda following World War I. In some other countries, Finland for example, controversies are commonly covered by telling different sides in separate stories on separate days, and both editors and readers are used to this (for one expert view of this practice, see the interview with a Finnish journalist in ben-Aaron 1996b).

Another familiar formula used for event news or trend reporting is sometimes known as the *New York Times* story structure:

- anecdotal lead
- quote from an expert
- "nut graph"
- sides of the various participants

This formula stresses the need to ground all reporting in the endorsements of elite sources or experts. For feature stories, the pattern becomes more complex. The *Wall Street Journal* has advanced a formula for writing long complex stories about trends (Blundell 1988), which involves the following elements, though only the first two elements are set in their order:

- anecdotal lead
- "nut graph"
- history of the trend or development
- scope (numerical, geographical)
- reasons for the development
- impacts of the development
- moves to counter the development
- predictions for the future.

There are undoubtedly other standardized formulas based on the inverted pyramid. The use of inverted pyramid patterns over the years has trained readers to read the headlines (and possibly the leads, although readers know that most leads simply repeat the headlines) and skim the rest at increasing speed since any single piece of information is less likely to be useful.

There is an alternative form of newswriting that uses a narrative style closer to memoirs, literature and storytelling in that it assumes the reader will be interested enough to read the whole story at an even pace, and this has the maintenance of reader interest, rather than the correct ranking of facts, as its main writerly objective. Chronological order is maintained to a much greater degree than in traditional news stories. Often these stories are narrative in the sense of being stories whose impact is delayed until the end (Rigney 1992); rather using the most "interesting" facts and quotes in the opening paragraphs, they may be scattered through the text to keep the reader reading – "like golden coins," as I was told in journalism school. The narrativity and resemblance to traditional story forms may also make it easier to detect evaluations in this kind of story. There are, of course, mixed types. For example, an inverted pyramid story may be topped by an anecdote of several paragraphs rather than a summary lead, or it may supply details of a subordinate story chronologically as it goes on telling the main story, or it may exhibit greater than usual connectivity among its parts.

The effects of different story structures on comprehension have been investigated to some extent. Green (1979) tested university students with parallel versions of a single news story: a photocopy of the newspaper, a typed transcript, a translation into nonjournalistic English (that is, with the journalistic jargon changed to more standard lexis), a chronologically organized version and a logically organized version. Generally the logical version was comprehended best, while the original and chronological versions were comprehended least. Green hypothesized that news stories by their format and typography signal to the reader that they are to be skimmed, like encyclopedia articles or reference tables; that is, readers have learned that text that appears like this is for skimming and need not be read carefully. She suggested that news articles would be more readable if they had more explicit connectives, if the section headings indicated internal structure rather than blurbing provocative facts, and if the quotations were not so often redundant with the rest of the text.[32]

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[32] Memorability is a separate issue. There is some evidence that people remember texts better if they have to draw inferences from them; Mills et al. (1993) found that

The American Society of Newspaper Editors has also conducted studies on the effect of story organization on readability (ASNE 1993). Following Green's report, a follow-up study was done in which the same basic set of facts was presented in four different modes, which the researchers described as follows:

- *Straight traditional mode* mostly uses the inverted pyramid with a strong lead, followed by paragraphs elaborating on the lead. "Important material appears higher than less important material, especially background and context. The tone stays neutral, with more telling than showing."

- *Narrative mode* has the main aim of telling a story, with actions performed by characters in chronological sequence. "The story has a beginning, middle and end. Quotations retain characteristics of real speech. Actions and speeches reveal motives. This mode reveals mostly by showing, with a little telling for framing."

- *Point of view mode* makes the viewpoint of the story explicitly clear to the reader by using more "slanted" writing than is normal for newspapers. "The story can use any shape except the inverted pyramid, because it must have an ending that cements the point in the reader's mind. This mode might use the second person, address the reader directly. These stories persuade by showing rather than telling."

- *Radical clarity mode* arranges the material so as to produce a high level of reader comprehension through maximal use of explanations. "Background and context appear early to get the reader up to speed. This mode defines terms often and spells out

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texts without explicit connectives were more readable than texts that had the wrong connectives, so when writing to a close deadline it is better to leave them out than to put them in.

motives. It tells the reader things rather than depending on 'reading between the lines.'"

It should be pointed out that these last two modes would not typically be found in the *New York Times*, since the point of view mode would be considered insufficiently objective (too much like the "advocacy journalism" practiced in New York by the *Village Voice* and political magazines), and the radical clarity mode would be considered too condescending for an urban middle class audience (too much like *USA Today*, an easy-to-read national newspaper that is frequently derided for its clarity and visual approach to the news). The test stories with the formats described above were printed in the *St. Petersburg Times*, a Florida newspaper owned by the New York Times Corporation. The story content concerned the problem of abandoned pets, the completion of a hiking trail, the expansion of a community college, and the rejection of a plan for a marina. In general, the respondents preferred the narrative stories over the others. They felt the traditional inverted pyramid stories did not work well, and they rated the point of view stories lowest on quality.[33] Longtime readers and women were more likely to read the stories in any case; younger and less frequent readers, who represent possible expansion markets for the newspaper, were more sensitive to style. Only male readers with little education, and some over 65, liked the point-of-view stories, though they still rated them lowest on quality.

It is clear from both of these studies that the newspaper editors felt they were in the business of information transmission in the form of whole story units; other benefits of reading the news, such as feeling part of a community, gathering fragments of information to add to one's knowledge store, gaining pleasure and social face from the attempt to

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[33] It is not clear exactly why the point of view stories were felt to be low quality, since stories with a strong point of view are used both in unprestigious publications like neighborhood newspapers and *Reader's Digest*, and in political and investigative reporting journals that are consumed by elite readers. It may be that readers are comfortable with the point of view style in a publication that is known to have a strong advocacy position, but not in a general interest newspaper.

educate oneself, confirming one's beliefs and securing reassurance of the general stability of the world, were ignored. It is worth noting also that television research has made much greater use of audience studies; here, more detailed demographic information has been gathered and occupation and political background, which were not examined in the ASNE survey, have been found to influence reader perceptions of public affairs programmes (Morley 1992) and economic news (Richardson 1998).

American newspapers are by their nature aimed at a heterogeneous audience, in many cases a maximally heterogeneous audience of everyone within the delivery area (Schudson 1978, 1995). Thus we cannot simplistically treat the audience as a single, idealized reader. With respect to the reading of political messages, we should expect audience diversity at least equivalent to that found by Morley and Richardson. Reports describing gaudy flag displays in those terms or referring to speeches as "bunkum," for example, might be read seriously by one group of readers, ironically by another. And even with language that linguists might discard as 'formal language' or 'empty ritual' or 'cliché,' there are always readers who are coming across it for the first time, such as children or immigrants, for whom the most banal locution is new and interesting information, if not always entirely understood.

Accordingly, political language, including the discourse of national days, is not frozen into one interpretation; it is often ambiguous and intended to be read differently by different readers, as for example in the deictic openness when politicians use 'we' to mean 'we citizens,' 'we residents,' and/or 'we the leaders'; or when they use 'people' to mean 'the people of the country' or 'the people as opposed to the elite.' As with other political symbols and slogans, the reference is kept vague in order to attract and mediate diverse interests. In the upcoming chapters, we will see how even within the severely restricted language of the national day news story and mid-period "inverted pyramid" news format, room was left for variant interpretations. This is at least in part a consequence of the design of the newspaper genre for the widest possible audience.

A final important consequence for the study of generic constraints on

newspapers is their reliance on encapsulatability of events, since they are collections of individual stories rather than a single large text. White (1998) shows how the typical news story foregrounds a single event judged exceptional (and, the case of the hard news story, threatening) by placing it in the headline/lead and then reintroducing it at fairly regular intervals throughout the story. This main event assumes importance as an occasion for the display of social evaluations. In the case of the news stories at hand, it is key to the existence and working of the text that for the period of the celebration there is a temporary adjustment in social relations and values – that is, the evaluations are different from what they normally are – and that this period of readjustment is known to have a beginning and end. We will now turn to the systems for displaying these social relations and values in language.

2.4.4   Systems of evaluation

The investigation of connotative meaning as a separate dimension of language dates back at least to the work of Osgood, who tested informants' impressions of the qualities of various words (1957, 1964); this work will be discussed in Chapter V. The larger problem, however, is to determine how connotative meaning is made and varied in extended texts in actual use. The story structure model in Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972) identified evaluation as a part of stories told in conversation, and generally located it as a separate stage in narrative that usually occurred at the end of stories. Since their aim was to delineate the moves in a typical story, the interpretation of evaluation as a separate move is not surprising.

It is now widely believed that all choices in language express some degree of evaluation, and interest in analyzing evaluation as a separate system remains strong. A number of frameworks have been proposed; I will deal in this section with two recent and influential ones here. Biber et al. (1999: 966ff) investigated "personal feelings, attitudes, value judgments, [and] assessments," including epistemic modality, under the cover term of *stance*. Stance, in their analysis, can be expressed paralinguistically, lexically and grammatically. "Purely lexical" marking

of stance involves choices of "value-laden" words such as 'happy' and 'sad,' 'saint' and 'jerk,' 'love' and 'hate.' All of their lexical examples are adjectives (attributive or predicative), nouns, or verbs. Grammatical devices identified as stance markers include stance adverbials ('unfortunately'), stance complement clauses ('I hope that …'), modals and semi-modals[34], stance nouns followed by prepositional phrases ('the possibility of going'), and premodifying stance adverbs ('really [happy],' 'about [478 million years ago]'). In working with a tagged corpus of four varieties of language, Biber et al. found that use of stance markers was most common in conversation, followed by fiction, news, and academic writing, but the difference in frequency was not dramatic (1999: 979). In the case of news, complement constructions and semi-modal verbs were the most common stance markers, and adverbials like 'unfortunately' were used only rarely. Stance markers in news were generally used to describe the stance of third parties rather than the author (1999: 980), and it seems likely that at least some of them occurred in quotations.

There are problems with this analysis. First there is the artificiality of the division between lexical and grammatical expressions of stance, which relegates adverbs like 'adorably' to a different system than adjectives like 'adorable.' The fact that the lexical examples concentrate on words with strong emotional content and personal investment, while the grammatical examples concentrate on restrained expressions of modality makes the division seem logical, but once comparable examples are introduced ('She danced adorably' ~ 'I thought her dancing was adorable') it seems less sensible. The objection I have raised here (to Biber's division of stance markers) is similar to Jespersen's objections to purely syntactic distinctions between expressions with similar semantic functions, for example in his discussion of the 'nexus' or semantic verb phrase (1924: 115). The reason for the distinction would appear to be merely that grammatical structures are more amenable to syntactic classification and tagging. This brings us to the second problem, which is that if paralinguistic features such as tone of voice are acknowledged as markers of evaluation, why should not linguistic evaluation also

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[34] Biber et al. use the term 'semimodal' for multiword modal verbs such as *have to*.

extend over multiple lexemes and expressions, flavoring the area around (or at least following) the nuclei where it is strongest? A suprasegmental approach to evaluation would surely make more cognitive sense than seeing it as a feature that is turned on in some words or phrases and off in the adjacent ones. I find these objections sufficiently serious that I will not be making use of the Biber et al. framework in the analysis to come.

In recent years issues of semantic content and suprasegmentalism have received more detailed treatment in systemic functional linguistics, particularly in the context of the fast-developing Appraisal[35] framework (Martin 1997, 2000, 2003, White 1997, 1998, Martin and Rose 2003). White's book-length treatment of Appraisal and related systems (1998) experiments with the application of various linguistic tools to the news story, and, among other contributions, advances Appraisal techniques that deal with significant aspects such as the 'objective' reportorial voice and the implicit aesthetic and social judgments in news stories. These judgments in journalistic writing do not merely state ideational propositions, but encode interpersonal values so as to establish subject positions and define communities.

Appraisal is part of the interpersonal metafunction in systemic-functional linguistics (mentioned earlier in section 2.4.2), which is divided into three parts: Negotiation (accounting for demands and requests), Involvement (here meaning the coding of closeness arising from intimacy or shared membership in a distinct, non-vernacularly determined discourse community such as a profession or fandom), and Appraisal (White 1998: 37-8).

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[35] I will be following a minimal system of capitalization in this work; that is, terms with a special use as major categories in systemic-functional linguistics will be marked with an initial capital to distinguish them from generic uses, but terms that can equally well be used as generics will not be capitalized.

Figure 2-5: Subsystems of the interpersonal metafunction (after White 1998)

```
┌── Negotiation
│
├── Involvement        ┌── Engagement
│                      │
└── Appraisal ─────────┼── Graduation          ┌──Affect
                       │                        │
                       └── Attitude────────────┼── Appreciation
                                                │                    ┌── Esteem
                                                └──Judgment ─────────┤
                                                                     └── Sanction
```
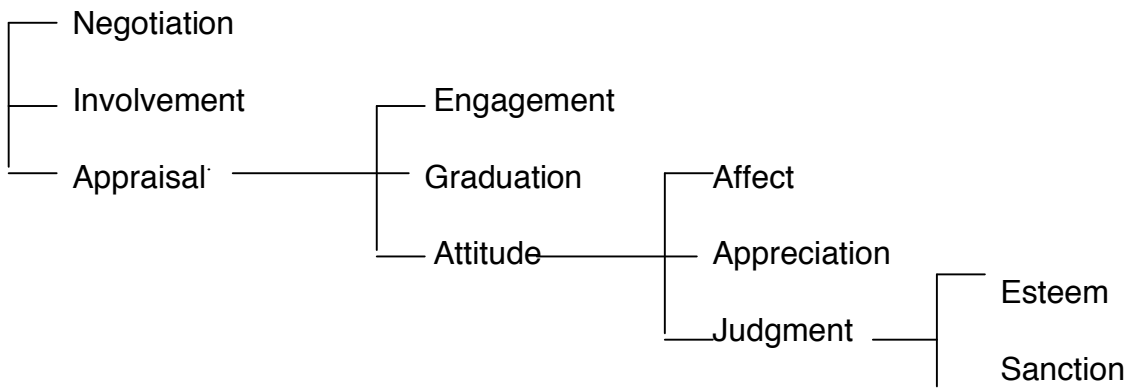
Appraisal is further divided into Engagement (the degree to which the speaker claims or disclaims the stated position), Graduation (upgrading/downgrading), and the Attitude itself. Attitude consists of three systems: *Affect,* or personal feeling, *Appreciation*, or aesthetic judgment of objects, systems and abstractions, and *Judgment,* or evaluation of people's behavior. Judgment is further subdivided into judgments of *social propriety* (legality, morality), and *social esteem* (conformance to norms of personal and interpersonal demeanor). These classifications will be discussed in more detail in Chapter V.

Orthogonal to the classification system is the fact that Appraisal can be implicit or explicit. Martin distinguishes *inscribed appraisal*, which is explicitly encoded evaluation, from *evoked appraisal* which evokes an evaluation in the reader. White distinguishes two varieties of implicit appraisal or *tokens of appraisal:* namely *provoked appraisal* which is strong and unambiguous ("thrill-killing," "genocide") and *evoked appraisal* where the evaluation is more ambiguous.[36] The difference between these is a matter of contention; the classification has occasionally been reworked or even reversed in the theoretical source materials and is not widely regarded as stable.

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[36] In my analyses when I use words like "provoked" and "evoked" I am using them in their everyday and not technical sense.

Figure 5-6: Implicit and explicit Appraisal (after White 1998)

```
                            ┌──── Inscribed
                            │
            Appraisal ──────┤                    ┌──── Provoked
                            │                    │
                            └──── Token ─────────┤
                                                 │
                                                 └──── Evoked
```
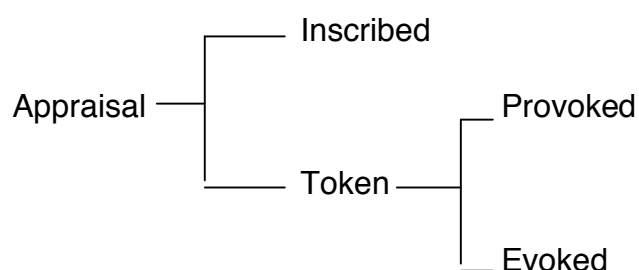
To sum up, the analysis relies on the classification of utterances of various sizes as emblematic of various types of judgments and other interpersonal values, a taxonomic enterprise which White admits is variable and subjective. But because of its location within the framework of systemic-functional linguistics, which allows features to extend over phrases, clauses, and texts, Appraisal may offer the best possibility for treating evaluation in a suprasegmental way.

To apply this idea briefly to the material of this study, news stories about national days may encode their judgments rather elaborately. Instead of stating that "Mr. and Mrs. Vendetti are good citizens" or "Mr. and Mrs. Vendetti behaved appropriately for the holiday," or whatever underlying judgment the reader is expected to infer, a newspaper prints something like following:

> Everybody's All-American – Patriotic Cambridge residents George and Josephine Vendetti dress up their Charles Street home with Old Glory and other appropriate touches as the region gears up to celebrate Independence Day. Full coverage of holiday festivities, Page 8. (*Boston Herald*, July 4, 2001, p. 1, photo caption)

The relevance of the detail that this couple "dressed up" their house lies in the fact that patriotic displays on the Fourth of July are considered evidence of good citizenship, and that most of the readership presumably knows this and apprentice readers figure it out from the generally approving tone of the story running in a mainstream

newspaper that seems to be respected by fully ratified members of the community. The word that implicitly 'anchors' the judgment, as Östman would say, or acts as locus of inscribed Appraisal, is "appropriate," which is linked to an even more specific evaluation, "patriotic." In addition to the judgment the details are intended to signify, the details themselves have come to be valued as evidence of reportorial enterprise and as a way of bringing disembodied experiences closer to their media participants. Thus "dressed up … their home," in this context, becomes itself an instance of implicit or evoked Appraisal. However, the evaluation begins with the enthusiastic initial label, "Everybody's All-American," and the later phrases build on it, reaching a peak with the end of the description, "and other appropriate touches." At this point, the details about the Vendettis cease to be salient and cease to amplify later evaluations. The focus of evaluation shifts to the nation "gearing up," usually a positive verb. "Everybody's All-American" may still be adding some slight flavor to "gearing up." Further examples will be treated in the longer discussion in Chapter V.

The interaction between linguistic systems of evaluation and the particular lexicons used by journalists is an important object of study. It has often been noted (White 1999: 60, Toolan 2001: 211) that journalistic writing uses a restricted vocabulary including many expressions that are borrowed from the shop talk of other professions (for example, aircraft in news stories "jettison" fuel instead of dumping or dropping it) or handed down through stylebooks. The journalistic vocabulary also aims to sound official and objective, although this is offset by 'journalese' scare words such as "soccer hooligan" and "cold-blooded killer" which are especially common in the tabloid press (Fowler 1991: 110-119), by the poetics of alliterative headlines ("Domestic Dies in Dawn Dispute"), and the use of eye dialect and selective reproduction of speech mistakes in quotations. As Hoey notes, however (2001: 126), evaluation is intertwined with other semantic content, so a label like "cold-blooded killer" if it is not referentially inaccurate, does give some information along with the judgment. Conversely, an apparently innocuous social-services label such as "poverty" or "burglary" carries some judgment as well: "Poverty" carries overtones of being inevitable and not the fault of anyone else – the poor we have always with us – while "burglary"

implies the thief planned to steal deliberately and professionally, not out of sudden desperation. As Searle notes (1995), it is difficult to distinguish between descriptions and evaluations in a setting constructed with institutional facts – and newspapers are certainly part of the great institutional web of facticity. They also have the aim of giving, or at least appearing to give, the largest possible amount of new information in the smallest amount of space. Under these circumstances, it is difficult for readers to avoid getting lost in the facts presented. The content is always distracting us from the evaluation, as well as vice versa.

A framework of ideas is now in place to draw upon, and the forthcoming major analysis chapters will apply them to the material. Chapter III will discuss the data collection and the characteristics of the main text collection of Fourth of July stories from the *New York Times*, as well as providing a diachronic view of news story structure. Chapter IV will take up the meaning of the verb 'celebrate' and the construction of its frame, and Chapter V will examine the evaluations that appear in the news stories. Chapter VI will investigate the texts for metaphorical underpinnings and Chapter VII will analyze the textual interactions in terms of face and footing. Finally, Chapter VIII will reconsider theories of news and news values in the light of the data and the other analyses.

III   DEFINING THE DATA

3.1   Introduction

The core data for this study consist of a long diachronic series of almost a thousand texts in a single genre, by a single corporate author, concerned with a single annually recurring event: news articles and other texts appearing in the *New York Times* about the Fourth of July in 31 different years from 1852 to 2001. There is some question whether this text collection can be termed a 'corpus,' and at many points during the study I was cautioned not to do so for various reasons. Corpus linguistics has generally been oriented toward the task of characterizing languages in their entirety, either by collecting all the extant written texts of a now-unproductive language variety, or by collecting a broad and somehow representative array of written and/or spoken texts organized either diachronically or synchronically. The present study is quite different; its aim is to investigate power relations within the language that structures a particular type of activity, and rather than attempting to construct a comprehensive collection of texts, it concentrates on a restricted set of rich examples in the hope of uncovering principles that will have broader application.

Linguists commonly assemble collections of similar texts in order to study the variation and development of registers and genres; and they also assemble texts about a particular subject in order to study discourses (both in the narrow sense of topic-ideology complexes, and in the broader sense of "orders of discourse"), as well as related topics like intertextuality and development of specialized lexis. These text collections, however, are less often dignified with the title of corpus and there is little information available about how to assemble and use them.

Popular textbooks on corpus linguistics describe a corpus as "a collection of texts in an electronic database" (Kennedy 1998: 3), "a large and principled collection of natural texts (Biber et al. 1998: 12), and "any body of text," but preferably a finite body of machine-readable text chosen for representative sampling and used as a standard reference (McEnery and Wilson 1996: 21). These loose definitions would seem to permit inclusion of text collections of the type assembled here. However, the books have little to say about text collections focused for genre and topic (although Biber et al. 1998: 157 ff. discusses ways of using single-genre corpora to investigate register differences in professional English), and still less about the use of corpora for discourse analytic or pragmatic purposes. McEnery and Wilson (1996: 98-99) cite research on politeness features in conversational corpora, as well as work by Myers (1989) on pragmatics in scientific articles, but they also say that Myers's text collection "does not quite fit our definition of a 'corpus'" and note that the lack of context in corpora as typically assembled makes them unpromising material for usage-related studies. As with sociolinguistics and conversation analysis, it seems to be accepted as axiomatic that the larger and more comprehensive the data collection, the smaller the features that can be studied. With these definitional problems in mind – as well as the fact that the *New York Times* texts are copyrighted and cannot be republished for use by others as most linguistic corpora are – I shall try to avoid referring to my text collection as a corpus.

Because of the lack of prior work on subject focused corpora, the researcher who wants to work with a subject-focused text collection is faced with the task of developing a methodology for the study while doing it. Data collection involves two methodological problems: delimiting of material that is 'about' the event, and ensuring representativeness of coverage. That is, in order to demonstrate the range and recurrence of important features the researcher needs to collect *enough* material and *only* material that is relevant to the event being studied. In addition, the internal variation in the collection needs to be described, a process that may trigger further data gathering and discarding as gaps and superfluities are found. The data collection for this study was an iterative process that took place over six years and was

stopped only because the researcher had already accumulated more than a book's worth of reliable results, which demanded presentation for external review and comment – not because the collection was 'complete.' In fact, for subject focused corpora there may be no such thing as completeness.

This chapter presents a necessarily simplified account of the data gathering for the study, as well as an external description of the data; that is, a description that does not refer to internal characteristics of the texts. The dimensions of external description, which were compiled using a Microsoft Access database, include attribution (byline), story length, news/feature (timeliness for the reading audience), advance/ report (time relation to events described), topic (in the sense of subject, material), and geographic scope. These dimensions are surely among the most useful for the description of subject-focused news corpora in general as well as for this particular collection. The external description is followed by a discussion of the pragmatics of the advance and report stories, and by a survey of changes of the internal structure of the news stories over time, which sets the scene for the closer analysis to follow.

3.2   Choice of news sources

Newspaper texts contain the richest single-source record of events and utterances on national holidays, and of independent evaluations of these events and utterances; much richer than other ephemera, memoirs, or live observation on a smaller scale than a mass observation program can provide. It is no accident that historical studies of American national holidays such as Travers (1997) and Bodnar (1998) rely almost exclusively on newspapers. Travers, covering the period from the Revolutionary War to the fiftieth anniversary of independence in 1826, supplements early newspapers with diaries and letters, while Bodnar, covering the Civil War through the present day, supplements newspapers with committee reports, commemorative books, and other archival materials; but in both cases, newspapers are treated as the most important sources.

At early celebrations, the Declaration was nearly always read aloud in its entirety at Independence Day events. It was reprinted in newspapers and broadsides soon after its approval (Travers 1997: 22), it was even read or reprinted in immigrant languages, particularly German (Maier 1997: 159), and a facsimile of it has usually been reprinted in the *New York Times* on the holiday for the past 70 years. In the earliest celebrations of the Fourth of July in American cities, the central text was considered to be the oration, a speech on a political theme by a leading citizen, which was given to a crowd in a hall or park together with a reading of the Declaration of Independence, a prayer, and possibly an original poem called the "ode." The structure of the event as a whole recalled a church service with a sermon, reading, prayer and hymn. Each community had its own original oration every year, and at times of schism, rival orators from different parties and movements would compete. Popular orations were reprinted by city governments for sale afterwards (Travers 1997: 49). By the 1850s, when the data for this study begin, separate copies of speeches were no longer as necessary, since newspapers did the work of reprinting them.[37] Speeches and the public occasions around them were promoted in advance by newspapers, and editors were among the community leaders who planned public celebrations. By the mid-19th century celebrations and other public events were integrated with newspaper work to the point of becoming "products and extensions of the city's print culture, not vestiges of a now-romanticized era of politics unmediated" (Henkin 1998: 127). One consequence of this flowering of celebration coverage was that the formerly standalone political oration reprint was now embedded in a matrix of other original texts relating to the national day, such as reports of celebrations and stories about fireworks accidents, and the majority of these other texts were written by journalists who were, in contrast to the

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[37] The distribution of the texts did not cease completely, however. As the public celebrations were developed into elaborate pageants in the late 19th century, programme books with all the texts and songs of the event were published (Glassberg 1989:10ff). These are clearly part of the genre of programme guides for church services, concerts, and other public events.

orators, at least nominally independent of the government and the political party system.

The independence of the press was one of Travers' explicit justifications for using newspapers as source texts, rather than orations, which he felt were likely to merely reflect official positions (1997: 5-6). A similar rationale for studying newspapers has been given by linguists such as Blommaert and Verschueren (1998: 31ff), who in studying racist discourse decided not to examine the publications of racist groups, since these would be racist in overt and predictable ways. Instead, they studied texts such as newspaper reports and government brochures, which are accepted by the public as more 'objective' and which turned out to show racism in subtler ways. For this study, which attempts to determine what features of language are used to construct and promote the rather un-natural idea of a national day, newspaper texts therefore seem a logical object of study. Since we are also interested in how citizens may interpret language addressed to them on national days, texts in newspapers that are delivered directly to their houses or bought regularly by them are of central relevance.

The main data base consists of a corpus of 587 complete and 33 partial news texts selected and entered on computer from a larger collection of 969 photocopied articles about the Fourth of July appearing in the *New York Times*. In addition, 85 editorials (leaders) were collected and typed, and 18 opinion pieces were collected, 10 of which were typed. A few letters to the editor were also typed in. The total size of the text collection, including headlines of the 349 articles whose text was not entered, is approximately 350,000 words. Further details are given in the sections below, particularly in Tables 3-1 and 3-2.

The *New York Times* is today generally considered the national newspaper of record in the United States. It is the leading survivor of the first wave of mass-market city daily newspapers that appeared between 1840 and the Civil War. Its print run of 150 years has been broken only by extremely infrequent strikes. Today it has an audited circulation of over one million copies sold each day (two thirds of them going to home subscribers) and its reach continues to grow (NYT 2004).

Because of the size of the United States and the limitations of technology, the country had no national newspapers until well after World War II (Schudson 1995: 174-5). At that time the major city newspapers began to be distributed more widely, expanding their range both into the surrounding suburbs and to other big cities as information technology enabled remote typesetting and printing of copy and photographs. In particular, New York's historical role as the largest dense city and as a portal of immigration ensured that people with New York roots would continue to look for the *New York Times* as they moved across the country. Today close to half of the subscribers to the newspaper live outside New York (Bianco 2005). There are other newspapers considered to have a national reach, notably the *Washington Post* (especially after Watergate), the *Wall Street Journal*, and *USA Today*; the *Los Angeles Times* is also a candidate (Didion 1993, and see Hannerz 2004: 76 on the expansion of its foreign correspondent network to compete with the East Coast papers).[38] For this study, however, the *New York Times* was a natural choice because of its unquestioned national status, its long print run, because it is widely considered representative of "the 'best' rather than the 'average' of American journalism" (Ogan et al. 1975) and because it is disproportionately influential within the journalistic profession. Furthermore, it is a newspaper that I myself have read intermittently for many years, most avidly during the eight years I lived in New York, and like most people with American journalistic training I have some acquaintance with the folk history of the newspaper and its urban market.

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[38] The existence of the World Wide Web has complicated the picture, since the same middle-class professionals who read out of town newspapers also now surf the Web. Newspapers face competition here not only from their own complementary media but from television, radio and magazine news websites, from direct wire service feeds, and from news websites outside the United States, as well as from online-only news services, including personal weblogs. In theory, readers should also be motivated to read primary sources such as government documents which are available on the Web without journalistic repackaging, but these do not seem to have attracted a broad readership.

The main corpus of *New York Times* articles was supplemented by other data collections which were less complete and less formal. These included:

- recent stories about the Fourth of July from the paper editions of the *Boston Globe* and the *Boston Herald*, as well as Internet versions of news stories from other media around the country and CNN transcripts of broadcast news stories
- recent television news stories about the Fourth of July, recorded from stations received in the Boston area
- 18 speeches and proclamations by Bill Clinton during his terms as President (1993-2000), either given in honor of the Fourth of July or given around the holiday and containing strong references to it
- copies of business ephemera such as greeting cards, calendars and correspondence related to holidays and patriotic symbols at the Archives Center of the National Museum of American History (Smithsonian Institution), Washington, D.C.
- material from the Victorian children's magazine *Robert Merry's Museum*, available in an online archive (Pflieger 2001-2004)
- stories about Finnish Independence Day from the main Finnish newspaper of record, *Helsingin Sanomat*, as well as from the tabloid newspapers *Ilta-Sanomat* and *Iltalehti* and from the newsmagazine *Suomen Kuvalehti* and supermarket magazines such as *Me Naiset*, *Anna*, and *Seura*
- news broadcasts of Finnish Independence Day events, as well as ephemera and notes collected from my own attendance at such events
- personal observations at events on Swedish Flag Day and Estonian Day of Restoration of Independence
- recent news stories on the national holidays of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Estonia, France, Canada, Australia, and others, sampled from available paper media and the Internet
- results of interview tests with speakers of various languages on the meaning of verbs of celebration, and on images of national holidays, described more fully in Chapter IV.

References to independence days and the concepts associated with them were also sought from well-known speeches and literature by American and some European authors. This was done on a largely opportunistic basis with some assistance from Internet search tools and the Chadwyck-Healy Literature Online resource. It should be noted that very little data from these supplemental categories is referred to explicitly in the study, but all of it functioned to help contextualize and triangulate the results.

3.3 Collection of material

Access to the *New York Times* was easy to arrange through library microfilm collections, but there were two problems with the material: First, the volume of Fourth of July stories was staggering, much more than initially anticipated for what was essentially a predictable and routine happening commemorating historical events. It turned out that in an average year in the 20th century, the newspaper might run between 10,000 and 30,000 words that were clearly about the Fourth of July.[39] Coverage was even more extensive in the years of jubilees such as the Bicentennial of Independence (1976) and the Statue of Liberty Centennial (1976); it can be estimated from the entries in the *New York Times* Index, for example, that the Bicentennial was covered in about 400 stories totalling around 200,000 words, and the Statue of Liberty centennial was covered in about 200 stories totalling around 100,000 words.[40] Nevertheless it was important to include material from those years, because of the broader range of stories and renewed attention to creative newswriting that accompanied these major jubilees. In addition to the

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[39] The average weekday *New York Times* in 1995 contained more than 10,000 column inches of text, translating through my estimate of 30 words per column inch to some 300,000 words; and was seen worldwide by an estimated 3.37 million readers (Cotter 2001: 416, citing Paul Beissel, *Times* marketing researcher). Another estimate is given by Jucker (1995) who suggests one issue of the NYT contains 100,000 words; no explanation is given for this much lower figure.

[40] Based on rough estimates of an average of 20 stories per index column, and an average of 500 words per story.

jubilee years, many of the years before World War I had multiple stories running to over 5000 or even 10,000 words apiece. The extra thousands of words were usually the consequence of verbatim reprinting of speeches, sermons, and lists of names. The volume, complexity and generic instability of the texts presented challenges in organization and analysis, and it was easy to see why diachronic studies of newspaper language often restrict themselves to headlines (Simon-Vandenbergen 1981, Mårdh 1980, Schneider 2000), to front pages (Ogan et al. 1975), or to a single "constructed week" (see Bell 1991: 20-32 for an explanation of this concept and a discussion of the problem of "drowning in data" in news studies).

The second problem was the microfilm medium.[41] Many contemporary researchers working on the language of newspapers choose to work on current editions, whose articles can be downloaded from the Internet, or to use (sampled) electronic corpora already prepared by historical linguists or corpus linguists. At the beginning of this project in 1996 there was no electronic text collection available for such a specialized purpose as mine, and, particularly in view of the absence of prior analysis of language on national holidays, there was no one else to whom selection decisions could be entrusted. I needed a text collection that would be focused on reporting national day celebrations and that would have sufficient tokens of important words and structures over a long time period, and, for the reasons listed above, I wanted to use the *New York Times*. Thus, in an extremely time-consuming process, the

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[41] Inspired partly by an essay by a leading scientist on the coming information technology revolution (Bush 1945), libraries began to replace bound volumes of newspaper by microfilm after World War II, a move that has been heavily criticized by some scholars (Baker 2000). The motivation was usually to save shelf space by getting rid of the bound volumes, which were often thrown in the garbage, leaving only filmed reproductions which were sometimes unfocused or mispaginated and did not preserve the color inks that were used beginning in the 19th century, or the 'feel' of an old newspaper. While Baker's criticisms of the rush to microfilm have a great deal of merit, it must also be pointed out that large-scale filming projects and the introduction of photocopying microfilm machines in libraries have made it possible for studies like this one to be done by researchers with small budgets.

texts were photocopied from microfilms and entered onto the computer by hand to facilitate searching and analysis. The only year of the sample for which electronic texts were freely available was 2001, and even these had to be compared with the print edition. Scanning was not an option because of the poor quality of many of the images, the variable line and letter spacing used to fit texts in the earlier newspapers, and the amount of time it would have taken to isolate the national day texts from their surroundings. Many areas on the microfilms of the early newspapers (and some as late as 1976) were unreadable, and these were marked in the electronic version with *[unreadable]* or *[words missing]* and an estimate of the number of words or lines. Typographical mistakes were either corrected (if they were words that I anticipated searching for later) or marked with *[sic].* The computerized text collection should not be treated as reliable on reproduction of mistakes – undoubtedly some were reflexively or carelessly corrected – nor on punctuation, since it was often difficult to tell whether a faint black speck was a worn-down punctuation sign or just a flaw in the printing or film. Any researcher working on old newspapers will encounter these problems; Fries and Schneider (2000) describe a similar experience in trying to assemble the Zurich English Newspaper Corpus from microfilms in the British Library. Faced with an overwhelming manual task, they were forced to give up the goal of completeness, to work around damaged pages, to sacrifice proofreading.

In assembling text collections of old newspapers for linguistic purposes, sampling is almost a necessity if the project is to be assured of completion within the researcher's lifetime. Fries and Schneider sampled their collection at ten-year intervals. The articles in the current study are spaced at five-year intervals. Initially I took articles from every fifth year from 1961 to 1996 (later extended to 2001), with the goal of achieving reasonably frequent sampling of data over the lifespan of the researcher (born 1964). The years ending in 1 and 6 were chosen so as to include the more varied Bicentennial and Statue of Liberty centennial material. The plan was to extend this with articles from every five years from 1961 back to the newspaper's inception in the 1850s, but the volume was overwhelming, so articles were initially taken every five years from 1851/2 to 1871 (the period when the newspaper's style was

changing fastest) and then every ten years from 1876 to 1956, in order to fill the gap in the middle as fast as possible and begin the analysis.[42] Finally, the middle years were filled in so that every fifth year would be represented by at least some articles. The resulting complete run of thirty-one years is not as well balanced as it ought to be – the number of words taken for each year varies by a factor of 10 in some cases – but on the other hand, newspaper styles have tended to remain relatively stable from decade to decade; in fact, we will see that only two major style shifts have occurred, one in the first thirty years of the newspaper's operation and one in the mid-1960s. Thus it seems quite likely that one could add an arbitrary number of years and articles without significantly increasing the diversity of types or distribution of tokens.

The word counts for each year as calculated by Microsoft Word[43] are presented in the table below:

Table 3-1: Words in the main corpus (complete years in boldface)

Year	Words entered[44]
1852[45]	8,943

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[42] Some of the years were also more geographically accessible than others; specifically, films and indexes for 1916-present are available in the University of Helsinki library system and I could check them whenever I liked, but earlier films and indexes had to be consulted on trips to the United States.

[43] Different programs treat nonalphanumeric characters and compound words differently and thus the software used affects the counts startlingly; the total word count for the text collection with Corpus Presenter was 322,809 words, with Word was 350,340 words, and with WordSmith 482,483 words.

[44] Counts include headlines and meta-data such as page numbers, descriptive labels (photo captions, for instance, are labeled as such), and notes to myself about flawed or missing text. The meta-data is a fairly substantial chunk of the total, but is necessary for keeping track of the contents; a second copy of the files could have been made with the meta-data manually stripped out, but with additions and corrections still being made fairly late in the process, I felt it was simplest to maintain a single version.

1856	9,807
1861	8,569
1866	4,514
1871	18,700
1876	8,610
1881	1,769
1886	11,300
1891	2,132
1896	12,100
1901	2,062
1906	7,940
1911	3,019
1916	9,664
1921	1,667
1926	**17,638**
1931	3,823
1936	**25,400**
1941	2,787
1946	**14,000**
1951	1,987
1956	**14,600**
1961	**15,435**
1966	**9,360**
1971	**8,710**
1976	31,004
1981	**15,500**
1986	35,400
1991	**11,000**
1996	**16,800**
2001	**16,100**
Total	350,340

With a text collection of this size, it is impossible to do an analysis that is both deep and even. Thus, articles were sampled selectively not only

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[45] The *New-York Daily Times*, as it was then, began publishing in 1851, but after July 4, so 1852 rather than 1851 was the first year that could be taken.

from decade to decade, but within a single year if the word count seemed overwhelming. The years that are marked "complete" have all the news articles from July with a strong Fourth of July component, though they may be missing a few opinion columns or some stories in topical sections that are only marginally related to the holiday, and they are often missing the few Fourth of July stories that appear in other months as well (typically related to advance planning for the festivities). Thus there is more data that could be collected, but the years can be considered complete enough for the purposes of the present study. As the chart below shows, the presence of the "complete" years means the data are somewhat weighted toward the second half of the time period:

Figure 3-1: Number of words per year in the text collection
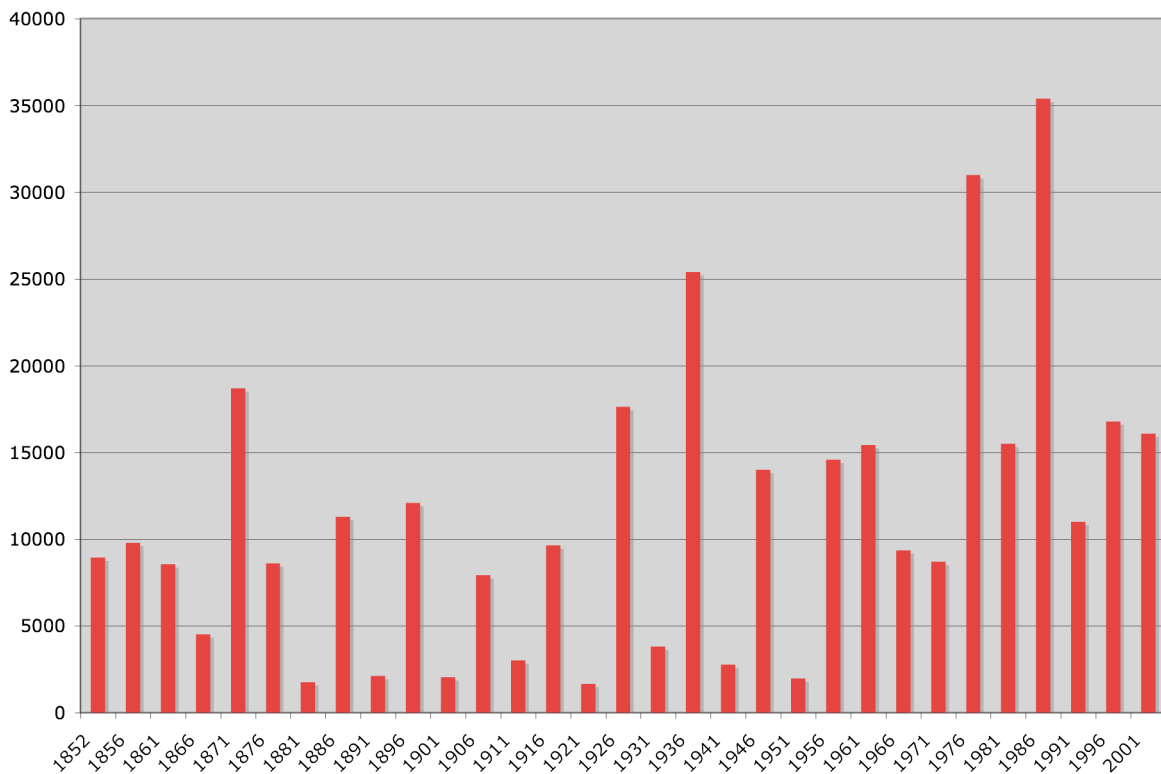
Coverage in the incomplete years is incomplete in the same way as for the "complete" years (most stories outside July missing, marginally holiday-related stories from non-news sections sometimes missing), and in other ways as well. All of the years before World War I contain a number of very long articles with embedded verbatim speeches, programs and lists that were reprinted direct from non-journalistic

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sources, and this embedded material could be considered to fall outside the core journalistic coverage of the holiday. Thus these stories were only partially entered online (except for a few that were entered in full as examples) and in addition many small nearly-identical articles about celebrations in resorts, vacation sporting events and other mergers of the two meanings of 'holiday' were omitted from these years. The result of these choices was that the sampling was knowingly biased toward articles of 1500 words or less which were completely written by journalists, and toward lead paragraphs from longer articles – which makes a certain amount of sense since those are the places where the journalist's art is most evident, at the individual, professional and corporate level. Since the later years were dominated by consciously journalistic texts, it seemed wise to concentrate on their equivalents in the earlier years, though the embedded primary source material certainly adds something to our overall understanding of newspapers, and the speeches, in particular, form an alternative source of language about national holidays. In addition, the sampling in incomplete years was somewhat biased toward reports of events that had already occurred, rather than advances; and a special effort was made to include reports that appeared on the front page of the newspaper on July 5. Finally, all years were biased towards news rather than editorials (leaders) or opinion columns, though the main leader was always included, and most obviously relevant columns were included as well. The news bias makes sense because the aim of the study is to investigate representations of reality that were presented to readers, especially in later years when the ideology of journalistic neutrality had taken hold, as 'objective' and natural. It is important to keep these biases in mind, however, in order to recognize apparent conclusions such as "the collection is dominated throughout by news reports on events" as foreordained, and to remember that results for an expanded collection could be somewhat different.

To select particular news stories and segments for inclusion, two tools were used: the *New York Times Index*, and the researcher's judgment. There were was no way to make clear *a priori* distinctions between stories that should be included in a study of the Fourth of July and those that should not. Holidays and other signs of time region boundaries

(such as daylight savings, the seasons, election cycles, wartime) are not only written about as newsworthy events in themselves but tend to seep into news stories about other things; for example, a stock market story may have a note on the exchanges closing for the holiday, or a sports story may have a punning headline about independence. This potential for integration across story boundaries, which I will call *topic bleed*, serves to reassure readers that the newspaper is attentive to its environment, and that the different sectors of society are coordinated in their respect for shifts between conventions and footings. In the case of national holidays, both the expansion of coverage of national holidays and topic bleed occurring from them can also be read as indicating support for the government; anecdotally, the number of Fourth of July stories appears to be larger in years where the media seem to be aligned with national policy and lower in times of dissent. By my count, 1961, in the middle of the Cold War, has 37 news stories about the holiday, while the Vietnam years of 1966 and 1971 have respectively 27 and 10 stories, many of those about protests. But the varying granularity (few longer stories versus many short stories) of the newspaper as a whole needs to be taken into account as well, and the fact that story boundaries can be ambiguous makes the whole enterprise of story counting problematic.[46]

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[46] It may seem obvious that every story under a separate headline or byline can be counted as a separate story, for a start, as can every story marked off graphically by ruled lines. But subjective judgment is still involved at some points in the newspaper's graphical development. In the years 1852 to 1866, the *Times* tended to package stories together in groups. Sometimes the items were of similar length, and sometimes news reports and realia of varying length were assembled in mega-stories that would go on for one or more close-packed pages for up to 8,000 words. The packages had a master headline, a lead that covered the entire package, and two or three levels of subheadlines, commonly noun phrase labels such as "The Fourth of July at Tammany" and "The Fireworks" (1856). Subheadlines in some of these stories, co-occurring with topic shifts and lack of anaphora, are clearly equivalent to main headlines in others, and were counted as such, but clearly whether the topic has shifted is a somewhat subjective judgment. This layered package style reappears in 1961-1966, but in this later period, substantial headlines are more likely to contain verbs rather than being just nominal labels; thus I was able to treat subheadlines that are in boldface or contain verbs as main headlines and story boundaries.

Let us examine one year in more detail. For the year 1936, which is in the middle of the timespan, and relatively ordinary as far as observance goes – not a jubilee of any kind, nor a period of wartime or mourning that would draw attention from the holiday – the *New York Times Index* lists 34 items (including illustrations and letters) dealing with Independence Day. When I went through the pages myself, I found 53 items worth including. Much of the difference is due to the *Times* index counting packaged stories as one item where I counted them separately, but there were also stories that the index clearly missed.

Within the 1936 collection, there are several main threads: celebrations by President Roosevelt, by the local Tammany Democratic Club, by other political parties, by American communities abroad. There are also separate stories detailing the impact of the holiday on traffic and transportation, business, resorts, and sports, largely in terms of statistics. Some of these stories also contain information about political celebrations. There is a long list of accident reports. There are several stories about the conflict between the Fourth of July and the Puerto Rican independence movement. There are three letters following the holiday, addressed to no specific story but calling for patriotism generally. These are the items that are most centrally related to the holiday. However, if all mentions were included, the number of stories with Independence Day content would at least double. It is virtually impossible to draw a clear line around what is 'about' Independence Day: should we include social reports about parties held on the holiday weekend, radio program listings, titles of sermons, an unrelated news story about the President that mentions his Fourth of July plans in one sentence, a story about "the real Uncle Sam" that does not mention the holiday despite its patriotic theme and serendipitous timing? I did not include any of these. It would inflate the counts to no end to include every gratuitous mention or story with an Independence Day-themed wordplay in the headline, (such as "Holiday Lull to Bring Corporate Fireworks," a 2001 wire service dispatch about bad second quarter results), or every roundup report from a resort colony listing parties and yacht races held on July 4.

Thus, data collection depended on subjective identification of the most central stories, that is, those that most obviously have the national holiday as their topic (van Dijk 1988b: 41) or hypertheme (cf. Daneš 1974: 109, and, apparently independently and with a slightly different meaning, Martin and Rose 2002) and are likely to be indicative of the most typical language regarding it. The mental model for assembling such a collection is a prototype-outlyer model, not a rigid category model with necessary and sufficient attributes; that is, if one sets out to find stories concerned with the Fourth of July, certain kinds of story types will be especially numerous and salient, and one could even devise (imaginary) prototype stories for different subgenres in different periods; but the outer boundary is fuzzy and it is easy to come up with motivated reasons to include more stories, up to some outer limit which is not obvious since any story with a historical or calendrical element can be somehow linked to the holiday. Prototype approaches have been used in studies of news before; Süter (1993) performed a detailed prototype study of one very narrowly focused genre (called a "text type" in the study), namely wedding reports, using a self-described "corpus" of 625 reports assembled from two time periods and six regional newspapers.

In addition to general problems of delimitation, there were also particular problems in certain years. For example, in 1946, the independence of the Philippines was timed to fall on the Fourth of July, and there are many references to the shared Independence Day in that and some later years. Should this material be included in a subject-focused corpus about the American national holiday? In the end it was, since it sheds light on newspaper treatments of national days generally. Another difficult year was 1881, when President James A. Garfield was shot by an assassin in Washington on July 2, and festivities nationwide were cancelled because of his death vigil (he did not die until September 19). The newspaper carried stories about the silence on the holiday, and reports of the wishes sent to the President by groups that had assembled for the usual celebration and were now unsure what to do, for example:

> CHICAGO, July 4. – The Fourth passed quietly. No attempt was made at a
> general celebration, the people being depressed with the sad news coming

from Washington. Several accidents occurred, but only one resulted fatally, John Herman being drowned. A young lady named Clinton was drowned at Madison. ("Chicagoans Depressed," July 5, 1881, p. 2)

There were even some relatively normal holiday reports; but the mentions of the Fourth of July were decidedly marginal to the more real news that had suddenly superseded it and in whose light they would be judged. The absence of the holiday became news as evidence of the shock and respect of (most of) the citizenry.

With this background, we can examine the year-by-year breakdown of the stories and comparison with the contents of the *New York Times Index*:

Table 3-2: Independence Day stories found in the *New York Times*

year	number of news stories found (number entered on computer in full/in part)	number of editorials and small related items[47] (all entered in full)	number of signed opinion Columns (number entered on computer in full/in part)	number of *New York Times* index items
1852	27 (25/1)	2	-	-
1856	18 (18/0)	1	-	1?[48]
1861	20 (8/9)	2	-	3
1866	12 (4/5)	1	-	2
1871	13 (9/2)	4 + 6 sm	-	-
1876	15 (10/5)	5	-	28
1881	56 (3/2)	2	-	2
1886	23 (18/5)	4	-	2

[47] sm (for "small") indicates a blurb in the Topics of the Times section and its antecedents, not a full-length leader.

[48] One story is listed in the index for 1851-58, but the year is not given. The index is a facsimile of a logbook, with dates for the stories omitted in favor of page numbers, presumably referring to continuous numbering in a run of bound volumes. Since this story was logged as being on p. 2111 and newspapers were then 4-8 pages long, it was probably from fairly late in the period.

1891	42 (6/0)	2	-	-
1896	27 (25/3)	2	-	4
1901	46 (7/1)	3	-	-
1906	28 (21/1)	1	-	13
1911	29 (5/0)	1 + 1 sm	-	49
1916	17 (15/0)	1	-	23
1921	25 (8/0)	1	-	15
1926	45 (45/0)	2	-	30
1931	58 (11/0)	1	-	31
1936	53 (53/0)	1 + 5 sm	-	34
1941	44 (5/4)	2	-	45
1946	31 (31/0)	4	-	35
1951	34 (12/0)	2	1(1/0)	40
1956	27 (27/0)	1 + 5 sm	-	37
1961	37 (37/0)	1 + 5 sm	3 (3/0)	21
1966	27 (27/0)	-	2 (1/0)	22
1971	10 (11/0)	1	-	14
1976	hundreds (41/1)	5	3 (3/0)	~400
1981	13 (13/0)	2	3 (0/0)	23
1986	hundreds (56/0)	1	-	~200
1991	13 (13/0)	3	1 (1/0)	22
1996	26 (26/0)	1	3 (0/0)	23
2001	26 (26/0)	1	2 (1/0)	25

The *New York Times* began publishing its annual index volume in 1913, and subsequently published volumes covering its entire past history back to 1851. The early availability of an index for historians certainly contributed to its rise as the national newspaper of record. The last column gives the number of stories in the index under the heading "Independence Day – Fourth of July."[49] The number of stories in the

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[49] Index headings often seem arbitrary in retrospect; for example, stories about World War I were listed under "European War," stories about the Gulf War were indexed under "Middle East" and those about the September 11 attacks under "Terrorism." Though these events were clearly defined categories in the public mind, at no point did the *Times* indexers award them their own headings, even when advances in technology allowed them to make revisions between the inception of the news event and the publication of the index volume for the year. Headings for the Fourth of July were most typically "Fourth of July" or "Independence Day," but indexing for the

index cannot be considered comparable from year to year, since the policies on what is indexed and at what level of detail have varied considerably over time. In some years, stories are each listed separately in the index; in others, multiple listings are separated by semicolons and it is impossible to tell from the index whether these are parts of the same story, or different stories on the same page. Some years of the index list editorials, columns, and letters to the editor; others do not. The earliest years of the index are facsimiles of a handwritten ledger whose entries apparently point to pages in bound volumes of the newspaper, and have never been replaced by indexes according to modern principles. In counting index items for the table, I have followed the convention of counting each date-page-column listing as one index item.

As demonstrated in the discussion above of the stories from 1936, there is usually a significant difference between the stories listed in the index and the researcher's choice. For example, when collecting data for 2001 from the *New York Times* website, supplemented by newspaper hardcopies at the library, I chose to save the following 18 stories, none of which made it into the index:

- six stories about history, five of them having to do with the Revolutionary War, including a report of a new John Adams biography, with the Declaration of Independence mentioned in second sentence; a profile of an actor who plays John Adams at a National Parks site; a story about high-tech monitoring of the deterioration of the Liberty Bell; a story about a house George Washington slept in; a story about restoration of historic sites; and a story about the discovery of a flag from the scene of Lincoln's assassination. Some of these lacked a solid connection with the holiday other than the topic of history, but the concentration was unusual and newspapers rarely run such a large number of history stories at once unless an anniversary is near or a historical revision has just been made.

years before 1921 was extremely haphazard and the stories might be filed under "Fireworks," "Centennial Celebration of American Independence; Exposition at Philadelphia" (1876), or other headings that I was unable to guess.

- a short item about the display of an early copy of the Declaration of Independence in connection with the Fourth of July
- an information box about holiday closings, printed on several different days
- a notice about a holiday performance at the Statue of Liberty
- an AP story about President Bush's holiday plans, which was not in the print version of the newspaper
- two other political stories about a Congressman under investigation cancelling a parade appearance and about mayoral candidates campaigning in Fourth of July parades
- three law-and-order stories: a short item about seizure of illegal fireworks on Staten Island, a story about a swimming death in the Bronx, and a story about a woman killed by gunfire that may have been part of a Fourth of July celebration
- two short humor items about an independent (from party affiliation) Senator from Vermont who had a beer named after him, and a item about a Chinese TV host who eats one hot dog a year, on July 4
- a column about John Adams (with reference to the Declaration of Independence), and another about the patriotism of African-Americans.

Even though nearly all of these stories contained clear references to the holiday, they were not considered to be 'about' or relevant to the Fourth of July by the newspaper's indexers when they prepared the volume that appeared later. However, the researcher's eye was no better than the indexer's, since the index identified sixteen items that I did not have, most of them reports on fireworks or crime, as well as photographs and letters to the editor which did not appear on the website. Both index and hand searching are needed to avoid undersampling or missing important items, and there may be no way to avoid oversampling as researchers follow their own conceptions of relevance and try to collect material for studies whose direction they are not yet sure of.

3.4   Coding and data analysis

The basic features of the news stories were entered in a database (Microsoft Access) for purposes of counting and rough data analysis on the basis of generic or text-external characteristics. A total of 969 stories were indexed; these include all of the 587 stories that were completely typed (aside from short patches of unreadable microfilm) and the 33 that were partially typed, as well as 349 others that were found and legibly photocopied for analysis of headlines and other skimmable features. Each story was primarily coded by date (for example 1996.07.05 for July 5, 1996). Also entered were headline, page number (if available), number of words, byline type, various content descriptors such as News, Report, Celebration, Parade and whether the story was accompanied by photographs or other illustrations such as maps.

The purpose of the following selective summary of the database is to characterize the data and to show how it changes over time. The total run from 1852 to 2001 has been broken into three unequal segments: 1852-1916 (14 separate years), 1921-1961 (9 separate years) and 1966-2001 (8 separate years). The first break marks historical changes to faster and more internationally aware journalism in the United States after World War I, rather than a style change; while the second marks a notable style change that began in the mid-1960s. The style changes in the data will be discussed later, in section 3.5.

3.4.1   Attribution (Bylines)

The earliest stories have no bylines at all. Author bylines first appear in 1906 for fiction and poetry, and in 1936 for news. Signed letters to the editor, in their familiar place after the editorials, appear by 1916. Before that, any correspondence thought worthy of reprinting was summarized in the editorial voice.

The first wire service, the Associated Press, was founded by six

newspapers in 1848, before the *New York Times* began publishing. According to the official history on its website (NYT 2004), the AP "was formally organized" in 1856, with *Times* founder Henry Raymond as a director, so we can conclude that the newspaper was a member at least from this point on. Source labels for AP and other wire service stories first appear in this collection in 1926.

"Special to The New York Times" was introduced at the beginning of the 20th century for out-of-town stories transmitted by exclusive cable rather than by a wire service. From the 1920s to the 1940s, when private electronic transmission was still an innovation, newspapers frequently competed on speed and special bylines naming the particular transmission method (Wireless, Cable, Telephone) were frequent. These bylines reverted to "Special" bylines as machinery for distance communication became taken for granted. Some stories in 1926 also had a copyright notice ("Copyright, 1926, by The New York Times"). When author bylines became standard for full-sized stories, "Special" was still often printed under the byline, and it continues to be the sole byline for some stories written by freelancers, beginning reporters, and interns. The recently introduced "By The New York Times" appears to have a similar function as a byline substitute for writers going through an initial probation period; the *Times* is among the media organizations that makes new reporters 'earn' the right to a byline. It is unlikely, however, that most readers are aware of the meaning of these bylines.

Table 3-3: Types of bylines in the text collection

No byline	1852-2001
Special to The New York Times	1901-2001
Special Cable to The New York Times	1911-1941
AP (Associated Press)	1926-2001
By Wireless to The New York Times	1926-1946
By Cable to The New York Times	1936 only
Canadian Press	1936-1941
Author byline	1936-2001
By Telephone to The New York Times	1941 only
UP, UPI (United Press International)	1941-1981
Reuters	1946-1976
By The New York Times	1996-2001

The distribution of byline types by year for the story collection is shown in the table below:

Table 3-4: Time distribution of byline types

	1852-1916	1921-1961	1966-2001	total
No byline	371	120	53	544
Special, Wireless, Cable	16	127	15	156
Wire service	0	82	28	110
Author + Special	0	12	23	35
Author byline alone	2	18	102	122
total	389	359	221	969

Most of the early stories have no bylines. Those from 1921 to 1961 have a large number of bylines that merely indicate the method of transmission, as well as many wire service bylines and some individual author bylines later in the series. From 1966 to the present, individual author bylines predominate – perhaps because news that goes out on the wires has already been disseminated by radio and television, and the newspaper sees its provision of value in individually written stories. The "Special" bylines are these days mostly used in conjunction with an author byline. Only speeches, notices, listings, and captions for boxed photographs ("box pictures") are still commonly run without bylines.

3.4.2 Story length

The average length of the stories completely typed in was 433.7 words, or somewhat shorter than the 600 words that was often alluded to among journalists as the average newspaper story length. Little importance can be ascribed to this number since shorter stories were more likely to be completely typed. The shortest stories were brief items of 20 words or so. The five longest stories that were completely typed were as follows:

- "From Fireworks to Parades: A July Fourth Guide," advance on events in the New York Area, 1981, 6658 words
- "Inauguration of the Washington Statue," report on events, 1856, 4142 words
- "Nixon's Talk Warning Nations of Peril of Neutralism," transcript of a speech by then Vice President Nixon at the tenth anniversary of Philippine independence[50] in Manila, 1956, 3313 words
- "The Fourth," advance on events organized in the city, 1871, 2941 words
- "America Praised By London Editor," reworking of British newspaper article about the 150th anniversary, 1926, 2918 words

In addition, the text collection includes a block of 7216 words of "The Glorious Fourth," the main front page report from 1871, but that was very far from the complete story.

As noted in connection with Table 3-1, the word counts are not precise in any case, since some circumstantial data that was not part of the stories was included directly in the text files. For longer stories that jumped from one page to another, information about the jump (page number, jump headline) was embedded at the point in the story where it occurred, which makes the word count roughly 10-15 words too high. This information was not removed when doing word counts because of the risk that I would forget to put it back in, and although the objects of

[50] The United States granted the Philippines independence on July 4, 1946. Philippine Independence Day was intermittently covered in the *New York Times* for at least a decade afterwards, usually with reference to the sharing of the holiday with the US. However, July 4 is no longer the primary national day of the Philippines. Feeling that the American holiday overshadowed the Filipino holiday, in the early 1960s President Diosdado Macapagal initiated the change of Independence Day to June 12 (1898), the day on which the national flag and anthem were introduced to the public and the Act of the Declaration of Independence was read. July 4 became Republic Day. There is some controversy about whether the Declaration established the Philippines as a completely sovereign country or as an American protectorate (it was not officially acquired by the United States until December when the U.S. government paid Spain $20 million for the islands under the Treaty of Paris), but June 12 was certainly the day when modern national symbols, including the day itself, made their debut. (Macapagal 1997)

study were irretrievably altered by detaching them from their original presentation and entering them online, it seemed important to preserve as much contextual information as possible. The word counts may also occasionally be inflated by a note like *[sic]* to mark mistakes in the original, or deflated by an unreadable patch in the microfilm, marked *[unreadable]*.

3.4.3   News/Feature

One way to classify news stories with respect to time is along a gradient scale of time dependence from "news" (including "hard news" at the extreme end, followed by less time-dependent "soft news") to "feature" or magazine-style article. This classification has to do with the durative aspect of time, specifically how long the story embodies the news value of timeliness: its shelf life. For this study, stories were classified as news if they were time-dependent within a narrow range; in particular if there were only one or a few days on which they could have run in the newspaper. Features were purely 'interesting,' less event-oriented stories that had a much longer shelf life and could have run in other years, and in some cases on other patriotic holidays as well (for example, stories about the politicians of the independence movement, known as the "Founding Fathers," or profiles of manufacturers of patriotic paraphernalia). A total 850 stories were classified as news, and 57 stories were classified as features. The decision was sometimes difficult to make and there were 25 stories that seemed to be clearly on the borderline: that is, a news story grafted onto a feature, or a feature with an embedded news story, or some combination of those with an editorial or opinion column. There were also 16 stories that were entirely verbatim reprints of speeches, instructions or proclamations, and coming from non-journalistic sources were not subject to classification for news freshness, and 21 separate "box pictures," which were not attached to any article and have characteristics of both news (recording of the past day's events) and features (adding extra dimensions and texture to the main narrative record).

Feature stories appear to be a recent invention. Before 1976, there were at most 1 or 2 articles in a given year that could be considered features; usually descriptions of decorations or historical background. Most often, though, there were no stories at all that could be considered features. Since 1976 there have been 5 to 8 features in a normal year, including sketches of small-town celebrations, stories about holiday product suppliers and service providers, descriptions of decorations and other physical features, retrospectives of past holiday celebrations, stories about United States history that were implicitly part of the holiday package, and interview pieces about attitudes to patriotism as well as historical retrospectives. These make up as much as half of the newspaper's coverage of the holiday.

3.4.4 Advance/Report

Another way that news stories are classified in relation to time is as advances or reports. Advances are stories about upcoming events, and reports are stories about events that have already taken place, so this rating is directional [-/+] relative to the event. In broadcast, live feeds while the event is taking place are also possible. The prototypical newspaper story (not just in celebration news but in general) is a report, and the data collection is 75 percent reports. In the Fourth of July data, 130 of the stories were classified as advances, and advances occurred in every year of coverage. 739 stories were classified as reports, including 20 box pictures, 8 stories that included embedded event programs and transcripts, and 38 stories from 1881 which were actually reports of the cancellation of Fourth of July events in the wake of the shooting of President Garfield. The reports also included 1 story that was a combination of an advance and an opinion column, 3 stories that were combinations of a report and an opinion column, and 2 stories that combined a report and an editorial (that is, they seemed to be written in a more lofty and prescriptive voice than any of the normal reporter voices). All of these combination stories appeared on the news pages.

There were also 33 stories that combined reports and advances, and 67 stories that had no strong temporal orientation to events. These non-

temporal stories included, in addition to 17 instances of primary sources (1 set of instructions, 2 proclamations and 14 verbatim speeches), a total of 50 stories that fell strongly into the feature category discussed in the previous section: 24 background stories about events, 17 background stories about history, 7 profiles of people involved with Fourth of July activities, 6 feature stories whose obvious and overt purpose was to offer examples of patriotic behavior (hence somewhat more "subjunctive" than temporally grounded, a concept that will be explored further in the next section), as well as 1 fictional short story, 1 poem, and 1 joke (with only incidental Fourth of July content). It should be noted that the last section identified 57 features (opposed to news) compared to 50 identified here (opposed to advances or reports); the difference lies with borderline cases such as "reporter's notebook" stories that were not focused around a single clear event, but were nevertheless crucially based on detailed reporting of the previous day's happenings; and stories which only had a small news hook, such the dedication of a statue, on which to hang a rambling feature about historical events. This is further evidence that the classifications of news/feature and advance/report/feature are fuzzy, as is sometimes acknowledged with the use of the term "soft news" for these intermediate stories. Because of the fuzziness and mixing of news subgenres, the classifications in the database will never be perfect; the important point is to notice is that at least three quarters of the data were news reports. As noted, the data collection for the "incomplete" early years was biased toward news reports, but the "complete" years in the later part of the sample contained between 75 and 85 percent reports as well. Thus we can establish that reports are definitely the most frequent type of story, but advances occur in every year as well.

3.4.5   Topic

Topics of news reports and features were classified at several levels. Ideally, stories should be multiply coded into as many topic categories as they seemed to fit; for example a story about traffic, weather, and beaches could have all three as keywords. In fact, many of the more complex stories have a dozen or more clear topics, and several different

ways to divide them. A worse problem was that the Microsoft Access database program is hierarchical and does not lend itself to multiple codes for each story. Therefore a very rough tree taxonomy was used, based largely on the contents of the headline and lead. I did not attempt to impose any preconceived categories on the material, but simply sorted and resorted it until the categories appeared to satisfactorily cover most of the stories. It should not be expected that all stories with material on a given topic were included in the figures (because of the existence of complex or mixed stories), or that the figures for subtopics will add up to 100 percent of the stories. The more valuable observations here are qualitative, having to do with the appearance and disappearance of story topics.

The most frequent primary topic was Celebrations (574 stories total), consisting of advances and reports on celebratory events such as speeches, parades, firework displays, concerts, and similar happenings. Some of the celebrations stories were "roundups" combining information on a variety of events as well as on other aspects such as the weather, traffic and accidents; others were focused on a single well-bounded event.

Secondary codings under Celebrations (also used under other headings where warranted) included Roundup (stories covering multiple events, 64 stories), Diplomatic (79 stories), Speech (38 stories), Parade (27 stories), President (23 stories), Military (25 stories), as well as further classifications based on venue or sponsoring group (most often Tammany Hall, the main Democratic political club, followed by the Society of Cincinnati, an association for Revolutionary War veterans and their descendants, Church, Labor, Resorts, Ethnic, Expat), and type of event (Tall Ships, Fireworks, Social, Dedication, Flagraising, Illuminations). The coding was a matter of convenience and could have been done differently; for instance, it was clear that Tammany events consistently involved a meeting with a speech as the centerpiece, so there was little point in coding these stories as Speech as well. The major Celebrations category also included 23 story about events that took place in the U.S. around the holiday but were not in fact Fourth of July celebrations; 12 of these were about the absence of celebrations in the

wake of the 1881 shooting of President McKinley, and the rest were about other countries' national holiday celebrations.

Table 3-5: Stories in the database by topic

Celebrations (574)	Roundup (64), Diplomatic (79), Speech (38), Parade (27), Military (25), President (23), Tammany (16), further categories by venue, group and type of event
Accidents (103)	Fires, Fireworks, Firearms, further categories
Traffic (27)	
Weather (14)	
President (12)	
History (20)	
Business features (19)	Vendors, Fireworks, Effects, Politics, Personality, Crowds, Fundraising
Pragmatic (142)	Disorder (68): crime, fights, protests Communications (28): metalinguistic Reactions (5) Local Color (26): implicit models Meta (15): explicit comment

In addition to Celebrations, the major topics that were easy to pick out were:

- Accidents: 103 stories total, including fires, firework injuries, and apparently accidental gun injuries as well as road and rail accidents
- Traffic: 27 stories primarily about train, automobile and excursion boat traffic
- Weather: 14 stories primarily about the weather
- History: 20 stories about historical themes strongly or weakly related to the holiday, and activities at historical sites
- President: 12 stories about how the President spent the holiday visiting celebrations, giving speeches, or relaxing at home; in most years of the 20th century his holiday activities were considered worth reporting on simply because he embodied the nation. The President was also a major figure in at least 23 stories that would

probably have been reported in any case (counted under Celebrations).

The human tendency to categorize phenomena as events with a beginning, middle and end has been noted by both cognitive psychologists (see section 2.3.2) and by researchers on news values (see Chapter VIII), and it is certainly apparent here in the large number of stories devoted to event-shaped happenings like celebrations and accidents.

In addition to the categories above, there were also some business features, that is, background stories of the type that might equally have been written about a large commercial event such as a rock concert, with little or no nationalistic content. These totalled 19 stories and included Vendors (2 features on sellers of fireworks and other patriotic paraphernalia), Fireworks (3 stories on fireworks artists and descriptive pieces on the use of fireworks generally), Effects (5 stories about the effects and aftereffects of tourists on the city), Politics (4 stories about politicians other than the President, or about campaigning on the holiday), Personality (2 biographies of people financially involved with the 1986 Statue of Liberty centennial), Crowds (2 stories about housing tourists for the holiday), and Fundraising (1 story about raising money for the Statue of Liberty centennial). These story types were irregularly scattered through the years, except for 1976 and 1986 when they appeared in greater profusion because the enormous journalistic and other resources brought to bear on those superjubilees naturally produced a broader range of stories.

The remainder of the stories were more complex and difficult to classify. They appeared to share a pragmatic or abstract aspect that distinguished them from more 'objective' reports on events, entities and conditions:

- Disorder: 68 stories, used for crime (including illegal fireworks and intentional firearm use), fights, and individual and organized protests such as flag-burning and counter-rallies.
- Communications: 28 stories in which the main event was communicative: for example, a telegram or telephone call of

congratulations, or a report on the Fourth of July in a foreign newspaper. Some of the stories classed as Diplomatic were also mainly communications based. These stories can be considered to have a pragmatic aspect because there was often an implicit judgment: the communication was being framed as friendly or unfriendly.

- Reaction: 5 rather different stories whose common element was that they were about reactions to events rather than the events themselves: a story about French reactions to the 1986 Statue of Liberty centennial, a story in the same year about Philippine reactions to the U.S. Fourth of July, a story about reactions of black New Yorkers to the Bicentennial, a story about reactions of U.S. citizens in a Mexican jail to a Bicentennial party for them, and a story in 1921 about reactions of Irish New Yorkers to being barred from a park.

- Local Color: 26 stories, used for articles about particularly charming celebrants and aspects of the holiday, often in small towns outside New York. These stories, which included advances, reports, and features, were distinguished from normal news by their positive aspect – negative judgments were absent or highly qualified – and the fact that they seemed to be presented as examples, either representative or didactic.

- Meta: 15 stories, used for explicit discussions of what is proper or allowed on the holiday, and didactic examples of good and bad holiday behavior. These included stories based on direct interviews with citizens (all from the last 25 years), as well as some anecdotes, fiction and poetry from earlier periods. An essay on the meaning of the Statue of Liberty from 1986 was also included in this category, as was some fiction. The difference between Meta and Local Color is that Meta stories include explicit judgment, either in the journalistic voice or in the voice of one of the news actors.

Some of these stories were more complex than others and could easily have been classified differently, and it is possible that some other stories with a pragmatic aspect were overlooked in the coding, but it is certainly clear that there was a small core of stories whose meaning was involved

with reader perception of a subjunctive kind. That is, Schudson (1987: 94ff) attempted a crude and non-linguistic taxonomy of news stories based on a kind of macro-level tense; trivially, events already completed were categorized as *past*, ongoing events as *present*, and future events as *future*. However, some stories were called "subjunctive" because they present or encourage public speculation on a vision of what the community could be, rather than reporting what it is; and these stories tend to appear at anniversaries and turning-points when it is common for meaning-makers of all kinds (politicians, editors, toastmakers) to try to extrapolate the past into the future. Dayan and Katz (1992: 119) have adopted the idea of subjunctivity and associate this kind of speculation with Turner's (1969) concept of liminal states. The stories in these categories show a broader range of subjunctivity than Schudson intended since they report idealized celebrations (particularly the Local Color stories), examples of behavior that is implicitly wished to be different (particularly the Disorder stories, although it could be argued that most negative news works like this), and explicit speculations and wishes (particularly the Meta stories). These stories are most likely all based in reality, but it is a selective and didactic reality, and these are the places where the newspaper can most readily be seen doing its pragmatic work. A number of these stories will be examined in more detail in upcoming chapters.

Excluded from the counts were 21 box pictures, 10 closing notices, 16 speech transcripts, 1 story that was essentially an advertisement for a resort, 1 story about the money made by a resort during the holiday, and 13 stories that were only weakly linked to the holiday (for example through wordplay in a headline).

The taxonomy presented above gives a snapshot of the data: which 'typical' stories, like parade reports, formed clusters with large multiples of similar examples, and which were peripheral and unexpected. A further result of the coding exercise was the observation of the rise and fall of certain particular story categories. That is, some types of texts common in the nineteenth century seem to have been replaced in the late twentieth century by others which appear to serve the same function:

- Stories about brawls have been supplanted by stories about illegal sales of fireworks, but both are cautionary reports on disorder.
- Stories about boat excursions to resorts for the holiday have been replaced by stories about road traffic and accidents, which have diminished as cars and highways become part of the landscape.
- Detailed descriptions of the physical appearance of the decorated city with its bunting and illuminations have been supplanted by stories about the small businesses who make fireworks displays and flags, serving the same purpose of setting the scene and fixing the circumstances of the celebration as well as encouraging citizens to go out and look at the displays and make their own.
- Stories about local political and social club chapters such as Tammany, the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Society of Cincinnati have faded away, as have stories about political party celebrations. Today's politicized holiday news concerns the activities of individuals such as the President, ex-Presidents, and candidates in the next election.
- Fiction, poetry and speeches have been replaced in their role of creative narrative and rhetoric by artfully written stories about small town events that reflect the idea of the United States as a nation of families of mainly white European descent, living and attending church in the small towns where they were born.

We will have more to say about all of these story types later on, particularly in the chapters on evaluation (Chapter V) and facework and footing (Chapter VII).

3.4.6   Scope

The geographic scope of each story was coded in terms of Nation, State, Region (the New York metropolitan area including Long Island, Westchester County, New Jersey, and southern Connecticut), City[51], US –

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[51] Stories about events in any of the five boroughs – Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, the Bronx, and Staten Island were coded as City throughout the data, even though

Elsewhere, Puerto Rico, and International. Stories that were written partly in terms of one scope and partly in terms of another were coded as Combination.

There was a clear increase in nation stories in the middle period (particularly, although the table does not show this, after 1936). International stories increased strongly in the 20th century, not surprisingly when improvements in communications are considered, but decrease sharply after 1961, a change I was unable to account for:

<div align="center">Table 3-6: Geographic scope over time</div>

	1852-1916	1921-1961	1966-2001	total
Nation	11	36	61	108
State	15	2	0	17
Region	63	51	18	132
City	181	55	67	303
US – Elsewhere	73	39	22	134
Puerto Rico	1	9	0	10
International	30	135	28	193
Combination	15	32	25	72
Total	389	359	221	969

- *Nation:* This category was used for stories featuring the President and other federal officials, events organized by the federal government, and stories that clearly attempt to summarize celebrations and holiday conditions across the United States. The federal government became noticeably stronger during and after World War I, and the new primacy of the national flag over state and local symbols was noted in the stories from 1916. This change did not affect reporting priorities immediately, as the majority of the national-level stories appeared in or after 1936. The increase in national stories probably indicates a combination of the nation becoming more centralized, the newspaper becoming more national, and the Fourth of July holiday becoming more official

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the towns in these areas were not gathered into boroughs and united into Greater New York City until 1898.

and national (Congress passed flag, holiday and anthem laws in the 1940s).

- *Region:* This category was used for stories about events falling outside the city but within the New York metropolitan area, which was taken for the present purposes as New Jersey and Connecticut (these two states together with New York State form the so-called tri-state area) and the counties of New York State that are closest to the city (all of Long Island and as far north as Dutchess County). Stories about the New York region as a region also naturally fell into this category.

- *State:* The state of New York practically never appears as a significant category of scope, which may be partly because of its intermediate position between the officially national purview of the holiday and the lifeworld of readers (specifically the much smaller distances to local beaches and resorts that might be expected to form the boundaries of a New Yorker's world on a long weekend). Furthermore, New Yorkers often conceive of themselves as residents of an island-based city-state only marginally attached to the United States or any individual state.

- *City:* Stories about celebrations in different parts of New York City are especially prominent in the early years and dwindle away during the twentieth century as the newspaper assumes national status and news from other places becomes more accessible. By the 1960s, local weather and traffic reports were more efficiently transmitted by broadcast, the city had grown too big to have a single-focused event like the nineteenth-century military parades, and the *New York Times* has never been a newspaper of neighbourhoods anyway; it has occasionally provided a directory of events or covered neighborhood happenings as local color, but not consistently.

- *International:* The bulk of the international stories are from 1926 or later, probably because of improved communications. The combination of fast connections, increased imperial reach, and globalization produces a visible concentration of international stories in mid-century, particularly about celebrations by American troops and communities abroad. The countries most often mentioned are France (19 stories), the UK (17 stories), the

Philippines (16 stories, many of them partially or wholly about Philippines independence for the reasons described earlier), Russia and the Soviet Union (16 stories, concentrated during the Cold War), Germany (10 stories), Denmark (10 stories, many of them about the Fourth of July celebration at Rebild, an estate owned by an Americanophile Dane who instituted the celebration in the early years of the century; it still takes place today), and Canada (9 stories, some also mentioning Canada Day which is July 1). As the American military empire in Europe, the Pacific and Latin America contracted, many of the stories about colonies and troops overseas disappeared, but it is not clear why the newspaper stopped covering embassy receptions and expatriate communities.

- *Combination:* Many of the combination stories appear to be relics of the disjunctive news style used in the mid-twentieth century, in which facts about different events at different venues were collaged together into a single story.

3.4.7   *Photographs and illustrations*

88 of the stories were accompanied by some kind of illustration, typically a photograph. The first instance of illustration in the data is an engraving accompanying a poem on the editorial pages in 1906 (though there is some art in advertisements in earlier years). Photographs begin to appear in 1931 and gradually increase so that by 2001 approximately one third of the stories are illustrated by photographs (in addition to the nearby box pictures). The early photographs tend to show massed events such as parades and rallies, while the later ones are more often 'slice of life' details like a child with a flag or a family at a barbecue.

3.5   The pragmatics of national holiday news

Before entering the analysis proper, we should give some more detailed attention to how pragmatic effects can be directly achieved through news stories. The fact that both advances and reports are run about the same events suggests that we might be able to see some effect of the

advance in the report that follows, following Thomas' suggestion (1997: 204ff) that subsequent co-text is a clue to the pragmatic meaning of earlier text and stretching the meaning of co-text to cover successive editions of a discourse colony (Hoey 2001) such as a newspaper. The notion of a national *holiday* rather than just a national day is important in this instance (although not for some other aspects of the study) because for people to be able to react to an invitation or command to attend events, they must first be free from other obligations; and advances are correspondingly more likely and more detailed when a day off is involved. Advances typically run at least the day before the holiday, and sometimes for several days before if unusual preparations are being made or the holiday is expected to be particularly disruptive to traffic (creating a long weekend, for instance). The top of an ordinary advance, from 1916, can be seen below:

CITY TO CELEBRATE ITS FOURTH QUIETLY
> Patriotism, Without Noise, to Mark Ceremonies In All Boroughs
>> DAY TO BE SAFE AND SANE
>>> Principal Exercises to be Held at the City Hall
>>> – Buildings Decorated – Illumination at Night

At 5:30 o'clock this morning Mrs. C.L. Morehouse, assisted by the Washington Continental Guards in their uniforms of Revolutionary days, will raise the American flag over the old blockhouse in Central Park, near 110th Street – and New York's Independence Day will be inaugurated. From that hour until late at night celebrations, exercises, speeches, athletic games, and illuminations will follow each other and run simultaneously in commemoration of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Of firecrackers, skyrockets, cannon and bombs there will be none. The day is to be "safe and sane" so far as explosives go.

Probably the most spectacular feature of the city's celebration will be the illuminations in the evening. The Mayor's Committee directing, and the New York Edison company co-operating, lights have been placed all over the city from the Statue of Liberty to Yonkers, in most advantageous positions, and this evening will be the brightest ever known in New York. An informal inspection of the points to be illuminated was made last night, and everything was found ready.

But the lights will not be the only silent symbols of the day, for the city will be decorated with American flags and the national colors in practically every street. In addition to the decorations provided by the Mayor's Committee and private organizations, citizens have used flags and bunting on their houses. (July 4, 1916, p. 1)

Aside from the smallest details, such as the name of Mrs. Morehouse, and certain style elements, this story might have run in any of the long sequence of years in which military parades were a centerpiece and electric light was a novelty worth mentioning. Although it contains no explicit illocutionary force indicators, there is a great deal of suggestive practical information embedded in it and the reader cannot help learning that there will be events in the early morning near Central Park, that the streets will be well-lit and probably full of people at night, and that citizens are being encouraged to decorate their houses. Even more specific information, such as the timetables of speeches and band concerts, is available further down in the story, and elsewhere in the newspaper. No one seems to be commanding the people to celebrate, and yet the next day's report shows that they did fill the streets and celebrate, and further that they heeded calls for public order:

> 2,000,000 HERE SALUTE THE FLAG
>> Reverence for Nation's Colors the Feature of All Civic Celebrations of the Fourth.
>>> ILLUMINATION AT NIGHT
>>> Americanism and Preparedness Keynotes of Speeches in Five Boroughs.
>>>> HUGHES ON VILLAGE GREEN
>>>> Colonel Roosevelt at Oyster Bay Assails Call on Married Guardsman – Ready to Volunteer

> The spirit of 1916 and the spirit of 1776 met and merged yesterday when New York celebrated the 140th anniversary of American Independence. It was the biggest as well as the "sanest" Fourth of July celebration this city has ever had. Americanism was its dominant note and the flag almost wholly supplanted the firecracker as the exponent of patriotic fervor.

> History stalked big through the exercises of the day. Commemorated in the oratory, stirring events of the long ago, when Uncle Sam began setting up housekeeping for himself in the Western Hemisphere, to which the Glorious Fourth owes its traditions, were visualized and pictured in pageant and

tableau for the benefit of the largest open air audiences on record in New York.

It was not a silent Fourth, for the day was made melodious by the music of hundreds of bands playing patriotic airs. But it was the city's most noiseless Fourth of July since the late Mayor Gaynor began his agitation some six years ago for a "safe and sane" celebration of Independence Day. Only in the outlying suburban districts was there in evidence a survival of the old Fourth of July spirit, of which noise was the keynote and a long casualty list the consequence. (July 5, 1916, p. 1)

This is a fairly generic story from the middle of the period; words like "sanest" (referring to the "safe and sane" anti-fireworks campaigns of 1903-1916, see Glassberg 1987: 55ff) and "Americanism" fix the date at the end of the Progressive era. However, only the dates and the mention of Mayor Gaynor, together with the term of "preparedness" associated with early 20th century wars, fix it more precisely than that. The participants are evaluated this time as extremely enthusiastic, but in some other years the turnout is be described as low or indifferent; and we have no way of knowing when a reports of turnout were propaganda, when the reporter's impression was mistaken and when it was accurate. Nevertheless, if the advance stories can be read as instructions, similarly the report stories after the holiday are not just descriptions but have an evaluative and even prescriptive force, as we will see in chapters to come.

If the reports of event attendance and enthusiasm can be verified as accurate from other sources, then it is tempting to interpret the response as a perlocutionary effect of earlier stories. In the United States, the federal government often uses the media as an intermediary, so the advance stories do act to inform people directly. However, it is important not to view the exchange as simply the nation-state manipulating the people. Veterans' organizations and national citizenship committees (Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, League of Women Voters, Grand Army of the Republic) have always played a part in the overall direction of any national celebrations. Local government and citizen committees, close enough to work face to face in small towns, organize most of the holiday events

people actually attend (Bodnar 1992, O'Leary 1999, Marvin and Ingle 1999), and these organizations often have their own, more local advertising mechanisms such as posters and flyers as well as local media. Schools are not in session in the United States on the Fourth of July, but where national holidays do take place during the school year, assemblies and other programs are common, supported by specialty educational media. Finally, businesses are involved when they exploit the holiday to sell relevant products and to brush up their images as good citizens; advertisements with slogans like "Royal Baking Powder Makes the Bread of the Nation" (1896), "The American Taste Declares Its Independence" (Fleischmann's dry gin, 1936) and "The men who made our country made our bank (New York Bank for Savings, 1976) are commonplace.[52] The business use of the day is further enabled by the background stories about suppliers of fireworks, flags, and other patriotic paraphernalia and services which run in the newspaper.

The literate landscape is thus too complex to allow simple 'reading off' of perlocutionary effects. But it is certainly true that the mass media are a common source of practical directions, both concrete instructions about where to go now and longer term, higher level instructions, implied through examples and reports, about how to act like a good citizen. Like many interesting acts in pragmatics, these instructions are deniable (cf. Östman's discussion of pragmatics in terms of deniability at 1986: 25);

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[52] Commercialism is a very deep-seated part of national days at in some countries at least; see Marvin and Ingle (1999) for more on the commercial nature of vernacular patriotism. American commercial suppliers have always competed to provide the people with flags, fireworks, holiday transportation, and entertainment; and suppliers of everyday goods used the symbols of the nation in their advertising, or mentioned the referred to the anniversary explicitly or obliquely – just as they do with other holidays, whether related to the goods themselves or not. One function of this may be to try to assure consumers that the company in question is still vital and attuned to the passing of seasons and fashions – again, a kind of display of cultural capital. The commercialization of the British monarchy, which performs most of the ceremonial function in British politics and has long been exploited in commemorative mugs and medals and pub names, is a precursor to this.

the media producer could if pressed deny that the act of imparting information in an advance story also constitutes a command, invitation, or even suggestion to attend. Nevertheless, this information has an effect on readers who have learned the conventional uses of written texts. As Henkin notes, the styles of textual interaction that readers have mastered allow them to distinguish between the force of directive signs like NO SPITTING and suggestive advertisements like GET MET. IT PAYS, "because we have learned to read them and recognize their authority (which is not to say that we are in complete control of our responses to them)" (1998: 65). Most relevantly for this study, readers can presumably recognize when apparently descriptive reports have a directive or didactic quality. The complex ways in which news stories about national days influence reader perceptions and behavior without (usually) directly commanding them will be explored in the rest of the study using the concepts of frames, evaluation, metaphor, politeness and news values.

3.6 Evolution of the news story genre

The last chapter contained a synchronic survey of the newspaper story genre, with descriptions of typical story structures in use today. However, the data cover a timespan of 150 years, during which considerable changes in the stylistics, organization and production of news stories took place. In order to have a chance of distinguishing linguistic effects *in situ* from variation and change in the genre as a whole, we must first review the evolution of the news story in the United States. In the earlier discussion of external characteristics of the text collection, the stories were chronologically divided for purposes of statistical analysis into three groups: 1852-1916, 1921-1961 and 1966-2001. As noted, the first break marks a change to fast communications technology that begins to knit world information networks together, and the second marks a loosening of layout and style under the influence of television and other social changes.

For purposes of the following discussion the stories will be divided into periods according to their textual structure only, and the results are

slightly different; that is, changes in communications technology that affected reporting from the field did not have the same impact on newspaper style as changes in printing technology did earlier. Before going into the details, however, we must take note of versions of the evolution of the American news story that have been suggested by other researchers. Mott sees the amateur, unstandardized appearance of early newspapers beginning to fade away at the beginning of the Civil War and places the emergence of the modern news story between 1872 and 1892 (1950: 330, 496). In an examination of coverage of the President's State of the Union address, Schudson locates the rise of the summary lead between 1870 and 1900 (1995: 54-64). He also notes that emphasis in twentieth-century news stories has shifted from immediate significance to long-range ramifications of events (63-64, based on the diachronic study of the front page of the *New York Times* by Ogan et al. 1975). On the basis of a study of regional newspapers in northern California, Cotter (2003) identifies four periods of twentieth-century news: a protomodern period during newswriters gradually abandoned the flowery Victorian style and shortened their paragraphs (late 19th century to 1920s); a classicist period during which the all-text inverted pyramid style story prevailed (1930s); a mid-century transition period in which the changes to the newspaper layout wrought by photographs were consolidated and use of quotations was expanded; and the multimedia era beginning in the 1960s; which saw an increase in reader-centeredness, characterized by a more conversational tone with more use of sentence-initial connectives. Finally, Talese's history of the *New York Times* (1969) and Kluger's history of the *New York Herald Tribune* (1986) both discuss the introduction of livelier writing and graphics under competition with television in the 1960s.

With these findings in mind, the stories have been divided according to text-internal characteristics into three periods, roughly: 1852 to 1871, when mass-market newspapers were still a novelty and their style was fluid; 1871 to 1961, when the traditional "inverted pyramid" news story with a summary first paragraph or "lead" (telling who, what, when, where, and why) gradually emerged and held sway; and 1966 to the present, when more visual and narrative styles evolved under competition with other media. I will call these the *early*, *middle* and *late*

periods of American daily journalism. The divisions basically agree with those of the researchers cited above but were generated from my own examination of this particular material. In particular, it is obvious that advances in both newswriting formulas and typesetting from the 1860s to the 1870s were allowing a greater degree of preplanning in the news pages and permitting a wider variety of stories to be included.

My choice here of 1871 as a break point between the early and middle periods represents a shift from the choice of 1856 or 1861 as the break point outlined in ben-Aaron 2003. It is true that there is a noticeable increase in superficial newspaper organization from the 1850s to the 1860s; for example, the front page becomes neater, and summary leads are more noticeable. However, in this treatment I have decided to accord more importance to the point when reportage visibly becomes the main focus of the newspaper, throughout its pages, rather than often serving merely as a frame for large pieces of realia, and this change is not clear until the 1870s – earlier for some features, and later for others.

3.6.1   1852-1871: *Miscellany and realia*

The earliest newspapers in the United States, predating the founding of the *New York Times* in 1852, were read mainly by urban merchants and other elite readers and covered only a narrow range of news. Typically they were personal productions of the editor, who was often also the printer, and were devoted to trade news and/or personal philosophy; they were closer in scope to today's magazines and newsletters than to newspapers. They were fairly expensive, at six cents a single copy, and were mostly sold by subscription (Mott 1950). The 1852 volume of the *New York Times* has no page numbers, since each issue had only four pages occupying different faces of a single folded sheet of paper; by 1856 the newspaper is eight pages long with page numbers, and by 1861, modern headlines that are typographically distinct from the text are standard.

The early period stories about the Fourth of July are disorganized collections of one-line bulletins and longer chronologies, often difficult

to distinguish stylistically from nearby advertisements, or from public notices marked with the graphical device of a pointing hand. From the point of view of today's reader they were clearly lacking in editorial planning and audience design, though there may well be textual logics operating in them that we cannot see today. The content of each report typically includes the fact of the celebration, an evaluation of it, a note on its scope and events, and a listing of accidents:

> The Celebration at Albany
> ALBANY, Tuesday, July 6
> The public celebration and that by the Young Men's Association, yesterday, passed off gloriously. Not an accident occurred. The streets were thronged with visitors in anticipation of the obsequies of HENRY CLAY, but owing to the late hour at which the remains arrived, many were compelled to return home.
>
> At Philadelphia....PHILADELPHIA, July 6
> The celebration yesterday passed off without serious accident. The population occupied the streets and other public places throughout the day, wasting an incredible amount of gunpowder. The military made a good display. In the evening, it is estimated that 150,000 persons assembled on Broad street to witness the city display of fireworks, while smaller assemblages were collected at the displays in other sections. The only accidents that we have heard of, are, that a man was drowned in the Delaware River, and another broke his neck by falling from a tree. Names unknown.
>
> At Baltimore....BALTIMORE, July 6
> The rejoicings yesterday passed off without any great accident of moment. There were, however, the usual quantity of fights, assaults, &c. About 15,000 persons assembled in the Maryland Agricultural grounds, Mayor JEROME presiding. The Declaration of Independence was read by Lieut. MILLS, and an eloquent oration was delivered by R.T. Merrick. In the evening, displays of fireworks took place from several points of the city.

And so on for six more cities, with some of the stories only one line long (equivalent in content to the first line in the examples above). The one-line bulletins persisted for a surprisingly long time, until the 1960s, but in later periods they were chiefly used to give summaries of small wire service items that could not be directly reported. It can be seen that even the crude dispatches above begin with some kind of summary, and

follow a roughly chronological narrative pattern. All of them presuppose that the readers know which celebration is being referred to, who Henry Clay is, what "the usual quantity of fights, assaults, &c" would be, and so forth. In most cases the readers are left to infer that "the celebration" is for the Fourth of July as the occasion is not directly mentioned. Some other stories in the early period were long enough for artful newswriting, but on closer examination prove to be mostly stenographic, as in addition to short summary reports, the early period stories include eyewitness accounts of speeches and sermons:

> FOURTH OF JULY
> Civil Liberty - Its Relations to the World
> ADDRESS BY JOHN C. DEVEREUX, ESQ.
> The following Address was delivered at the Catholic Celebration of our National Anniversary at Jamaica, L.I. It was listened to, as it will be read, with general interest. It is now published in conformity with a resolution adopted at the meeting: … (July 7, 1852)

This brief framing section was followed by a very long speech transcript. With faster printing technology and more editorial experience of how the words would look on the page, newspapers in this period gradually came to contain less repetition, both within and across stories, as well as more varied and experimental language. At the same time, the number of newspaper workers grew, the proportion of original journalistic writing increased and newspaper editions became larger. An eight-page newspaper from the 1860s could have as many words as a 400-page book (Kluger 1986: 14), which forced the busier readers to become more selective, looking for news that added something to their present knowledge in an 'interesting' way. The densely factual modern style of newswriting is the outcome of audience design (a term from Bell 1991) for a more experienced reader with a longer reading memory and a differently honed sense of texture, both in Halliday and Hasan's (1976) meaning of textual organization and in the naive meaning of sensory microrhythm; and the dominance of this news style contributes to shaping the expectations of the next generation of readers.

The evolution of large-type headlines was an important part of the new texture, since summary headlines allow readers to skim the newspaper

without reading the stories, and to select those stories to be read in full (see Simon-Vandenbergen 1981, Mårdh 1980, and Schneider 2000). Headlines also serve as a distinctive marker of the news genre: Gieszinger (2000: 96) claims that the modern advertisement format of box, headline, artwork, text and white space emerged in order to enable readers to recognize advertisements quickly, which was not possible in early newspapers where all text was typeset in identical small type, and it seems likely that news was also gradually deliberately distinguished from advertisements and commercial notices (Henkin 1998: 115ff comments further on the rapid differentiation of newspaper contents). In the earliest newspapers there are either too many headlines or too few by today's standards; the first set of examples from 1852 illustrates 'too many,' since the individual items could have been combined in a roundup, and subsequent front pages from 1861 and 1866 illustrate 'too few,' as the entire first page has just one or two (major, multi-deck) headlines. We can see that during this period the stories are either much longer or much shorter than the 433-word average for the collection or the 600-700 words that is informally described to journalism students as the average.

From the beginning, a diverse city population is acknowledged, including different classes and ethnic groups, although not all of these are included as major news actors or constructed as target readers.[53] However, with the exception of public figures, individuals are not yet particularly important in the news and no particular attempt is made to identify them reliably or even to distinguish non-elite individuals by name. A certain species of front page news can be recognized, consisting of the most recent breaking stories about high politicians, accidents, wars and other disasters; but to the present-day reader who is accustomed to page headings, most of the news stories seem jumbled up together and only the editorial page is clearly distinct from the others. From a

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[53] This is a main difference between magazines and newspapers; the editor of a magazine imagines a prototypical reader, but the editor of a newspaper wants to offer texts for a broad range of readers, often including children; see Goffman 1974: 296 fn for a view of the magazine editor's role.

present-day viewpoint, the early (and early mid-period) coverage has cases of under-reporting, such as in these notices from columns of one-sentence news items in 1871:

> The notice 'Will be closed Monday and Tuesday' is displayed on a large number of the leading mercantile houses both up and down town."

> A silver salver is exhibited in a store in Sixth-avenue which has engraved in its centre a copy of the Declaration of Independence.

The modern editor of this item would immediately ask which businesses were open and which closed, and why the businesses will be closed, and precisely which store the silver salver was being exhibited in so that people could go and look at it (information that may have been purposely omitted in 1871 because of fear of theft) – demonstrating that, while reported speech in conversation can be selective because it relies on a higher degree of inference and presupposition, "a newspaper report is expected to be complete with respect to 'significant' items of information, in some special sense of *significant*" (Zwicky 1971: 76).

Thus from the vantage point of the modern reader, it appears that attitude of the editor to the reader in the early days of the newspaper could be summed up as, "This is what we have, and you are lucky to get it."

3.6.2   1871-1961: The emergence of news order

The middle period stories are dominated by the inverted pyramid style, the summary-topped general-to-specific pattern which was explained in section 2.4.3. Inverted pyramid stories can be found in the very earliest editions of the newspaper, but amid the general eclecticism they appear to be simply another way of newswriting; the inverted-pyramid pattern came to dominate as the default style only after the Civil War, and retained pockets of chronological narrativity and listed realia for a long time afterward. This style begins with a summary of the story or statement of its most important fact followed by decreasingly important details that, in longer stories, often deteriorate into lists of unrelated

propositions, although occasionally the journalist manages an artful conclusion. The inverted pyramid has a special place in the folklore of newswriting as a form that supposedly imposes an order on the details from most important to least important, allowing editors to cut the story from the bottom. In fact, it is often difficult to determine or agree on which details are more important or interesting (see the discussion of news values in Chapter VIII), particularly in stories that are not prototypically hard news and in stories about areas of life where social values are in flux, and there is no evidence that editors always did cut from the bottom, although they probably did so a great deal of the time, especially when working with wire service copy that had already been through one team of editors at its source. Talese (1969: 68-72) describes teams of copy editors, "rewrite men," and other post-production specialists at the *New York Times* doing extensive rewriting of incoming copy; were it really a matter of simply cutting all stories from the bottom, their expertise would not have been needed. Although it is clear that the items of most general interest were prominently placed near the top, the nether parts of inverted-pyramid news stories over the years were often ordered in a way that seems arbitrary to the present-day reader. White (1998: 180ff) has argued that the prototypical hard news story has a nucleus and satellite structure, which means that cohesive links with the lead are stronger than those between adjacent paragraphs; the consequence is that after the lead the remaining contents can be reordered somewhat freely.

In the middle period, the journalist's perspective achieves precedence over original events and documents in this period. Style is homogenized and familiar journalistic turns of phrase begin to emerge. The flowery paeans to politicians characteristic of the earliest coverage fade away by the 1870s. Redundancy is mostly squeezed out as regular alternation of synonym and syntax becomes the norm. There is a period (1866-1876, the latter year being a special case because of the Centennial of Independence) when most or all of the front page is devoted to a single story, followed by the re-emergence of the mosaic layout with different stories in each column. The newspaper is subsequently divided into different sections that group together stories about different areas of life such as city, national, foreign, business, sports; in particular, the division

of national from foreign news helps solidify the national community (Billig 1995). Fiction and poetry are occasionally run alongside the news and editorials. Photographs appear in the Sunday edition after 1910 and in the daily edition after 1930, most of them wide-range shots of crowd scenes, flags, and monuments. Ordinary people are identified more fully, appearing in long lists of parade marshals and accident victims.

The canonical summary lead gives an overview of the proceedings in a similar way to the small-but-complete 1852 news stories, typically using 'celebrate' or a near synonym, before proceeding to more details. Some of the nineteenth-century summary leads launched into a chronology or description of place as soon as they could, as in this very early example from 1856:

> THE GLORIOUS FOURTH.
> Eightieth Anniversary of Our National Independence.
> ITS CELEBRATION YESTERDAY.
> Much Noise, Little Drunkenness, and Few Accidents.
> One Man Killed and a Woman Shot.
> INAUGURATION OF THE WASHINGTON STATUE
> MILITARY PROCESSIONS.
> CELEBRATION AT TAMMANY
> Fireworks.

> The Eightieth anniversary of our National Independence was duly celebrated yesterday in our city and its suburbs. The anticipations of patriots and pleasure seekers were, it is true, somewhat cheerless in the early morning, when it rained in torrents, accompanied by thunder and lightning. Up to 8-1/2 o'clock there was every appearance of a soaking day, but at that time the sun struggled out and some succeeded in banishing the dreaded clouds. In the afternoon, again, there was a heavy shower, which lasted nearly an hour, and thoroughly drenched numerous persons who were not successful in finding a place of shelter…. (July 5, 1856, p.1)

There are many similar examples in which the story begins with the physical conditions, particularly the early morning weather, before launching into a roughly chronological description of events. Schudson (1995: 57) and Mott (1950: 496) present examples similar to this which they classify not as summary leads but as circumstantial leads, because

they were analyzing stories that had more traditional 'news' in them (State of the Union address, party political convention), and for which a lead about the content of the event could alternatively be written. But for a story about a multicentered, daylong event taking place largely outdoors, observations of the weather, the decorations and the degree of enthusiasm are the central content, and therefore these leads could be counted as summaries, and the emergence of the first modern news stories can be seen correspondingly earlier.

The following early summary lead from 1871 is more typical of reports from the 1870s and 1880s:

> THE GLORIOUS FOURTH
> A Fine Day and an Enthusiastic Celebration
> How the Holiday was Observed in City and Country
> Grand Pow-Wow of the Sachems at Tammany Hall
> Brilliant and Imposing Parade of the National Guard
> Celebrations by the Germans, Colored Men and Societies
> The Excursions, Fires, Accidents and Affrays of the Day
> Beautiful Display of Fire-Works Throughout the City
>
> The ninety-fifth anniversary of our national independence was celebrated, in public and private, yesterday. Although the observance was general, it by no means equalled the unanimity and magnitude of some former years. Then the processions embraced not only all of the military, but many of the civic societies. They filled the streets proportionally as much as did the recent grand German Peace demonstrations. Not only were the exercises confined to the simple march and review, as is now the case during a few hours, but the entire day and evening was exhausted with social, military and political reunions, balls and parties, at which any quantity and every variety of patriotic sentiments was expressed. The land, the flag, and the forefathers were the themes of jubilant discussions, in which there seemed no limit of extravagance and enthusiasm … (1871, July 5, p. 1)

This is a fully packed opening paragraph that assumes the reader already knows what "the processions," "the military," and "the civic societies" refer to. The summary lead has advantages both in reader comprehension and in production, since the journalist would first write a complete short news story giving his general impressions and then begin transcribing details from his notes, with separate aspects

organized under phrasal subheadings such as (in this case) "At Central Park" and "Trinity Church Chimes." Long stories like this one, especially on the front page, were also topped by a multi-deck headline providing a rough table of contents of the material to come. The first paragraphs or page could be set in type while the journalists were writing the rest of the story, which meant the order of elements could not be changed. In the days before word processing, the degree to which notes could be regrouped and intelligently synthesized depended on the reporters' mental capacities (particularly what computer scientists call 'depth of stack,' the ability to hold many unfinished tasks in short term memory at once), teamwork and the degree of editorial postproduction given to the story.

By World War I the stories were dominated by the anti-chronological inverted pyramid style, with its cacophony of often unrelated propositions, each substantiated with 'objective' details such as number and names as in this densely factual story from 1946:

> NATION MARKS 4TH FESTIVELY AT HOME, MARTIALLY ABROAD
> Truman Sets the Pattern at Maryland Retreat --
> Beaches, Mountain Resorts Packed
> CONEY ATTRACTS 1,300,000
> Troops Parade in Germany, Japan –
> Traffic Accidents Account for 57 Deaths

> Americans at home observed the first peacetime Independence Day in five years yesterday by crowding beach and mountain resorts in record throngs and attending patriotic celebrations marking the 170th anniversary of the founding of the nation. Americans abroad, engaged in enforcing the peace won by our arms and those of our allies, marked the day by staging military displays.

> President and Mrs. Truman set the pattern for the nation's four-day holiday by retreating to Shangri-La, the Presidential lodge in the Catoctin Mountains near Thurmont, Md. There the President loafed, took a two-mile walk in the woods and went for a forty-minute swim in a pool, enjoying the isolation the wooded resort afforded him … ("Nation Marks Fourth Festively At Home, Martially Abroad," July 5, 1946, p. 1)

Following the summary lead and the report on what the top American

was doing for his holiday, the rest of this story moves back and forth between ordinary people, troops overseas, the President, the weather, the beaches, and the traffic, with details about different aspects often interleaved, as in these three paragraphs from the middle of the story:

> With pleasant, sunny skies prevailing over most of the country, however, the nation's motorists took to the roads and the traffic toll slowly mounted. Of the 116 fatalities reported during the day, traffic deaths, according to an Associated Press tabulation, accounted for fifty-seven, drownings thirty-six and miscellaneous causes twenty-three.
>
> In New York and the East highway traffic of automobiles filled with families bent on long weekends at the shore or in the country crowded the roads Wednesday evening and early yesterday and then fell off. The police expected that the roads would be jammed as they have not been for five or more years when the crowds return to the cities on Sunday.
>
> Orators at patriotic celebrations here and abroad urged that the United States be strong to win a just and lasting peace as we had won the war.

The traffic deaths in the first paragraph above about holiday accidents do provide a cohesive link to the second paragraph about holiday traffic, but it would be difficult to change the order of facts very much within these two paragraphs. Statements about death and injury are customarily placed ahead of other details in news stories; traffic deaths, which are the most numerous, need to be mentioned first, and the order of facts in the second paragraph is chronological. However, some reshuffling is still possible. For the story as a whole, the topics of the 24 paragraphs are listed below, with markings for the headings and the fractures between paragraphs that have no obvious cohesive links:

Table 3-6: Paragraph topics of 1946 lead story

(Page 1:)
 	
   NATION MARKS 4TH FESTIVELY AT HOME, MARTIALLY ABROAD
        Truman Sets the Pattern at Maryland Retreat --
       Beaches, Mountain Resorts Packed
          CONEY ATTRACTS 1,300,000
             Troops Parade in Germany, Japan –
           Traffic Accidents Account for 57 Deaths

1.	Roundup lead
2.	President's activities
Subhed: Troops parade in Tokyo	
3.	Military parade in Tokyo
4.	Military parade in Frankfurt
5.	Military parade in Italy
– fracture –	
6.	Few fireworks accidents *(story jumps to p. 7 with jump headline "Nation Celebrates Fourth in Vacation Spirit")*, one gunshot accident but not related to the holiday
Subhed: Traffic Toll Rises Slowly	
7.	Many traffic accidents around New York
8.	Traffic jams continue around New York
– fracture –	
9.	Holiday speakers say strong US needed for world security
10.	Quote from Secretary of War's speech in Mississippi
11.	Quote from First Admiral's speech in Seattle
Subhed: Devers Scores Selfishness	
12.	Army commdr speaking in upstate NY criticizes selfish behavior
13.	Patriotic societies hold observances around New York
14.	Sunrise service in Brooklyn.
15.	Teaneck, NJ marks its own independence as well
– fracture –	
16.	Diplomatic parties abroad: London
17.	Rio de Janeiro: precedent-breaking call from Brazilian president; Buenos Aires
– fracture –	
Subhed: Record Crowds at Coney	
18.	Record crowds at beaches
19.	More record crowds at beaches
20.	More crowds at parks and zoos
21.	Crowding causes problems at amusement centers
22.	More crowding problems but enthusiasm not dampened
23.	Two deaths from heart attacks at Rockaway Beach

24.	Details on gunshot accident unrelated to the holiday as such (from par 6)

Each paragraph after the lead sticks to one topic, although two of them (paragraphs 6 and 17) could particularly easily be broken into two paragraphs. There is also a great deal of cohesion from paragraph to paragraph since each paragraph is linked to the next either by activity or by geographic scope (the greater New York area or the wider world). Only four paragraph pairs after the lead, marked with –*fracture*–, exhibit no such cohesive link. (I am assuming that President Truman in paragraph 2 links to the troop commanders through the superordinate idea of the military chain of command.) Interestingly, the subheadings, which could be used to smooth over the fracture between topics, do not always work to do this. Rather, they seem to be placed in the middle of paragraph clusters in order to draw the eye to material both above and below them, and only one subheading is located at a logical break point. White's nucleus and satellite model is supported by the fact that the larger units separated by fracture marks might have been reordered, or all of the paragraphs might have been reshuffled by using different paragraph-to-paragraph cohesive links. Nonetheless, paragraph order in news stories is rarely entirely free, as White acknowledges (1998: 184) and it seems unlikely that an arrangement with many fewer coherence links would be seen as a well formed news story. The main headline may also help readers navigate directly to points of interest; Schneider (2000: 52) locates the peak of headline density in news texts at 1930, squarely in the mid-period of American journalism; and the more reshufflable the satellite paragraphs, the more important the headline decks can be as a way of indexing the text.

Many of the topics were also covered elsewhere in the newspaper as separate stories, and the degree of redundancy in this year (1946) is higher than in any coverage since the early days of the newspaper. It is unclear whether the overlaps were an experiment in newspaper design or a symptom of difficulty in managing an expanded staff after the war. At the same time there are a number of unanswered questions in the story, such as precisely what behavior the army commander was

criticizing when he "scored selfishness" in his speech, and why it was such a diplomatic (or sociotechnical) breakthrough for the United States embassy in Rio to receive a call from the President of Brazil on their national holiday.

Despite such gaps, most celebration stories in the latter half of the midperiod are quite straightforward, even formulaic. This is at least partly a consequence of newsgathering processes that are increasingly professionalized and maximally routinized: Talese (1969: 259) explains the routine at the *Times* at mid-century:

> There was a traditional manner, too, in the way the New York editors planned the coverage of those news events that occurred on an annual basis, such things as the opening of the opera season, the Easter parade, the governor's budget message, the horse show, the debutante parties at the Plaza, the lighting of the Christmas tree in Rockefeller Center – any particular occasion that had been successfully and uncontroversially covered and printed in *The Times* last year and the year before and the year before *that,* could be (and usually *would* be) covered in the same way this year. The layout would be identical, with the same size photographs and poses and an almost identical headline and lead as had appeared in *The Times* a year ago; and often the same reporter was assigned every year to the same story. Except for the alteration in the date and certain names, the reporter's story written last year could have sufficed for this year and next.

Although the order is anti-chronological and some logical gaps remain, during this period the news exhibits a guiding intelligence in its choice and arrangement, particularly in the cohesion of neighboring paragraphs, as well as a standard syntax and paragraph length, facilitating comprehension. The attitude of the editors could be summed up as, "This is what we think you should know" and also as, "This is what we were able to find out; this is our model of events in as much detail as we could make it."

3.6.3   1966-2001: The re-emergence of chronology

While the inverted pyramid style is still extremely popular, particularly for late-breaking news and disaster news, the *late period* news stories

(1966-2001) often abandon it in favor of writing styles and structures previously associated with fiction or long-form magazine writing. The articles are more heteroglossic, with the implied author using a narrative or conversational voice that introduces a character-based story in the lead as well as an expository voice that relates the events in the story to larger trends; these voices alternate throughout the article, with the narrative voice usually having the last word. In this style, the best quotes and details are distributed more evenly through the piece to sustain interest, so that the success of the story in the journalist's mind clearly depends not so much on whether readers got needed information, but on whether they kept reading to the end. One effect of the new freestyle mode of composition is a re-emergence of a narrative writing pattern that shows at least a loose chronology, as for example in the following opening of a 1996 roundup story:

> Some Fourth of July.
>
> A spasmodic sun, narcissistic gray clouds and a thoughtlessly headstrong wind teased and tormented people's holiday plans. Rain flashed its own independent streak, spitting, dousing, drying up, then drenching again.
>
> But throughout the New York region yesterday, plenty of people refused to succumb to the meteorological neurosis.
>
> "If we ignore it, maybe it will go away," said Judy Woodhall, who drove up from Maryland for a rain-sopped family reunion in Prospect Park.
>
> The somber skies and intermittent sprinkles didn't deter people from their backyard celebrations, of course. Nor did they prevent tens of thousands of New Yorkers and tourists from staking out space along the East Side of Manhattan last night to view the annual fireworks display … ("Celebrating July 4 Spirit, Undaunted But Damp," July 5, 1996, p. B3)

Although it could be argued that "Some Fourth of July" is a summary lead, it seems more like the reported thought of a narrator or character in fiction. The first paragraphs of the story bear little resemblance to the fact-packed summaries in the mid-century stories, and more to the opening of a novel that draws readers in gradually. The paragraphs are also better integrated with each other than those of the inverted pyramid

era; the rain is a running theme through the story, treated as both symptom and antagonist. The use of the sentence-initial connectives "but" and "nor," an innovation in newswriting as explained by Cotter (2003), further integrates the narrative and lowers the cost of acquiring new information, as long as the reader is operating within a conversational or storytelling frame. The conversationalization of the opening "Some Fourth of July" is typical of the vernacular tone of feature news in this period:

> The million hot dogs?
>
> Enough mustard to coat the George Washington Bridge?
>
> How about the 238,000 links of scaffolding, the 150 tons of sand, 10 miles of electrical cable, the generators, the french-fry machines and the eight stages?
>
> "Ah, I'll have to make some calls," said Jesse Davis, the technical director of the three-day Harbor Festival and, yesterday, commander of an army of workers who believed that lower Manhattan could be transformed overnight into a theme park. It was a notion conceived for Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all concession stands are created equal. ("Transforming Lower Manhattan into 'Liberty Land,'" July 5, 1986, p. B7)

Here the highly personal, gossipy question flows into the impressive statistics of scale and occupational effort, the casually styled quotation and then into the formal, ideologically loaded shards of the Declaration of Independence and the Gettysburg Address; conversational and official modes alternate. In addition, more actual conversation is used, in the form of quotations from news actors covering a broader range of social classes; not just elites, but what Fairclough (1995) has called the *vox populi* in news. Scannell (1996), along with Fairclough has pinpointed conversationalization as a technique that media outlets use to make contact with the public and work their way into the flow of everyday life, and it certainly evident in these examples, although it is not the first time spoken language features have been used to do interpersonal work in the newspaper; editorials and "letters" from correspondents in early newspapers were often quite chatty, as are some of the anecdotal stories from the late 19th century. Another type of lead in the new narrative style is the self-consciously allusive literary

opening, as in this story from the Bicentennial celebration that emphasizes contrasts in a rhythm that recalls the opening of *Tale of Two Cities*:

> There were solemn, private gatherings. There were great spectacles of celebration. There were speeches and parties and parades and festivals. And there were quiet scenes that touched the spirit.
>
> In small towns and great cities across the land, Americans marked their Bicentennial with a diversity that was itself the principal tribute to the occasion. ("Diversity of Americans Expressed Across Land," July 5, 1976, p. 2)

A second example recalls the Proppian quest story:

> Nearly a century ago, and continents away, a young Armenian prepared to leave for America. The craftsmen of his village, too old to join the journey, sent a gift with him. It was a traditional silk rug, bearing the image of the Statue of Liberty.
>
> How those villagers knew Miss Liberty's face is a mystery. The statue was only four years old, and the men lived in a distant land. Perhaps they had received letters or picture postcards from those who had gone before. Perhaps tales had somehow made their way from Armenia to New York City.
>
> The idea of the Statue of Liberty, you see, has always exceeded its physical self. ("Liberty at 100: Symbolism Is Ever Fresh," July 5, 1986, p. 1)

It is unclear how long the trend toward use of literary style and structure in newspapers will continue. Wire services show no sign of abandoning the summary lead, as their dispatches on the Web show, nor do the new broadcast websites such as BBC and CNN. The summary lead has the advantage of not relying on in-group knowledge of genres beyond familiarity with the 'inverted pyramid' news story; stories written with it may be less than optimally coherent, but the playing field between more and less literate readers is somewhat equalized. The continuing popularity of the inverted pyramid in wire service news means that the formulaic leads built around master verbs like "The national holiday was *celebrated* yesterday in such-and-such a way," which will be discussed in the next chapter, are still easy to locate in worldwide news

coverage even though journalists at major national newspapers are now writing a broader range of openings. It should also be recalled that the more creative, literary leads do not work with stories involving news of death, danger or disaster; for in such cases communication is urgent and play is not appropriate.

While ordinary people were rarely mentioned in earlier coverage except in lists, in late-period coverage a wide range of citizens appear in the stories as individually embodied and often articulate representatives of different points of view, usually one per viewpoint. At the same time, lists are rarer as journalists have apparently given up trying to keep a comprehensive small-town register of the lives of the ten million city dwellers. It is generally obvious when people are being referred to as elite news actors who influence public events and when they are being used as citizen representatives, since the former are identified with titles and the latter with demographic information such as age, address, and occupation. Ordinary people are more frequently seen in late period coverage as well, since photographs appear in medium-range and close-up style, often as box pictures not associated with any specific story. At the same time, feature stories employing relativism and reflexivity appear, such as the articles where a seemingly random sample of ordinary people are asked for their thoughts on patriotism. Thus at the same time chronology re-emerges on one plane, fragmentation re-emerges on another plane as the newspaper gives up the attempt at a single totalizing viewpoint.

The current model of the newspaper as a network of expert resources whose use is driven by the reader, which is fueled by the public journalism movement (Merritt 1996, Rosen 2001) and by new media such as the Internet, increases the expectation that information will be thematically and hierarchically organized by a guiding intelligence, with no room for reader error. Reporters and copy editors make every effort to fill gaps in stories with investigative reporting and clever writing to produce a whole that is coherent, cohesive, and sense-making at higher levels of cognition even when it is clearly a discontinuous selection of the information available to be reported. At the same time, they want to negotiate their own positions between individual observer and

institutional voice while addressing as many audiences as possible. This is done through the ambivalent word choices that will be discussed in the upcoming chapters on evaluation and footing. In the late period, the attitude of the editors could be summed up as, "This is what we think you should be thinking about, and here are some points of view you could take."

3.6.4   The newspaper and other media

As with other stories, the content of national day news has evolved with technology to ensure that the most valuable news that can be collected within the news cycle is presented. In the early period stories, sermons and speeches were often printed in full for the reason that copies of these could be secured in advance, an advantage in the days of slow press setups. Those early years also included a great many repetitive reports about holiday happenings in places near and far, which were still of interest as they trickled in four and five days later because out-of-town news was hard to get. By 1926, all the event reports from around the world could generally be gathered by wire and printed on the day after the holiday, so event reports after July 5 became rare. Middle period coverage also contains a great deal of information about weather and traffic, which could now be predicted to some extent, as well as copious accident reports, which could now be efficiently gathered from police and hospitals. Late period coverage tends to assume that people can get their weather and traffic news from television, and concentrates more on advance listings (events, closings) rewritten from press releases, local color stories, historical retellings, news from the region and other states that is likely to be overlooked by local and national channels, and reflections on the emotive and ideological side of the holiday.

It should be emphasized again that despite the striving for precision, the periods identified here are still abstractions. Earlier forms did not fade away promptly when new ones emerged, and there was considerable evolution within the middle period in the direction of shorter paragraphs and sentences to reach new audiences, as well as consolidation of a distinctive news vocabulary. The goal of "a more

tightly edited *New York Times* – a fast-reading newspaper that would report more fully and interpret more trenchantly than television" (Talese 1969: 308) depended on the copy desk, and particularly on one assistant managing editor, Theodore M. Bernstein, who there and in his popular writing guides emphasized the goal of writing in short sentences containing one "idea" (by which he meant one main clause or proposition) each; and the readability campaigns of Rudolf Flesch also had a significant effect on American newspaper style in general in the postwar years (Green 1979).

The changes in style were not merely an effect of internal drift, for newspapers realized they had to compete with magazines and street gossip in the late 19th century, radio in the 1920s and particularly television beginning in the late 1940s, which destroyed the ability of the press to provide the first images of events. Television broadcasting in the United States began in earnest after World War II, with the major networks beginning operations in 1947 and local television newscasts beginning in the 1950s and 1960s. The first black and white television sets were offered for purchase in 1946, and the first buyers were commercial enterprises such as bars and department stores. By 1950, however, 9 percent of households had television and by 1955, 65 percent of households had television. New Yorkers, who had more stations to choose from than most, became early adopters in large numbers. (Spigel 1992: 31-32)

News broadcasts were among the first offerings, initially in short newsreel format with voiceovers. The half-hour format did not arrive until the 1960s, and the change was dramatic:

> In 1960 television had profoundly affected the [Presidential] campaign and the means of exposure; by 1964 it *was* the campaign. The fifteen-minute show had been somewhat derivative of radio and it was smaller and less potent. Perhaps eleven or twelve minutes of air time. More primitive technology and film and techniques. Then suddenly the change: twenty-two minutes, new kinds of film which were faster … Suddenly correspondents in the field became important. Instead of forty-five seconds there might be two minutes. (Halberstam 1979: 569)

The possibility for special events coverage in addition to the regular news had existed all along. The first special events to attract large US viewing audiences were sports matches, political conventions beginning in 1948, and a delayed broadcast of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in 1953 (Dayan and Katz 192: 240-1). Ten million people were said to have watched the inauguration of President Truman in 1949, which was more than the total who had witnessed all other presidential inaugurations (Mott 1952: 19). Other events with early national appeal, especially in color, included parades such as Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade in New York and the Tournament of Roses parade on New Year's Day in Pasadena, California, both of which involve elaborate floats; the newspaper coverage indicates that the Fourth of July had no such singular spectacle to offer.

Television is not dealt with very directly in the stories in the text collection; that is, the newspaper does not appear to report on television as a phenomenon with the same enthusiasm as it did earlier for motion pictures and radio and does later for the Internet. Nonetheless, speeches by officials on television were covered beginning in the 1960s (at least according to the texts sampled). The conspicuous exceptions where television assumed a more important role were the Bicentennial and the Statue of Liberty centennial, which were the nation's first televised patriotic spectaculars and were covered as such:

> Then, after [President Ford] left for New York City, the Liberty Bell, that faulted but venerated symbol, was softly sounded with a rubber mallet as millions across the nation watched on television. In clamorous response, hundreds of other bells rang out in Philadelphia's steeples and towers. ("President Talks, Philadelphia Throngs Told U.S. Is Leader, Liberty Bell Rings," July 5, 1976, p. 1)

> Then, at 11:08 P.M., after a program of music and dance, speeches and swearing-in ceremonies for new citizens, came the dramatic finale: high above the harbor, stark against a black velvet sky, the statue's torch suddenly flamed into golden brilliance.

> A dazzling five-minute fireworks display then lighted the harbor with skyrockets, sunbursts and swizzles of red, white and blue.

> It was a tableau witnessed by millions lining the shores and aboard ships and boats riding at anchor, and by tens of millions of television viewers in the United States and nations abroad, including France. ("Nation Rekindles Statue of Liberty As A Beacon of Hope," July 4, 1986, p. A1)

The sameness of the descriptions is probably due to the fact that both stories appear to be written by "rewrite men," sitting at the *Times* office assembling a minute-by-minute chronology known as a "tick-tock" – a form which does not stand by itself but is found alongside or embedded in a more traditionally written news story – from their own viewing and call-ins from reporters in the field.

Diverse and local in-person celebrations were unified with video news coverage that through simultaneous and retrospective broadcasts "achieved a feeling of shared participation" (Bodnar 1992: 227). Competition between old and new celebratory modes during the day was noted in the newspaper:

> Popular beaches were thronged, automobile races and baseball games drew holiday crowds, and much of the nation spent the day in family gatherings, linked, perhaps, to the Bicentennial by daylong television coverage. ("A Day of Picnics, Pomp, Pageantry and Protest," July 5, 1976, p. 1)

> Jim Bishop of Manhattan typified those who had come to celebrate themselves in lower Manhattan. "It's the country's 200th birthday and I came down here to see everyone else," he said, adding that looking and eating were more fun than television …

> As the day lengthened and thunderstorms struck sporadically, some people left, but most did not. Some with small children decided they'd had it. Others, weary of trying to view the many festivals through the evening-dense crowds, of failing to see George Washington bid farewell to his troops at the Fraunces Tavern, decided to go home and watch the fireworks on television.

> But most stayed, and ate, and danced. ("Ethnic Diversity Adds Spice to the Fourth," July 5, 1976, p. 1)

The growth of video broadcasting has of course had significant impact on the coverage beyond actual mentions. First, television allows more people to get a better view – in fact, a multiplicity of views – than they

could have at home (Dayan and Katz 1992: 94ff, Boorstin 1961: 26-28). In the long run it thus tends to reduce attendance at outdoor events. Statements about the size of the crowd and comprehensiveness of its involvement decline after the war, and one reason may have been that the crowds became smaller, relative to the city population. Second, at the same time, television contributes to the centralization of certain events, since the few events that are covered assume extra importance and can be promoted to viewers as television events; this may increase the size of the crowds, but not as much as if they were promoted without the option of viewing on television. Thus the Tall Ships Parade during the Bicentennial and the relighting of the Statue of Liberty at its Centennial could be conceived as focal moments of the celebration, whereas earlier coverage did not have such obvious focal moments. Since both of those required proximity to the waterfront, there was no way all the television viewers could have seen them properly live.

However, in ordinary years there is no event so unique and spectacular that people would plan to watch it on television; parades and fairs are regular events in the New York summer, and those on the Fourth of July in New York are usually unexceptional; while fireworks can be seen from any rooftop. The Fourth of July is therefore a ritual that is covered in the media, but it is not, in the terminology of Couldry (2003) a media ritual the way watching the Tournament of Roses Parade or the Rose Bowl football game on New Year's Day is. To take an example from another country, Finnish Independence Day has become more centralized on the ball at the President's Palace in Helsinki, which hosts only 2000 guests, has been televised live since 1957, and has the highest viewership of any program all year. The Finnish Independence Day ball is in Couldry's sense a media ritual, as is the watching of the movie *The Unknown Soldier* which is also always shown on Independence Day.

Talese notes (1969: 252) that print media could not match the speed of broadcast, nor the drama of live pictures,[54] but the editors of the *Times*

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[54] Interestingly, Talese's example of an event where newspapers would be competing with television was a pre-planned "news spectacle, such as a political convention or the coronation of a queen" – not the live films of catastrophes and battles that have

felt newspapers could "bring the readers more details and explain the significance of those details more effectively than could television." The object was to "interpret" events without "editorializing," through greater use of investigative reporting and features. Although newspapers could never be "live," they could counter television as much as possible on its own turf of personalization, narrativization, action and emotion. Increased use of photographs and eventually color also played a role. The retrenching was partially successful, since newspaper consumption per capita dropped 16 percent in the United States between 1964 and 1984 (Schudson 1995: 181-182).

Despite the considerable diachronic variation, one thing that remains constant across the periods is the large volume of news about national days; recall that annual coverage of the Fourth of July in the *New York Times* was estimated on the basis of the text collection at some 10,000 to 20,000 words per year on average. It shows no sign of declining, although the last years in the text collection are more weighted toward features rather than hard news reports of events. This is consistent with the study of the content of New York Times front pages from 1900 to 1970 by Ogan et al. (1975), which found a fairly steady increase over the period in what they called "in-depth" stories with significance beyond the immediate news cycle. However, since the conclusion of the study, the news balance in the United States may be shifting back somewhat toward event-driven news following the September 11 terrorist attacks, as news organizations are devoting an increasing proportion of their resources to keeping up with the resulting wars and security initiatives, while their sales base is shrinking as people turn to the Web for constantly updated news.

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impressed audiences so much since the advent of the handheld videocamera. Thus his idea of a prototypical television event was a celebration, and indeed the first mass media event that drove television acquisition in Britain was the Coronation in 1953; in the United States, early common memories of television center on John F. Kennedy's funeral (Dayan and Katz 1992).

3.7   Problems and alternatives

The text collection demonstrates the evolution of the news story and should provide a varied field for demonstrating variation of actual pragmatic means for getting people to respond to calls for public celebration. However, the question always remains of whether a more representative, extensive and/or accurate text collection could have been assembled more efficiently. During the last year of the project, after typing most of the texts, I learned that *New York Times* articles dating back to 1980 and abstracts dating back to 1969 were available on the Nexis news services from Lexis/Nexis. Lexis/Nexis was familiar to me from my earlier studies in journalism, but I had not investigated this option because I believed the price of the service would be prohibitive for an individual researcher (it was, in fact, not unreasonable at $250 per month of access), and in any case, the Lexis/Nexis collection covers only about 15 percent of the newspaper's lifetime. The *New York Times'* own website now also offers full text search back to 1981 and downloading of articles for $3.95 per text (or more cost-effectively with a $50 TimesSelect annual subscription package which offers 1200 free downloads over the course of a year), but this covers only the last 20 years, or about 13 percent of the newspaper's lifetime. Thus most of the work involved in setting up the text collection was unavoidable.

Sampling at intervals may be a reasonable technique for looking at long-term changes in language, but it is not as reliable for drawing conclusions about content and possible cultural practices, and this needs to be kept in mind. Thus when I state that letters to the editor first appear in this collection in 1916, for example, that means that they first appeared in the *New York Times* sometime between 1911 and 1916, and the date cannot be determine more precisely than that based on the data collected. In addition, unique story types appeared in the data for each year or period, reflecting the historical circumstances. A prime example occurs in 1881, the year of the Garfield shooting: the holiday stories are largely about the cancellation of celebrations or their conversion into prayer meetings for the President, and are fused with reports of how the shooting affected people around the nation with a subdued, grief-

stricken mood. The postwar years from 1946 to 1956 featured reports from occupying forces around the world, 1951 included a story about a mock atom bomb made of fireworks, 1966 had stories about Vietnam War protests, and in 1996 readers were given a guide to the Fourth of July on the Internet. It is impossible to say how many more of these little fusions of calendar and history have been missed in the years that were not sampled. A topic-focused text collection can always be more extensive in terms of sources as well.

As the discussion of boundary setting showed, news categories are always fuzzy, and so we cannot speak of completeness. The priorities in building this collection were to include many different types of news stories and to try to make sure to include the stories that seemed most important to the newspaper (front page news) and would have caught readers' eyes (at the top or edges of the page, small and medium-length items with attractive headlines, unusual stories); these goals can be summed up as extensiveness, representativeness, and salience (in the sense of noticeability or attractiveness to the reader's moving focus of attention, which is closely related to the sense of being present in or readily accessible to consciousness referenced in Chafe 1994 and Prince 1981). There is as yet no test for representativeness or salience, although the discussion of skimming in Chapter VIII may indicate some directions for future study. A certain degree of reassurance about the method can be gained by noting that one of my first conference papers based on the text collection was a quantitative philological study of words such as 'patriot' and 'tradition,' done using a database of 125,000 words. When this paper was revised two years later into ben-Aaron 2002, all of the material was reworked, now using a collection database of 300,000 words. The word individual word frequency counts changed, but the relative frequencies and my impressions of patterns in the material by and large did not. The material from that study is mostly absent from this volume because after further reworking of the quantitative investigation, it became clear that it was fundamentally flawed, because of the sampling nature of the text collection and because not all words in newspapers are weighted equally. Readers skim the texts and notice some words and propositions more than others. Journalists, anticipating this, do not value each word equally; rather, each story begins with a

peak concentration of important meaning in the headline and lead, and then proceeds to later peaks at intervals whose spacing and relative magnitude depend on the writing paradigm used (inverted pyramid, narrative, etc.) and are further affected by factors of typography and layout over which the original writer has no control. Thus analyses based on pure word counts cannot tell us about the effects of language on the reader's consciousness, which is the focus of this study.

Accordingly, the next four chapters will take up various cognitively important aspects of the news language in the national holiday stories, moving from small units of discourse to larger ones. Chapter IV discusses the organization of experience arising from the master verb 'celebrate' which triggers other parts of the celebration frame into awareness. After learning that something has happened, readers want to know whether it was good or bad (if that is not obvious from the nature of the event), and Chapter V takes up the ways celebrations are evaluated in news language. Nation-states are much larger than human scale and readers rely on metaphors to organize their experience of nations; Chapter VI treats metaphors and other figures of speech that operate in the discourse of national days. In addition to evaluation, readers look for signals of how they should orient themselves interpersonally to news events, and Chapter VII analyzes signals of facework and footings in the news. Chapter VIII treats the position of national day stories in the overall news stream, the ways these stories satisfy and fail tests of prototypical newsworthiness, and their likely functions for readers. Thus, instead of merely describing the news texts, I am building a picture of how they operate pragmatically for readers.

It is essential to bear in mind throughout that the readings, judgments, counts, and results presented in this study are the work of one person alone, with the usual reality checks inherent in the dissertation process, but no systematic triangulation with other minds during the crucial classification stages, except for one intersubjective test that will be presented in the next chapter. If resources had been available for coders other than the principal researcher, a project model that is used on large and well-funded projects in discourse analysis, the results would

undoubtedly have been more intersubjectively reliable. In the future it may be possible to run audience tests to check the researcher's intuitions, but the present results must stand by themselves.

IV   THE CELEBRATION FRAME

4.1   Introduction

The analysis of the national day stories begins at the beginning, with headlines and leads, and the 'master verbs' used in them. Headlines and leads ought to be the freest places in newspaper writing, because they are not constrained by the need to avoid repetition of what has gone before; however, all genres have their formulas, and news stories written to short deadlines must particularly rely on them. A common class of formulas begins with a lead that is a topic sentence summing up the story, and thereby invoking a frame that remains available until the end. Celebration is clearly a process around which an entire subgenre of news stories is built, including stories about all kinds of public events and not just national holidays; the headlines and first sentences in these stories are most often realized with the verb 'celebrate' but also with 'observe,' 'mark,' 'commemorate,' and so on. There are other processes and verbs realizing them that are central to other classes of news stories, notably 'die', which is very often the leading verb in reports of accidents and disasters that claim lives: 'Five people died in a fire that swept through the North Side last night.' Many things happen in fires, but the most important thing to journalists, and the point of most interest to readers, is that people die in them, and so deaths are foregrounded when they occur. If there are no deaths, the starting point is typically injuries or property damage. 'Win/lose' are key to sports stories, 'rise/fall' to stock market stories. 'Say' is key to many diplomatic and political stories, and one thing that makes these stories so opaque is their lack of a clear, material process; they are chronicles of the genealogy of reported speech.

Thus I have chosen to begin the analysis of the news stories by describing what is the most salient verb to their readers; the verb that most closely defines its subject and determines the shape of many of the stories, namely 'celebrate.' This verb will be described using the concept of frame analysis, in Fillmore's sense of frames as structured situations in which one word triggers the rest of the associated lexicon into salience (Fillmore 1982, 1985, see also Chapter II); his work on frames builds on his work on case and valence (collected in Fillmore 2003) but also has much in common with the more general notions of frames exemplified in Bateson (1955), Goffman (1974), and Tannen (1979). Fillmorean frame analysis is built on describing the arguments or slots to be filled around the verb, which vary between situations and between languages.

In the case under examination, the celebration frame, like the commercial transaction frame, is recognizable in languages around the world because it is to be found in many different cultures, albeit with considerable variation and complexity. In this chapter I will delineate the complexity and some of the variation, by considering 'celebrate' first by itself and relating it to the field of emotion words, which has been much more thoroughly studied in general linguistics. The methods of investigation include an intersubjective exercise with informants, diachronic comparisons of dictionary entries, and intuitive semantic tests. I will then consider verbs of celebration as they appear in the news story data and consider what expectations they set up for the rest of the frame when used in news stories. Throughout the focus will be on the words and the cognitive structures they bring with them; but inevitably in the process there will be some characterization of the practice (Bourdieu 1991) or activity type (Levinson 1989) of celebration.

'Celebrate' is salient in the text collection in many ways. It is an extremely frequent word, as one would expect. The lemma *celebrat** occurs 899 times in the text collection in various forms (count performed with Corpus Presenter). Forms of 'celebrate' are particularly noticeable in leads of the early and mid-period material, roughly 1861-1961:

The National Anniversary of American Independence – the eighty-fifth and most momentous of our history – was *celebrated* yesterday. With what sincerity and heartiness the detailed accounts which we publish elsewhere will testify. ("Celebration of the Fourth," July 6, 1861, p. 1)

The ninety-fifth anniversary of our national independence was *celebrated*, in public and private, yesterday. Although the observance was general, it by no means equalled the unanimity and magnitude of some former years. ("The Glorious Fourth," July 5, 1871, p. 1)

COPENHAGEN, Denmark, July 4 – Denmark *celebrated* the United States' Independence Day for the forty-ninth time when Danes, Danish emigrants and American visitors gathered in Rebild National Park in northern Jutland. About 50,000 persons, including King Frederik IX and other members of the royal family, attended the ceremony. ("Danes Mark U.S. Holiday," July 5, 1961, p. 27)

Leads built around verbs of celebration become scarcer in the second half of the 20th century with the rise of more artful narrative forms of newswriting in major newspapers. But the general prevalence of this form, and its importance in establishing the activity type of public celebration is clear: thousands of news stories with 'celebrate' leads continue to be written every day, as a cursory online search of news services will attest. In the text collection, finite forms of 'celebrate,' in particular, accounted for the main verb in lead sentences[55] in 76 out of the 620 completely or partially typed stories in this collection. No other verb was as frequent in leads. An additional 9 leads had finite forms of 'celebrate' as a verb in coordinate or subordinate structures, for a total of

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[55] The lead is defined here as the first sentence of an article. Stories separated by small headlines in the early coverage are counted as articles for this purpose, even though it is also possible to count them as segments of a single mega-article.

85 instances of finite forms of 'celebrate' in leads. There are also many instances of non-finite forms in leads, particularly in catenative structures (cf. Palmer 1987, Hudson 2002) such as "delight to celebrate" and "join in celebrating." 'Celebrate' also appears frequently in early headlines, often in nonfinite forms:

THE DAY WE CELEBRATE (1861, 1886)

HOW THE FOURTH WILL BE CELEBRATED (1871)

LONG BEACH LIVELY – MANY EVENTS ON HAND
CELEBRATING THE FOURTH – HOTEL ARRIVALS (1896)

OFFICIALS JOIN VISITORS IN CELEBRATING JULY 4 (1926)

The question to be answered is what frame of reference is brought to readers' minds and meanings are immediately transmitted when 'celebrate' is used in a headline or lead. The problem will be approached through trying to define the meaning of the word as well as by examining synonyms (members of the set or paradigm of alternatives to the word) and slot fillers (members of the system or syntagm forming a sentence around the word). We will begin by examining the 'celebrate' frame in the everyday context, without reference to news stories or national days, and then return to the newspaper data.

4.2   Intersubjective tests

4.2.1   *Methodology*

Elucidating the mental structure of celebration in a reliable way requires the insights of other speakers, but it was difficult to come up with a simple and reliable interview task to accomplish this. Asking people directly about their experiences of national holidays produces a wealth of factual ethnographic and historical information, but emotional reports are unlikely to be trustworthy. They can be predictably skewed by two external pressures: the general social requirement to appear as a good citizen, at least minimally supportive of the regime in which one was

nurtured and educated; and the opposing social expectation that at this point in history one should be at least somewhat cynical about nationalistic displays, particularly when speaking with a university researcher whose agenda is unknown and possibly iconoclastic. In addition to the loyalty-testing aspects, all the usual risks of trying to describe one's own internal states would apply. Although it could be argued that the good-citizen and cynicism factors might cancel each other out, I decided I would not be able to reliably detach or correct for them and chose to ask people about a less subjectively invested aspect that I wanted more information on, namely the meaning of the word *celebrate*. At the same time, I also asked them to draw postcards for their national holidays as a test of intersubjective agreement on holiday imagery. Both the experiment design and the idea of doing in the first place were inspired by Raukko's methodologically innovative research in polysemy (for example 2002, 2003).

The informants, all of whom were part of my personal network and knew vaguely what the topic of the research was, were told that they were being asked for their intuitions as native speakers. The task was described *ad libitem*, with some variation of instructions, but generally as follows:

1. (English speakers:) Let's start with the word 'celebrate.' (Speakers of languages other than English:) Give the word in your language that most closely corresponds to English 'celebrate.'

   Define the word as precisely as you can. Try to use the most basic terms possible, as in the definitions "'kill' = cause to become not alive" or "'boycott' = not buy, for political reasons." *Alternative:* What do people do when they celebrate? Tell me.

2. Are there any synonyms for 'celebrate' in your first language? If so, give them, and if you can easily say how they differ from the central word, do so.

3. Give at least three sentences in your first language using 'celebrate' or its closest translation. It doesn't matter what form it's in or what's in the rest of the sentence, just the first three sentences that come to mind.

With the third task, informants were beginning to see the word in (self-generated) context, lessening the dangers of decontextualized research on frames (Frake 1977). After completing these three tasks, informants were asked to turn the card over and design a postcard for their national day. The results of the latter test will be described in a future report; the pertinent finding for this study is that the informants from the United States overwhelmingly drew pictures of fireworks (as well as flags and other symbols in many cases) and wrote "Happy Fourth of July"; there was more agreement on the content of the postcard among the Americans than in any other group.

Since the tests were in the role of a pilot study that was peripheral to the main project, the informants were recruited casually. They are described in the table below; the profile for the American English group includes myself. Because of the focus of this study, I will mainly be concentrating on the US English informants.

Table 4-1: Informants for the 'celebrate' test

Language	Number of subjects	Situation	Age and gender	Occupation
American English including 1 naturalized citizen (South Africa)	15	friends and family tested individually or in small groups	14 adults 30-41 2 adults 77 and 83 1 child, 10 8 M, 7 F	3 linguists, 1 linguist/lexicographer, 6 engineers or programmers, 1 office manager, 1 MD/bioelectrical engineering professor, 1 executive, 1 mother at home, 1 elementary school pupil

Other varieties of English (1 English/Scottish, 1 English/Irish, 1 English/Australian, 2 Canadian)	5	friends tested individually, one student (Canadian)	5 adults, 24-32 2 M, 3 F	1 translator, 1 composer, 1 television producer, 1 civil servant, 1 student
Finnish	27	9 colleagues in research seminar 18 students in second-year translation classes (1 English bilingual) 2 friends tested individually (incl. 1 Finland-Swedish bilingual who did the test in both languages)	11 adults roughly 20s-60s (age not asked of all), 7 F, 4 M 18 students 21-50 13 F 5 M	linguists, philologists English students – some wrote their definitions in English
(Finland-)Swedish	4	colleagues/friends in research seminar and individually 1 Finnish bilingual who did the test in both languages	4 adults 28-51 3 F, 1 M	linguists, philologists
Polish	3	friends/students tested individually (1 by mail)	3 adults 26-46 2 M, 1 F	2 teachers, 1 computer scientist definitions written in English
French	1	friend tested together with Polish speaker	1 adult 25 M	computer scientist
Estonian	2	friends, 1 tested together with Canadian English speaker	2 adults 23, 40 2 F	1 musician, 1 archivist

4.2.2   *Definition task*

Many informants commented on the difficulty of the definition task, which can be counted as evidence of the complexity of the meaning of 'celebrate' and the degree to which celebration has been naturalized. One of the most straightforward definitions ran:

> *celebrate* – to have an event to mark a joyous happening; a party or other festive activity

However, this definition cannot be considered 'representative' since the responses were extremely varied in form and lexis. The easiest way to start categorizing them is to assemble words indicating shared meanings in the definitions, which point to specific features of 'celebrate.' Although semantics based on features (and in particular on binary components of meaning, which we shall not be invoking here) has fallen into disrepute, it is still one way that people think about meanings, and this kind of content analysis brings some order to the sometimes rambling and redundant definitions that were produced. The main words appearing in the glosses by the 17 English-speaking subjects who answered the definition question were as follows. (The three who answered the "What do people do" version will be dealt with later.) I have grouped together the words that seem similar to form rough conceptual clusters. Some informants supplied several synonyms in the same cluster, and two informants wrote two separate definitions (to be discussed below); thus it should not be expected that the number of answers adds up to the number of informants. A few polysemous expressions are listed in more than one place as well. There was no noticeable difference between the US informants and those who spoke other varieties of English.

Table 4-2: Main elements of informant definitions of 'celebrate'

Element	Number of informants mentioning it	
Grounds for celebration (noun) event (5), achievement, holiday, festival, happening, occasion, special occasion, occurrence, date	14	
Activity of celebrating (noun) event (2), party (2), public event, action, activity, behavior, libation, "fun" (in quotation marks), festivity, festival, mailed cards	9	
(verb) engage in, participate	3	12
Relationship between them (verb) mark (3), acknowledge, commemorate, honor, observe, demonstrate, show, express, recognize	9	
(postmodifier) linked, in relation to/in recognition of, in acknowledgement of, in accordance with, because of, demonstrated, recognized	7	16
Emotion happy (3, one "usually happy"), positive (2), emotional, exuberant, joy, joyous, enjoyment, "fun," pleasant, rejoice, have a good time, expression of feeling/sentiment	11	
Social gathering social gathering of people, share, joint (location), meet, with other people,		

interact, communal, congregate		7
Sociotemporal habitus		
ritualized/istic (3), marked, ceremonial, traditional	3	
change (in state), outside ordinary rules	2	
significant (event), outside the routine of daily life, an achievement considered above average, importance, age	2	
setting aside time	1	8

In the view of the informants the six main elements are the grounds for celebration (for example an anniversary), the activity of celebrating, the relation between them that is manifested in the verb; and additionally, positive connotations, the social aspect, and a certain sense of the regular or the irregular for which I have used the term sociotemporal habitus (combining the idea of the sociotemporal from Zerubavel 1981 with the idea of habitus from Bourdieu 1991). This habitus includes the contrast between celebratory and normal behavior, the deliberate and ritual nature of celebration, the exceptional nature of the grounds for celebration, and the reservation of time for celebration. These six main elements can be distinguished only roughly because of overlaps between categories; for example, "party" and "festivity," used by informants to denote the activity of celebrating, are social by definition. It is also noteworthy that the words used to describe the grounds for the celebration and the activity of celebrating overlap, for example in "event" – in celebrating, according to the informants, one can be said both to "mark an event" and to "have an event to mark a joyous happening."

The most frequent and apparently essential element of the definitions was the relationship between the grounds for celebration and the celebratory behavior (mentioned 16 times). It should be noted that the first response used "commemorate" and after that I began to instruct the informants to avoid circular definitions. They then began choosing more

distantly related words like "recognize" and "connect," but continued to highlight the relational aspect. The next most frequently cited feature was the occasion being celebrated, which received 14 mentions. Material events such as parties were mentioned 12 times, and elided in some responses such as "to mark an event." More than half the group (11 respondents) made an association with happiness or positive emotions, though one qualified his conception as "usually happy." Approximately a third of respondents (7) mentioned the social nature of celebration specifically, and about the same number (8) expended extra words on specifying ritual, exceptionality, tradition and other possible aspects arising from social habitus. There was one outlyer in the group, who defined 'celebrate' very generally as "interact outside the ordinary rules of behavior," with no mention of grounds for the celebration or a relationship with between grounds and behavior.

Two of the informants gave two different senses of 'celebrate,' suggesting a polysemy to the word, and alternative ways to organize the component concepts. One of these informants appeared to be making a distinction between spontaneous and established celebrations:

1. to meet with others and have a good time because of a certain occasion;
2. to participate in a certain holiday, i.e. the [*her family name*]s celebrate Christmas, but other families we know do not

The other informant also made a distinction between spontaneity and ritual, but in addition seemed to be thematizing the two senses differently:

1. to purposefully engage in some libation or "fun" in acknowledgement of some event or occurrence
2. to mark an event through ritualistic behavior

The first sense begins with the celebratory activity and delays mention of the grounds or triggering event (although it could be argued that "purposefully" counts as a mention), and the second sense begins with the triggering event and delays mention of the activity. With this patterning in mind, it can be seen that most of the other informants' definitions followed the patterning of one or the other of these senses,

beginning with either the grounds for celebration or the manifested celebration itself, in approximately equal numbers. One answer was slightly ambiguous between grounds and manifestation ("to observe an occasion, event, or happening, often in a ceremonial or ritualistic or traditional manner") and there were a few divergent responses such as "to interact outside of normal rules of behavior," "to have a dedicated enjoyment," and one that was so rambling as to be unusable.

Based on the two senses, we can postulate two complementary definition families:

> *celebrate-1*: to do something in recognition of a triggering event

> *celebrate-2*: a recognition of a triggering event that leads one to do something

There are thus three main components: the grounds for celebration, the celebratory activity, and the conceptual link between them (described here as "recognition"). The mentions of exceptionality and happiness in the data may be associated with either the triggering event or the activity, or, in the case of happiness, with some internal state that is not part of either.

As an experiment, we can try to incorporate as many of the elements as possible in an elaborated definition, written in terms of a vocabulary of basic words likely to be common to many languages. Probably the best known proponent of this form of semantic introspection is Wierzbicka (for example 1999: 34-38, 1997: 23-27) who attempts to build a cross-cultural semantics in terms of a "natural semantic metalanguage" based on research on linguistic universals.[56] This is a highly speculative

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[56] The elements of the metalanguage are: (subst): I, YOU, SOMEONE/PERSON, SOMETHING/THING; PEOPLE, BODY; (det): THIS, THE SAME, OTHER, (quant): ONE, TWO, SOME/ALL, MANY/MUCH; (attr): GOOD, BIG, BAD, SMALL; (mental verb): THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR; (speech): SAY, WORD, TRUE; (actions, events, and movement): DO, HAPPEN, MOVE; existence (alienable): POSSESSION, THERE IS, HAVE; life and death: LIVE/ALIVE, DIE; logical concepts: NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF, IF …WOULD (counterfactual); (time): WHEN/TIME, NOW, AFTER,

undertaking, on several counts: complex concepts may be experienced as gestalts, unamenable to this kind of componential analysis; it is not clear that even such simple words as 'inside' or 'have' are translatable across languages, and Wierzbicka offers little explanation of her method, making the writing of such definitions more art than science. Nevertheless, the method of elaborated definitions has also been used more informally, and without the claims of a metalanguage of thought, by others, such as R. Lakoff (2003) in her work on apologies, and attempts to describe 'celebrate' in general terms could certainly offer more clues to the contents of its frame. One possible solution might be:

> *celebrate:* Some times something good happens
> I feel something then
> I feel I want to be where there are other people
> who know something good happened
> to do something with them.

As it happens, all of these words except "with" are accounted for in Wierzbicka's list, and there is no obvious way to build up the concept of 'with' from the primitives given. Without a word for 'with,' it is difficult to express basic concepts of co-presence, awareness of and response to which is itself felt by many social scientists to be an extremely basic and universal capacity of human social competence. Wierzbicka in fact does resort to using "with" for example in her definitions of friend concepts in various languages (1997: 120ff). Furthermore, this definition of 'celebrate' naturally comes out in chronological order, which suggests that we might try to write an explicitly chronological or narrative script. Such scripts are commonly used in cognitive linguistics, for example the analysis of restaurant interactions by Schank and Abelson (1977) and of

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BEFORE; A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME; (space): WHERE/PLACE, HERE, UNDER; ABOVE, FAR, NEAR, SIDE, INSIDE; (intensifier, augmenter): VERY, MORE; (taxonomy, partonomy): KIND OF, PART OF; (similarity): LIKE. Wierzbicka added the terms FATHER, MOTHER, CHILD and COUNTRY for her study of national keywords although these do not appear to be linguistic universals (1997: 27).

emotion scenarios implied by nouns such as 'anger' (Kövecses 1990, G. Lakoff 1987)[57]; and they are invoked in van Dijk's model of news comprehension as a process of building up from frames to macrostructures (1988b: 102-104), and in Talmy's notion of event frames (1999). The script for 'celebrate' might run as follows:

Prototype scenario of celebration

Stage 1: Event X happens
Stage 2: Person/s A perceives Event X
Stage 3: Person/s A has/ve an emotional change of state
and/or
Stage 4: Person/s A resolve/s to have a behavioral change in state
Stage 5: Person/s A change/s behavior
         (in the direction of happy and/or social and/or specific activities)

Thus for application to the national holiday data, we should note that use of 'celebrate' (or synonyms or other words invoking the celebration frame) sets up the expectations that people will be aware of the anniversary as something good, they will perhaps feel something about it, and at least some of them will certainly change their behavior in noticeable ways. In the newspaper leads quoted at the beginning of the chapter, either the anniversary, the actors, or the external behaviors were thematized, and any of these elements not used as the theme could be mentioned later, but the emotions of participants were generally not part of the picture; in Talmy's (1999) terminology, they are "gapped" while the activities, participants, and grounds for celebration are "windowed." The gapping may mean that these emotions are not important in the frame, or alternatively it may mean that they are simply taken for granted as familiar and positive (much as Tannen argued for some omissions in the pear stories, 1979: 167). As we will see in the next chapter, many news stories do spend a great deal of time on detailing emotion, but only rarely is it the lead.

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[57] But note that while *anger* generally has a clear beginning and end, some other emotion concepts such as *joy* and *love* do not seem to be (necessarily) bounded in this way, so the script model does not apply equally to all emotion concepts (Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 141-2).

Before going further, let use look at the responses of the three informants who were asked about what people do when they celebrate. All three, who were parents and child in the same family, mentioned meeting friends or relatives socially, and two out of three mentioned food (but not drink). One parent mentioned "traditional activities" and the ten year-old (who may have been remembering Passover seders) mentioned prayer:

> When people celebrate they have a party. Sometimes they pray. Sometimes they see relatives or have a special meal.

At the same time, one of his parents wrote an answer that practically reproduces the common denominator of the definition responses:

> When people celebrate they come together in a group to express their happiness, joy, or appreciation for some present or past event.

And of course future memories of the celebration itself are created, as we see in the other parent's response to the question of what people do when they celebrate:

> When people celebrate they come together with friends and/or family and eat. Often there are traditional activities or food. A celebration helps us mark time as we remember celebrations of the same type in the past. People often take pictures or remember statistics or facts or tell stories about previous occasions.

Memory is not explicitly mentioned in any of the (most briefer) definitions given by the other informants. It seems to be a secondary concept that is not in the frame itself, but is nevertheless subtly implicated through the idea of reviving or fixing a triggering event in memory with a celebration.

4.2.3   Synonym task

Informants were then asked to give synonyms for 'celebrate.' Most of them commented on the difficulty of the task. The ten-year-old and two other informants were unable to come up with synonyms, and two more

wrote that there were no real synonyms but nevertheless produced some approximate ones. The answers mentioned by multiple informants were as follows:

Table 4-3: Responses to synonym exercise

Synonym	Number of informants	Comments
party	7	"light-hearted occasions"
commemorate	4	"not always positive" "not positive enough"
observe	3	"more formal"
mark	3	
rejoice	3	
indulge	2	
feast (for)	2	
laud (an achievement)	2	
Other responses, with 1 mention each: recognize, have fun, go to church, remember, honor, memise (a neologism meaning 'remember'), enjoy dedicatedly, make merry, go to church, gather with others in recognition of something, festive event, event based party, and sharing of good news.		

Note that all of the responses with the exception of "party" and "have fun" belong to more ceremonial registers of English; but "party" was the most common response (and respondents were quite clear that it was a verb). The most popular synonyms, "party" and "commemorate," appeared to be more readily accessed by people who were taking the test in or had been living in North America; two of the people who could not come up with any synonyms were speakers of UK English, and the arcane choices at the end of the list ("event-based party" and "sharing of good news") were produced by two Americans who had been living in Germany for six months at the time of the test. Incidentally, the closest synonyms regularly found in the text collection in the same context as "celebrate" are "mark," "observe" and "commemorate," which will be discussed in more detail later.

4.2.4   Sentence task

For the sentence task, informants produced 64 sentences with various forms of 'celebrate.' The table below shows the distribution of events mentioned, as well as examples illustrating the general form of the responses and a list of the slots that were filled in the sentences. Slots that are in parentheses occurred very rarely in the sentences and most likely do not need to be filled obligatorily:

Table 4-4: Responses to sentence exercise

Occasion (number of mentions)	Examples	Slots filled
Holiday (10) New Year/end of year (5) New Year + Christmas (1) Easter (1) Thanksgiving (1) Fourth of July (1) Independence Day (1)	*We'll celebrate the New Year in Havana.* *The partygoers celebrated the New Year with champagne toasts.* *I don't celebrate Easter.*	Celebrators Grounds for celebration (Place) (Activity) (Time) Variant subordinate structure (1): *I think it's both fun and important to celebrate the Fourth of July.*
Regular public event (2)	*The town is celebrating its thousand year anniversary.* *The nation celebrates 50 years of Queen Elizabeth II.*	Celebrators Grounds for celebration
Birthday (9)	*We celebrated her birthday.* *He celebrated his birthday last week.*	Celebrators Grounds for celebration (Time) (Place) Variant (1): *Mabel celebrates the fact that she's fifty!*

Rites of passage (8) Marriage (2) Anniversary (4) Graduation (1) First Communion (1)	*We celebrated our 15th anniversary on the Mosel this year.* *I celebrated my friend's graduation.*	Celebrators Grounds for celebration (Time) (Place) Variant (1): *This is an invitation to celebrate the marriage of John and Jane.*
Nonce (9) End of the academic year Passing exams New job (2) Promotion Finishing a major project House purchase anniversary Getting a tax refund Achievements	*After finishing a major project I celebrated with my co-workers by drinking tequila.* *He decided to celebrate the end of the academic year by taking a weekend trip to the mountains.*	Celebrators Grounds for celebration (Activity) (Time)
Existential (7) Holidays in general (3) Christmas (3) Hanukkah and Christmas Friends' birthdays	*We often have gaming parties to celebrate our friends' birthdays.* *Christmas is celebrated on December 25th.* *In my family we used to celebrate every holiday you could bake a cookie for.*	(Celebrators) Grounds for celebration (Activity) (Time)
Nonspecific / no target (13)	*Let's celebrate!* *We're going out to celebrate.* *There is always a reaon to celebrate.*	(Celebrators) (Grounds for celebration) (Activity) (Time) Variant with noun: *Celebrations are sometimes fun.*

		Variant with subordinate clause *It's hard to celebrate knowing that Aunt Jane is lying in a hospital bed.*

We can see that if one slot is filled it is generally the grounds for celebration; this appears to be the significant new information in most of these sentences. Celebrators may be stated if they are not implied by context, along with activity if it is unusual, time and place. The specific grounds mentioned included holidays, birthdays, rites of passage and personal nonce events (that is, significant events are not formalized by society as rites of passage and that might never occur again in the same way), and these appeared with approximately equal frequency. There appeared to be no prototypical target of celebration, and responses were clearly influenced by occasions that had taken place around the time of the interviews. There were also a large number of existential and nonspecific sentences: sentences about personal orientation to holiday practices or the existence of particular holidays were counted as existential, while those that mention the activity of celebrating were counted as nonspecific. The latter category included many very brief sentences that were probably the result pressure arising from the unclear time limits of the test (such as "Let's celebrate!") Across the categories, only three of the sentences produced were negative ("I forgot to celebrate my second wedding anniversary," "I don't celebrate Easter," "I refuse to celebrate").

4.2.5   *Speakers of other languages*

Speakers of other languages were consulted because their intuitions about their verbs of celebration could illuminate now-dormant senses of 'celebrate,' because their approach to the task would furnish information about cultural similarities and differences in celebration, and because the anecdotal information from the discussions act as further triangulation for the investigation of the language of national days. In general, speakers of other languages experienced the same difficulties with the

task as English speakers, and none had any trouble coming up with words that correspond fairly closely to 'celebrate.' The Finnish-speaking informants showed two important differences with the English-speaking informants. First, 6 out of the 27 Finnish speakers gave two senses of their closest equivalent *juhlia*,[58] for example:

- to have fun
- to mark some event – famous historical day, e.g.[59]

The distinction in these senses is not in which elements are thematized, windowed or gapped, but in the difference between private and public, or informal and formal. The formal senses tended to foreground recognition of an occasion ('some event'), without mentioning behavior or emotion, while the informal senses tended to leave out any particular occasion or reason for celebrating. One of the few general-purpose Finnish dictionaries, *Suomen kielen sanakirja*, supports the speakers' perception of a division in sense by defining *juhlia* thus:

1. viettää juhlaa. *Jouluna juhlitaan Kristuksen syntymää.*
2. pitää hauskaa, huvitella. *Juhlivat koko illan kapakoita kiertäen.*

1. have a celebration. *At Christmas people celebrate the birth of Christ.*
2. have fun. *They were celebrating all evening, going round the pubs.*

The etymological dictionary *Suomen kielen perussanakirja* has similar definitions as well as a third: *olla voitolla, olla niskan päällä* 'to be ahead,' which was not indicated by any of the responses from present-day

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[58] This was almost universally given as the equivalent of celebrate, but one respondent mentioned the derived form *juhlistaa* and assigned the private definition to it, and one used *viettää*, an 'empty form' meaning basically 'to spend time pleasantly,' but requiring a noun such as *juhla(a)* to give the meaning of *celebrate*. *Suomen kielen sanakirja* supports this division as well, defining *juhlistaa* as *tehdä juhlallise(mma)ksi* 'make [something] (more) like a celebration,' and giving the example sentence *juhlisti tilaisuutta avaamalla pullon samppanja*, ' celebrated the occasion by opening a bottle of champagne.'

[59] The Finnish equivalent of e.g., *muun muassa / m.m.*, is often postposed, so no words are missing here. This definition and some of the others by students in the English Department were in English in the original.

speakers. Accordingly, the Wierzbickan definitions of *juhlia* could be as follows, using 1 for the meaning that is most likely earlier historically and 2 for the one that is likely derived from it:

> *juhlia-1* (public): Some days are special to people here
> We feel as if we should do some things then
> I think this is good
>
> *juhlia-2* (private): Sometimes I feel like something good is happening
> Other people feel it too
> We like to do things together then
> I think this is good

Note that this second sense of *juhlia* does not require special grounds for celebration, although there may be grounds; it can also be used simply to liken a particular drinking round to a celebration (see definition 2, above). Common synonyms were *juhlistaa* (practically the same as *juhlia*), *viettää juhlaa* 'to have a celebration' and *bailata*, 'party,' but there did not seem to be any word filling the sense of a spontaneous, internally motivated, naturally happy outburst which is possible with 'celebrate.'

Sentences written by Finnish speakers covered a similar range of occasions to those written by English speakers. Of 76 sentences produced, 21 did not mention a specific occasion and the other 56 were spread among 23 different occasions ranging from the midsummer holiday to a divorce to a hockey victory to the opening of the Metsätalo building at the university. Nonce occasions such as getting a new job were rarely mentioned, although it is possible to speak of these with *juhlia*; for example, one of the Helsinki transit authorities has run an advertising campaign with the slogan, "There's always something to celebrate" and the visual example of getting a seat on the bus. Still, more conventional public and private occasions were preferred in the sentences and there was a clear favorite: 13 sentences mentioned birthdays, two more mentioned 50th birthdays, and two mentioned name days which are similar to birthdays.

The more official sense of *juhlia* in Finnish did not carry the almost

automatic connotation of happiness that accompanies 'celebrate' in English. This was clear not only from the definitions (only 5 out of 30 explicitly mentioned happiness) but from the fact that the funeral of a national hero can be a *kansanjuhla* ('national celebration') and even an ordinary funeral can be a *surujuhla* ('sorrow celebration,' cf. German *Trauerfeiern*). Along the same lines, when informants were asked to design Independence Day postcards, the preferred wording for good wishes was *hyvää itsenäisyyspäivää,* 'have a good Independence Day' rather than *hauskaa itsenäisyyspäivää,* 'have a fun Independence Day' or *iloista itsenäisyyspäivää,* 'have a joyous Independence Day.' Finnish Independence Day is also a memorial day for the soldiers who died during the ensuing civil war. During the 80th anniversary of independence in 1997, the government tried to promote the idea that *"itsenäisyys on iloinen asia"* ('independence is a joyful thing,') which implies that this was not already perceived as the case, and the same line has appeared as an apparently spontaneous quotation in news articles.[60] However, the consensus of Finns interviewed is that Independence Day, while definitely a *juhla*, is not an occasion to display happiness.

Data from the other languages is inconclusive at present, though it should be noted that the French respondent said *célébrer* was most often used in his age group as a euphemism for drinking and sometimes for sex, and produced examples (*Il est saoûl, il a déjà célébré ça,* 'He's drunk, he has already celebrated,' and *Hé bon déjà au lit, ils cèlèbrent leur marriage assez vite,* 'OK, already in bed, they are celebrating their marriage pretty fast' which may be a popular rhyme*)*. Two of the Finnish informants also explicitly attributed a drinking sense to *juhlia*, and indeed, Fox (2004: 381) notes in an anthropological study of English national behavior, "calling a drinking session a 'celebration' not only gets round our moral ambivalence about alcohol, providing a legitimate excuse for drinking, but itself gives us a sort of official license to shed a few inhibitions" – that is, a drink labeled a "celebration" can be considered

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[60] See for example "Aurinkorannikolla siniristilippu liehuu Espanjan ja Andalusian lippujen vieressä" ["On the Costa del Sol, the Finnish flag is flying next to the flags of Spain and Andalusia"], a vacation colony report that ran on 6 December 1999 in *Helsingin Sanomat.*

more powerful than a routine drink.

The Polish informants appeared to feel the meaning was split between two words, *obchodzić,* 'celebrate conventionally, observe' and *świętować,* 'celebrate a particular event, enjoy with friends and family.' One informant additionally mentioned a word for drinking, *oblewać,* and a loanword:

> *celebrować* – to make certain pompous gestures (a candle, a careful slow march, religion, church) during a celebration; one can also *celebrować* one's meal – eat it with care, in a special way (ironically).

The use of this word may have shifted for historical reasons, or it may have been borrowed into Polish this way, but it has a clear function of showing the difference between actions and feelings.

4.3   Other linguistic evidence

In investigating common words, we must understand what they mean now before we can understand what they meant in previous eras, and for this reason living informants were consulted first. However, the historical perspective is also necessary, especially considering the diachronic nature of the data, and so a survey of major dictionaries was made. The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists the first sense of 'celebrate' in English, with cites dating from 1564, as a general meaning drawn from religious transactions and rites of passage:

> To perform publicly and in due form (any religious ceremony, a marriage, a funeral, etc.); to hold (a church council); to solemnize.

In this sense, where the object is omitted, the Christian mass is implied. The meaning was also extended to a kind of general transaction, so that 'celebrate' came to mean 'to execute, enter into, perform' a contract or operation, as well as to the sense 'to consecrate by religious rites.' The religious–transactional sense was apparently extended into the sense by which we know the word today:

> To observe with solemn rites (a day, festival, season); to honour with religious ceremonies, festivities, or other observances (an event, occasion).

Strangely, the citations for this sense, which should by its order in the senses be later than the religious senses, begin around the same time, in 1560. The OED also gives further senses having to do with fame and praise. One of the earliest dictionaries in English, *Glossographia,* published in 1656 by Thomas Blount, gives a distinctly nonreligious sense for 'celebrate':

> Celebrate, to frequent, to solemnize with an Assembly of men, to make famous, also to keep a festival day or other time with great solemnity.

Samuel Johnson (1755) also concentrates on solemnity in his definitions:

> 1. To praise; to commend; to give praise to; to make famous.
> 2. To distinguish by solemn rites; to perform solemnly.
> 3. To mention in a set or solemn manner, whether of joy or sorrow.

The first major American dictionary, published by Noah Webster in 1828, gives religious senses first, with biblical citations. His third sense, below, is close to the sense of today, though it focuses on the recognition of an event rather than the behavior used to mark it:

> 1. To praise; to extol; to commend; to give to; to make famous; as, to celebrate the name of the Most High. *The grave cannot celebrate thee.* Is. 38.

> 2. To distinguish by solemn rites; to keep holy. *From even to even shall ye celebrate your Sabbath.* Lev. 23.

> 3. To honor or distinguish by ceremonies and marks of joy and respect; as, to celebrate the birth day of Washington; to celebrate a marriage.

> 4. To mention in a solemn manner, whether of joy or sorrow

Sense 3 at least implicitly allows for private celebrations as well as public ones, and it is the first dictionary definition we have seen that includes the element of happiness so often mentioned by the informants. From all of this evidence, it seems that 'celebrate' was extended from the

religious to the secular meaning at least as far back as early modern English and perhaps farther, but its meaning changed from solemn to joyful sometime after Johnson and before Webster – in fact, the period in which the Fourth of July began to be celebrated. A modern American dictionary, *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary* (1989) defines 'celebrate' in its transitive form as:

> 1. to observe (a day) or commemorate (an event) with ceremonies or festivities;
>
> 2. to make known publicly; proclaim;
>
> 3. to praise widely or to present to widespread and favorable public notice;
>
> 4. to perform with appropriate rites and ceremonies; solemnize.

As with the complex definitions derived from informant responses, the first definition here makes a three-part distinction between the thing observed, the activities observing it, and the relationship between them. However, the dictionary definition is understandably not as concrete as the intersubjective definitions, which focus on lifeworld activities such as social gatherings and drinking. The sense of celebrate as 'have fun' is completely missing; except for the mention of joy in Noah Webster's version, celebration as seen by these lexicographers is exclusively solemn.

Putting together all the information we have so far, we can arrive at a brief definition of 'celebrate' that covers most of the informant definitions and accommodates changes in the core meaning over time is as follows:

> *celebrate:* to change one's behavior in certain ways to recognize and (ideally) display felt joy in a change of state elsewhere

Obvious examples of changes include new years and seasons, rites of passage, goals achieved, and calendrical festival. The onset of celebration has long been seen a change in state between profane and sacred time (Durkheim 1912). As Goffman (1959) might say, it involves

frontstage behavior which 'counts as' evidence of an internal change of state related to the external change of state in a positive and enjoyable way. The sense of celebration as fame is integrated with this; someone who is the object of celebration is or has been honored by the other celebrants, and both the person and the process of celebration are implied to be good for the group as a whole (contrast with 'infamous' and 'notorious' where the person and the deeds which spread their fame are implied to be bad for the group).

Within this overall framework of state change, we have identified one kind of meaning complexity in 'celebrate' with the public/private definitions (evidenced by Finnish speakers' sentences as well as English speakers' sentences) and conventional/nonce distinctions (chiefly from the English-language sentences). Orthogonal to these we have the tripartite structure of 'celebrate,' at least in English. This tripartite structure can be coded in terms of nouns (grounds for celebration, celebratory behavior, recognition of the first by the second) or in terms of processes sensed by the participants (recognition of grounds for celebration, feeling the recognition, doing the celebratory behavior).

This complexity makes the verb 'celebrate' polysemous in terms of its membership in basic semantic classes used for verbs in (for example) systemic-functional grammar. A celebration is an event that has a beginning and an end, but it is in some sense also a state or way of being; the definition from one informant of 'celebrate' as "interact outside the ordinary rules of behavior" highlights this sense. In systemic-functional grammar, processes (events or states, corresponding somewhat to verbs in traditional grammar, or to nexuses in Jespersen 1924) are divided into six classes according to semantic content: material, mental, behavioral, relational, verbal, and existential; other roles and adjuncts follow from this classification. Considered within this system, 'celebrate' seems uncommonly flexible since it can be a material verb (focus on actions, props, and activities), a mental verb (focus on emotions or internal recognition), or a behavioral verb (focus on heightened physical behavior, or on observing observably). It is also possible to make cases for 'celebrate' as a relational verb (symbolizing) or a verbal verb (as in toasting), and even as an existential verb (being the kind of people who

celebrate a holiday is an existential state, and this is reinforced by the large number of such examples in the English sentence responses, and additionally the holiday may be celebrated *as* something, which suggests that it is that thing). The examples below are hypothetical and important tones are marked:

Material

We celebrated with béer and pizza. *[i.e., by consuming beer and pizza]*

It was Jòhn's bírthday so we célebrated. *[with beer and pizza, as you see]*

We celebrated Néw Year.

Mental

Now thát's something to celebrate. *[It is perceived as worthy of recognition – deciding how it will be celebrated is a later problem]*

In those days we célebrated each little step. *[Every increment of progress was counted as something special because of our mental state].*

Behavioral

We were rèally celebrating. *[Our mental state of exuberance and its physical manifestation were tightly integrated.]*

Relational

This hòliday celebrates our lòng wàlk to frèedom.

Verbal

Now let's celebrate Jòhn and Màry – chèers.

Existential

Around here we celebrate àll fòur solstices. What do yóur people celebrate?

We celebrate Christmas màinly as a commercial holiday.

Obviously these examples cross some borderlines themelves – for example, toasting is behavioral as well as verbal – which points to the impossibility of definitively classifying words that are constantly being extended. The examples also violate some of the rules and probes about other roles in the sentence in systemic-functional linguistics; since mental verbs are often passive correlates of active behavioral verbs (for example 'see/watch'), it was difficult to come up with a sufficiently passive example of 'celebrate' as a mental verb. It is nevertheless clear that the semantic emphasis of 'celebrate' shifts from utterance to utterance, although the core meaning in isolation appears from the informants' definitions to be behavioral.

Other common semantic probes reveal other aspects of meaning. If we try to think of the restrictions on the collocates of 'celebrate,' for a start the celebrator must be animate, or else be a collective such as a country that can function as an animate in English. The occasion is typically a time, an event, or a marked time that may calendrically recall a past event. A celebration cannot be an accident, and is not thought of as changing the event celebrated. It appears to be self-constituting; if you say you are celebrating something, then you are celebrating it, and if you are present at a celebration and not obviously protesting it, you are celebrating. Thus in a sense a declaration of celebration may even be a performative.

It is not clear if celebration in the sense of behavior can be faked. The following is certainly strange:

> ? We pretended to celebrate.

However, the appropriate emotion can certainly be absent (see the discussion of disattendance in forthcoming chapters). It is possible, although not common, to refer to a celebration as 'singularly joyless,' or to say something like the following, for example if a disliked co-worker is promoted to supervisor or a rival announces a happy event:

> ? We celebrated, but we weren't really happy about it.

Normally the actions of celebration must be distinct and recognizable. It would seem odd to be going about one's normal business and to say that one was celebrating with no visible sign, although speakers commonly make ironic statements like, "I'm celebrating the arrival of spring by working 12 hours a day" or "I'm celebrating the completion of my book by doing nothing for a week." The necessity of demonstrable behavior can be tested with a but-test (Kövecses 1990: 137ff):

> * We celebrated, but we didn't do anything.

This would be unacceptable if the meaning were 'we didn't do anything at all,' although it is possible in the meaning of, 'we did acknowledge the occasion, but didn't do anything that would publicly appear as a celebration.'

In some cases the action is implied but not expressed. Examples such as the following were common in respondent sentences:

> We're celebrating.

> Let's go out and celebrate.

> I'd like a reason to celebrate.

Here one assumes the action is recoverable from context in the first sentence (for example, glasses on the table, as in the earlier "material" beer and pizza example) and in the others it is clearly in the future and there is planning still to be done. The difference between ordinary time and that reserved for celebration is clear in all cases, whereas the following utterances are anomalous, except as an ironic statement in a highly specific context ('everyone else is getting to go and celebrate, while I am stuck at the office'):

> ? I'm celebrating an ordinary day.

> ? I'm celebrating an ordinary day at work.

It is also possible to have a private celebration, although this is usually treated as an emergency substitute for having other people celebrate with you[61]:

> I got a bottle of champagne and celebrated by myself.

The informant responses to the definition and sentence tasks indicated that events to be celebrated are normally positive. Accordingly, the following sentences were found unacceptable by most English-speaking informants in informal discussion:

> They're celebrating his death.

> They're celebrating his funeral.

> The holiday celebrates the death of …

Celebrating a death was felt to be plainly morbid; the widespread reaction among English speakers to news photographs of Palestinians celebrating the terrorist attacks on New York in 2001 may reflect taboos by which celebration in English is constructed as morally incompatible with death (unless the frame is clearly one of play, like a game or fairy tale), as well as more immediate concerns and griefs. The informants found celebrating a funeral slightly more acceptable than celebrating a death, and celebrating a holiday for someone's death was felt to be increasingly acceptable the longer the historical distance from the death: "This holiday celebrates the death of our patron saint 800 years ago" would be only somewhat incongruous, since the focus would be on the celebration (and sainthood is often constructed as involving martyrdom for a better life for others), but "this holiday celebrates the death of Martin Luther King" would sound ghoulish.

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[61] *Mrs. Dalloway* (Woolf 1925) could be seen as an exploration of the idea of celebration in its most private and spontaneous manifestations (appreciating being alive on a fine spring morning) as well as its most formal and social ones (the party at the end).

A Google search shows that strings like "celebrate the death of" and "celebrate the funeral of" occur regularly in normal writing, particularly in religious contexts, and they can also be found occasionally in the news. Such usages may be related to the religious meaning of 'celebrate,' which is by no means defunct. 'Celebrate' has also been extended to other negatively tinged uses, as this quotation from an anthropologist (Douglas 1970: 37) illustrates:

> The official symbolism of Friday abstinence was originally personal mortification, a small weekly celebration of the annual celebration of Good Friday [which marks the crucifixion of Jesus Christ].

Finally, the celebration frame can also be evoked through bodily or behavioral metonyms, similar to emotions as discussed in Kövecses (1990: 148). Some further hypothetical examples:

> We felt giddy when our names were unexpectedly announced.

> We raised a glass.

> Let trumpets sound and bells ring – the heir to the throne is born.

It seems clear that some occasions of celebration, such as birthdays, rites of passage and holiday gatherings, are better examples than others for the purpose of explaining the meaning of the word, since they are mentioned most frequently by informants and have all of the prime requisites (grounds/triggering event, activity, happy, social). It would be difficult to identify a single 'best' example for the diverse speech community of English as a whole, since some speakers come from cultures (national, ethnic, religious, family, community) that put a greater premium on personal ceremonies and others from cultures that stress public ceremonies. On the other hand, nonce celebrations that do not rely on conventional milestones or holidays are clearly an extension of the central meaning, as are the various nonprototypical uses discussed above.

The diagram below shows a few of the different uses of 'celebrate' in terms of one of the best-example events, which has its major slots filled

with participants, clear grounds and a clear activity. Other patterns that are related to it are shown as well. Although the 'prototypical' example has grounds for celebration, activities of celebration, positive associations, and social orientation, none of these is a necessary condition which must be shared by all celebrations. And although the 'prototypical' example was chosen to serve as a best example for demonstrating the general meaning of the word, it should not be asserted automatically that it is the most common, salient, or productive. It may even be, in the way of many findings in Construction Grammar (see for example Kay and Fillmore 1999, Östman and Fried 2005), that in some cases apparently defective patterns are actually more frequent or important.

Figure 4-1: Fully realized and outlying examples of 'celebrate'

I'm celebrating the fact that it's Thursday.

CELEBRATOR - explicit
Ironic – no real GROUNDS
ACTIVITY or lack of it is recoverable from context

Let's celebrate!

CELEBRATORS – implicit
GROUNDS – recoverable from context
ACTIVITY - undetermined

PROTOTYPE:

We (CELEBRATORS) celebrated her birthday (GROUNDS) by drinking champagne (ACTIVITY) / We drank champagne to celebrate her birthday.

EMOTION not explicit, since it is assumed to be happy and enthusiastic

CELEBRATORS – explicit
GROUNDS – explicit
ACTIVITY – explicit

Memorial Day was celebrated yesterday with flagraising ceremonies.

CELEBRATOR – recoverable from context
GROUNDS – nonprototypical, unhappy

I don't know why, but I feel like celebrating.

EMOTION – foregrounded
GROUNDS – explicitly not present
ACTIVITY – undetermined

We celebrated, but our hearts weren't in it.

EMOTION – foregrounded, in contradiction to the normal unmarked case

The outlying examples all share some slots in their frame with the central example, but not necessarily with each other; thus we can say that part of the category structure comes from family resemblances (Wittgenstein 1958: 66ff). Clearly these are only a few representative examples and other extensions are possible; for example the uses of 'celebrate' can be extended to any occasion involving alcohol by using the metonymic activity of drinking as a vehicle for family resemblance – and often is, as we have seen.

Thus it is asserted that depending on the particular flavor of celebration, slots for celebrators (agents), grounds for celebration (goal/range), activity (sidelined in an adjunct phrase: celebrated *by* doing something) are important parts of the frame, and in addition emotion can be mentioned, if it is different from the normal and expected level of happiness, as can time and place. Emotion is more salient in the outlying examples than it is in the 'best' example in the center, where it tacitly assumed to be present in an 'appropriate' and unremarkable way. Nor was emotion salient any of the informant responses apart from the elements of "(usually) happy" in the definition. Not one informant sentence took the form 'I was happy to celebrate my birthday.' Happiness was simply assumed.

4.4 'Celebrate' in the news texts

As demonstrated at the beginning of the chapter, 'celebrate' is extremely frequent in the text collection, occurs 899 times in all forms including nominals. It appears especially frequently in leads of stories in the text collection, particularly in the early material:

> INDEPENDENCE DAY – The "Glorious Fourth" will be celebrated in this City and its environs, to-day, with all the outward display, and much more of the inward spirit, that has characterized its observance in years gone by. ("General City News," July 4, 1861, p. 8)

Synonyms of 'celebrate' also appear with the same function. The frequency of 'celebrate' and related verbs in their commonest forms in the entire text collection is as follows:

Table 4-5: Frequency of finite celebratory verbs in the text collection

	–d	*was –d*	*will –*	*will be –d*
celebrate	127	28	12	19
observe	59	13	1	2
mark	62	2	6	1
commemorate	22	1	1	0

A few of the instances of "celebrated" mean 'famous,' many of the instances of "observed" mean 'commented,' and many of the instances of "marked" are part of predicative expressions ("the day was *marked* by a feeling of solemnity"). Even without eliminating these, it seems obvious that 'celebrate' is the most frequent of these 'umbrella' verbs covering all the events of the day; it is probably also the most central of these verbs semantically.

The incidence of all four verbs is highest in the early material and decreases as we move towards the present, except for 'commemorate' which appears to be more modern. In early material it is not uncommon to have some form of 'celebrate' in both the headline and the lead; this occurs in the main front-page reports for 1856, 1861, and 1871, for example[62]:

> *CELEBRATION* OF THE FOURTH.
> Great Gathering at the Academy of Music.
> ORATION BY THE HON. EDW. EVERETT.
> Rev. Dr. Chapin at the Cooper Institute

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[62] Italics in examples are mine unless otherwise noted.

TAMMANY SOCIETY CELEBRATION.
MILITARY PARADE -- FIRE-WORKS, &c.
FIRES, ACCIDENTS, AND
INCIDENTS.

> The National Anniversary of American Independence -- the eighty-fifth and most momentous of our history -- *was celebrated* yesterday. With what sincerity and heartiness the detailed accounts which we publish elsewhere will testify. To the majority of those who assisted in the various exercises of the occasion it was something more than a mere holiday. The aspect of the day was that of a National Thanksgiving …

'Celebration' appears in the top deck of the headline, 'celebrate' in the lead, and 'celebration' also appears later in the story. This repetition is slightly disturbing to the modern eye in smaller stories without multi-deck headlines, and may indicate that the taboo against repetition had not yet taken hold, or that the application of the verb to the holiday was sufficiently novel to bear repeating. In the smaller stories about neighborhood and ethnic celebrations we can assume 'celebrate' is being used contrastively: 'Celebration at Brooklyn / The holiday was celebrated at Brooklyn ...' would be interpreted to mean '*In Brooklyn* the holiday was also celebrated.' In other words, the fact of the celebration was given information and "Brooklyn" in the second half of the clause was new information; thus 'celebration' here can be seen as somewhat 'lighter' than it would be in a story about a Brooklyn-only celebration.

By the time the 20th century got into full swing, domestic celebration of the Fourth of July was no longer news enough to regularly carry both headline and lead as a simple statement, so for example a 1936 headline of "City's Celebration Safest and Sanest" was followed by a lead of "New York was a subdued and orderly city yesterday. The five boroughs and the surrounding metropolitan area celebrated the 160th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence …" After mid-century, the news stories also began to fracture from roundups and event reports with a fairly standard structure to more separate stories about separate aspects of events, with details up high and specific, eyewitness observations presented in a literary style, a development that will be revisited in the next chapter.

If we look at the argument structure of 'celebrate' in the 85 leads where it occurs as a finite verb, we see that it has two customary arguments: the triggering event or grounds for celebration (which formal grammars might designate Patient or Range); the celebrator (Agent or Actor); and possible adjuncts for specific activities and for manner (a term I will use to mean the quality of the celebration), as well as the time and place adjuncts that can occur in almost any sentence:

> CELEBRATOR *celebrates* GROUNDS in MANNER
> by ACTIVITY at PLACE at TIME

Let us take another look at the examples from the beginning of the chapter:

> The National Anniversary of American Independence – the eighty-fifth and most momentous of our history – was *celebrated* yesterday. With what sincerity and heartiness the detailed accounts which we publish elsewhere will testify. ("Celebration of the Fourth," July 6, 1861, p. 1)

> The ninety-fifth anniversary of our national independence was *celebrated*, in public and private, yesterday. Although the observance was general, it by no means equalled the unanimity and magnitude of some former years. ("The Glorious Fourth," July 5, 1871, p. 1)

> COPENHAGEN, Denmark, July 4 – Denmark *celebrated* the United States' Independence Day for the forty-ninth time when Danes, Danish emigrants and American visitors gathered in Rebild National Park in northern Jutland. About 50,000 persons, including King Frederik IX and other members of the royal family, attended the ceremony. ("Danes Mark U.S. Holiday," July 5, 1961, p. 27)

All three of these leads are nearly bare statements of the grounds for celebration with some time and place information, and some indication of the degree of enthusiasm and scope available in the next sentence, and suggestions of activities (but no details more specific than "observance" or "ceremony"). In the 76 lead sentences with main verb 'celebrate,' the entire set of complements never occurs, because that would produce a

sentence that would be difficult to read and might contain redundancies. To give a fabricated example of an overloaded sentence:

> New Yorkers celebrated Independence Day in Manhattan very enthusiastically yesterday by flocking to the streets to watch the parade.

In daily newspaper writing, the default time is always 'yesterday' and the default place is 'in the metropolitan area where this newspaper was published.' Here the time further is specified by 'Independence Day' and the place by 'New Yorkers' and 'the streets,' contributing to an impression of overlexicalization, and in actual stories these elements are normally elided as much as possible.

When we look at the 76 lead sentences as a whole, the other three elements – celebrators, activity, and manner – are also typically present in some form. The celebrator is generally the nation, sometimes the city, sometimes particular groups that have been observed by the reporter ("the Irish people of Newark and their friends," "the Tammany Society"). Sometimes the celebrator is ambiguous, and in 35 out of 76 of the finite main clauses analyzed, it is absent (but recoverable), usually in connection with passivization ("the National Anniversary was celebrated yesterday"). The occasion is always present in these sentences, and is generally Independence Day or the Fourth of July or the "anniversary of independence."[63] The manner adjunct appears in 29 sentences and is typically filled with some kind of evaluation of enthusiasm ("enthusiastically," "quietly"), appropriateness ("in a befitting manner"), traditionality ("in the customary manner") or scope ("generally"). If the manner is omitted from the first sentence, it may be given in the following sentence, as in the examples above. Leads in news stories are often crudely taken to be simply the first sentence or paragraph, but in fact journalists often conceive of them as the entire summary opening before the descent into detail, or (in the case of

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[63] Although one might think there are only a few ways to say this, the finite instances of 'celebrate' collocate with several dozen different expressions for the holiday, ranging from "an old-fashioned Glorious Fourth" to "the sesquicentennial of the Declaration of Independence" to just "the day."

anecdotal leads) the entire opening anecdote before the 'nut graph' that explains the significance of the story (for another, linguistic view of the length of leads see Townsend 2002).

Manner and activity adjuncts overlap, and both can use 'with,' as in the hypothetical examples 'the holiday was celebrated with enthusiasm,' or 'the holiday was celebrated with parades.' A few of the lead sentences have adjuncts that are ambiguous between manner and activity or manner and means, such as "With a few modern variations and some minor restrictions …" or "under the auspices of the American embassy here." But for the most part, the activity adjuncts are clear-cut activities such as the stereotypical "by firing of cannon" or "with music and fireworks" or, for elite groups at resorts, "by a splendid champagne luncheon." Activity adjuncts are present in approximately half (40) of the leads.

When the theme of the clause containing 'celebrate' is identified in the 76 lead sentences, we find that 33 leads begin with the celebrators, 30 with the grounds for celebration, 2 with the manner, 3 with the activity, 4 with the time and 4 with the place. This means that when the news story format intersects with the 'celebrate' frame in these cases, the reporter[64] will commonly begin with either the celebrators and an active form of 'celebrate' or with the occasion and a passive form of 'celebrate.' There were 25 instances of passive forms in report stories ("was celebrated"), fairly evenly distributed with half of them occurring in the first third of the data chronologically, from 1852 to 1896. All four of the instances of passives in advances ("will celebrate") occurred in 1926 or later. Thus the news texts tended to thematize either the celebrants or the grounds for celebration – but only rarely the activity (3 times in the set of 76 leads). The three leads reproduced at the beginning of the chapter and the section do not say concretely what people actually did to celebrate

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[64] Headlines are typically written separately by editors after the story is finished; which could also account for some of the repetition between headlines and leads in early stories. Thus in general the reader's beginning is the headline, but the writer's beginning is very often the lead.

the holiday – perhaps because it is assumed to be common knowledge, or perhaps to build a feeling of suspense.

Not wanting to start with new information, namely the activity, is one possible reason for foregrounding of the occasion and subsequent passivization. Another is that in the attempt to write as broad a lead as possible for a wide-ranging roundup story, writers may want to leave the celebrants indeterminate. One could write something like 'Americans in New York City and elsewhere celebrated the holiday' in order to remain accurate and include different audiences, but that might be awkward; someone is always being left out, in this case foreign visitors and sympathizers. A third possibility may be that because of its integration with the calendar, the holiday is experienced as a natural event like a seasonal change or a solstice, and therefore a subjectless sentence is appropriate. The presence of some other leads, not involving 'celebrate' or single word synonyms, supports this:

> The Glorious Fourth, like many another, *has come and gone*, and with it go into the record of history, the beauty of the day, the rattle and noise of our industry, the civic pageant, the bunkum speeches of "set" orators, the military revival headed by the worthy general who might have changed the fate of Bull Run had he been given the chance, the nights and shows, and all the uproarings and collisions inevitably attendant on the day whose memories all small boys and patriotic men delight to *celebrate*. ("The National Anniversary," July 5, 1866, p. 1)

"Has come and gone" constructs time as something that moves past humans while they stand still (Fillmore 1997: 74), contributing to the construction of the nation as static and permanent. The expression is ordinarily used with transient natural phenomena such as seasons. This points to an overlap or extension in which the semantics of 'celebrate' can in some cases be similar to something to that of subjectless constructions used with natural phenomena ('It rained,' 'there was thunder,' 'X was celebrated'), while the actual syntax is derived from a human-action frame that requires an animate subject, even if backgrounded. The example above opens with a superficially different proposition to the other leads we have seen, but note the string of noun phrases that presuppose that the day is beautiful, that the speeches are

"bunkum," that the citizens delight in celebration, echoing such formulations as "*the* anticipations of patriots and pleasure seekers" and "*the* law about pistols and fireworks" in the earlier examples in this chapter. Familiarity with these tropes on the part of readers is assumed, since this is just a Fourth "like many another" – particularly once the whole frame has been activated with 'celebrate' and the name of the holiday.

These considerations should contribute toward dispelling the popular idea of passive voice as a construction whose purpose is to conceal agency. Many theories of language, from transformational grammar to critical linguistics to the folk theories reproduced in college writing manuals, consider the active voice to be basic and associate the passive voice with a range of phenomena including extra cognitive steps in derivation which it is assumed the reader may not follow, and therefore with deviousness, weak writing and bad moral fiber (for the perceived association between grammar and ethics see Cameron 1995). Nominalization is another grammatical device that is often constructed as an ideologically dishonest deviation from seeing the world in terms of verbal processes with clear agents and victims. These judgments seem to be missing from more recent approaches like (Chomskyan) minimalism and Construction Grammar, but they remain pervasive in social-functional approaches such as systemic-functional linguistics. Still, it is reasonable to examine the use of passive, as we have just done, and to note that in reports the passive is more frequent in earlier newspapers – perhaps because contemporary journalists have been explicitly instructed by writing manuals to prefer active sentences, and perhaps because the typical function of the passive is in fact changing in the direction of elision of agency. It is also interesting to note here that the text collection contained 566 instances of 'celebration,' close to twice as many as for all forms of 'celebrate' as a verb or a gerund. At the same time many languages commonly employ an alternate form of 'celebrate' involving a light verb and a noun ('have/hold a celebration'), particularly in casual conversation; among them the other Germanic languages, Finnish, and Mandarin; in these usages, which are extremely frequent in conversation, celebration is perforce nominalized and becomes something that is deliberately arranged rather than a 'natural' process

that only needs to be met halfway by the willingness of the experiencer.

4.5   Other celebration verbs in the news texts

Let us now look more closely at the common news synonyms for 'celebrate' listed in Table 4-5. 'Celebrate' is most often substituted by 'observe,' which has a much stronger human subject component since it is more prototypically a mental or behavioral verb, and which also points to maintaining a regular sociotemporal system:

> Yesterday *was very generally observed* as a holiday throughout the City. All the great importing houses down town were closed, and their employees, clerks and carters enjoyed the luxury of a double holiday. Under ordinary circumstances they would have utilized the opportunity by fleeing from the heated City to the cool breezes of the sea-shore, but on this occasion the impulse to remain to watch the growing decorations of the City was irresistible. ("American Independence," July 4, 1876, p. 1)

> The Fourth of July was *observed* quietly in New York City yesterday. Its occurrence on a Sunday in the middle of a three-day holiday, together with the laws about pistol shooting and fireworks, made the celebration one of the tamest ever known. ("Tame Celebration of Fourth in City," July 5, 1926, p. 1)

'Observe,' since it collocates with 'the law' as well as holidays, shares part of its content with 'uphold.' Like 'salute' which was not mentioned in the tests, it focuses attention on the system that is maintained through the celebratory practice, and the role of the participant as a co-present spectator in the system. One cannot observe a chance or spontaneous event like winning a lottery, although one can celebrate it. 'Observe' also shares part of its semantic content with 'recognize' in the sense that both start from the idea of seeing or perceiving something before giving it its due.[65]

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[65] The comedian Lenny Bruce's gloss on this word is currently receiving wide circulation as part of the epigraph for the best-selling novel *The Autograph Man* (Smith 2002): "Celebrate is a goyish word. Observe is a Jewish word. Mr. and Mrs. Walsh are *celebrating* Christmas with Major Thomas Moreland, USAF (ret.), while Mr. and Mrs. Bromberg *observed* Hannukah with Goldie and Arthur Schindler from

The second most frequent synonym is 'mark,' which tends to appear in situations where the participants are not expected to give their full attention to the holiday. Most of the occurrences of 'mark' are after World War I, and few of them are in leads:

> In Tokyo our occupation troops *marked* the day with parades, flights of planes and a forty-eight gun salute to the nation. Lieut. Gen. Robert L. Eichelberger, commander of the troops, told our forces in Japan that many tasks are still ahead of them and reminded them that they represented the people of the United States whose ideals they exemplify before the Japanese people. ("Nation Marks Fourth Festively at Home, Martially Abroad," July 5, 1946, p. 1)

> Canadians *marked* the United States Bicentennial today with their customary ambivalence in relations toward the huge, dynamic neighboring country. ("Canadians Ambivalent," July 5, 1976, p. 18)

'Mark' is, by its very length, is somewhat perfunctory, allowing the focus to move away from the verb or grounds for celebration onto the particular activity as fast as possible; it might be used anaphorically in written texts to avoid repeating 'celebrate,' but seems not to belong to spoken language. 'Mark' also implies that the celebrants have fulfilled a duty and their participation may be duly recorded in some register of behavior.

'Commemorate' is surprisingly rare in the text collection. As a long, prefixed Latin derivative it seems more formal, and like 'mark' and 'observe' can be used for sad occasions like memorial days as well. It also tends to be used for more formal events with a historical or rhetorical component, with a focus on inscribing them on the collective memory. The story openings that use forms of 'commemorate' are typically rather stiff:

Kiamesha, New York" (Bruce 1967, italics his). Bruce's analysis is neither supported nor disproved by the results in this chapter.

> Wednesday next being the ninetieth anniversary of our National Independence, the First Division, consisting of the First, Second, Third and Fourth Brigades under the command of Maj.-Gen. SANDFORD, will parade in *commemoration* of the day. ("The National Guard," July 1, 1866, p. 8)

> When it comes to the Fourth of July , New York seems to mark the wrong day.

> The celebration of the signing of the Declaration of Independence *commemorates* an action that New York did not take until July 9, 1776. At the celebrated gathering in Philadelphia five days earlier, New York was the only colony to abstain. ("Celebrating the 9th of July, New York's True Independence Day," June 20, 1996, p. CY 14)

Having a particular frame in the lead sentence does not necessarily determine where the rest of the story is going to go, particularly in peripheral story types that exploit suspense and irony, and in recent feature-style journalism, as will be explained in later chapters. The leads cited in this chapter are known as summary leads, because they give the most general précis of the story possible (in the writer's opinion). They do not usually focus on a single aspect of events. As Ungerer (2000) has noted, the scripts for many events have a main focus. For example, in a coronation, the sequence is rigid and the moment of placing the crown on the head would be the main focus; in an election, the announcement of results would be the main focus. Furthermore, he notes (178-9):

> With some types of events, sequence is rigidly enforced, for instance church ceremonies and court proceedings as well as soccer matches and similar rule-governed games. Other types of events show a more unobtrusive sequential structuring, e.g. birthday parties, industrial disputes or election campaigns; but in each case a prototypical sequence can be activated whenever needed.

Both Ungerer and Bell (1998) found that in present-day British newspapers, journalists often use an entry point away from the main focus in order to seem to have an original slant on a story – in terms of our previous observation about how certain verbs govern certain frames in journalism, this would also mean they were rejecting the obvious verbs that direct the story along conventional paths.

We may ask why it is necessary in national day news to use a general verb like 'celebrate' instead of a more vivid and specific verb. National independence days often seem to be multifocal events. The Fourth of July today typically includes a parade in the morning, fairs, picnics and barbecues in the afternoon, a concert and fireworks in the evening. In its earliest incarnation, there was a sermon, prayer, ode, and rereading of the Declaration of Independence indoors in the morning, a parade and fair later on, and drinking and fireworks in the evening. At no point in the accounts of the celebration is there a symbolic focal moment in which the nation is symbolically recreated anew.[66] There may have been some attempts to create one, in the rereading of the Declaration in those early celebrations; or the Independence Day proclamation and ringing of the Liberty Bell by President Ford on July 4, 1976; but these were not described as focal points in the metadiscourse, so their status is dubious. Geographical dispersion in a broad-based federation spreads the entry points further, both in terms of the number of events to be covered and the fact that the standard sequence and array of events may vary from place to place. Similarly, Finnish Independence Day, for example, includes a flag-raising and church service in the morning, both sparsely attended, placing of candles on graves and a torchlight procession in the evening, and a ball at the President's Palace, which is widely watched on television. In all the national day celebrations I have witnessed or read about, celebration is sufficiently dispersed that newspapers have to gather many tiny reports, printed either separately or under an umbrella lead, rather than sticking to one spot.

4.6   Conclusion

Many common words prove resistant to simple definition. One of the most famous examples is 'game' (Wittgenstein 1958: 66ff), which is a category with no necessary attribute, only family resemblances. It is also open to question whether there is a single best example, although there

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[66] In some national day celebrations, there very clearly is a single moment, for example the rereading of a proclamation from the balcony of the Presidential Palace on Mexican independence day.

are clearly concentrations of best examples that illustrate the important explicit and implicit features especially well, such as 'board game' and 'ball game.' Two other factors that complicate the semantics of 'game' are that it is unclear whether it is a cultural category or a linguistic or conceptual universal; and that it is not a basic category. Basic categories are those that are learned first by children, and that are interacted in terms of their categories and attributes in everyday life, such as 'chair,' 'cup,' 'dog.' 'Game' is not one of these, but is built up from games that a particular child may or may not encounter; 'celebrate' or 'celebration' works the same way as we abstract from celebrations actually experienced, including conventionalized holidays, personal rites of passage, and other anniversaries and nonce celebrations.

It is difficult to define 'celebrate' using classical categories and features, as we saw in the analysis of informant definitions above, and it is possible to eliminate any one of the complements from the 'celebrate' frame and still have it make sense. It is difficult even to decide whether it is a natural kind of activity – that is, corresponding to some real phenomenon in the world, whose inner constitution determines the range of things in the category, as opposed to a nominal kind that is constructed deliberately by a psychologist or emerges from culture. (Taylor 1989: 43-45).[67] Even within the framework of Levinson (1979), we lack clear criteria for deciding whether there is an activity type of celebration in present-day life or not.

Given the number of languages and societies that have already disappeared from the earth, there is thus certainly no way to show that 'celebrate' corresponds in practice to a language universal, and probably no way to show it in theory either. All modern societies have celebrations; as we said previously, all of the nations into which the

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[67] This concept of natural kinds is something Taylor appears to take from Rosch 1973b, 1975b. Its applicability even within science is open to debate. G. Lakoff 1987: 185-195 demolishes the idea of natural kinds with respect to species, and I have elsewhere (ben-Aaron 1996a) attacked it with respect to national blood group profiles and constellations.

world is tiled have specific celebrations associated with national holidays, as do a number of 'nations' without secure territory, but these can all be shown to be adaptations of celebrations from the pre-national period fused with imitations of commemorative holidays from elsewhere. Many non-national, non-modern societies also have recognizable celebrations, typically classed as religious rituals, but we still cannot say that celebration is a linguistic universal or a cultural universal[68]; it may even be that being able to voluntarily spend resources (including time) on marking a wide variety of abstract occasions is a special feature of affluent modern societies.

Nor is there any evidence that 'celebrate' is a basic-level category. It is clearly related to the category of emotion words such as 'anger' and their associated concepts, which have been extensively studied (for example in G. Lakoff 1987; Kövecses 1990, 2000; Wierzbicka 1992, 1999). A small set of emotion concepts, typically 'anger,' 'fear,' 'disgust,' 'joy,' 'pride,' and 'sadness,' have been identified by some as "basic emotions" (Kovecses 1990: 6-11) but the centrality and universality of these emotions has been disputed by others, such as Wierzbicka 1999 and Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990, who also point out the Anglocentrism of the concept of emotion itself. In the work of the latter authors in particular, emotion is seen less as essential, internal, and biologically based; and more as social, discursive and negotiated; Lutz 1987 identifies quite different emotions as central in Ifaluk culture, as does Briggs 1970.

If we try to place 'celebrate' relative to the commonly studied emotions within English speaking culture, however, it is probably linked with joy and possibly pride or its converse, respect; one informant stated

[68] Murdock (1945) published an anthropological survey of 67 'universals of culture.' Among them were: calendar, community organization, etiquette, family feasting, funeral rites, marriage, religious ritual – but not celebration as a general practice. Nor is celebration on the more recent list of anthropological universals by Brown (1991) although ritual and cyclicity of time are noted.

perspicaciously that the point of celebration is to "express joy, importance or age." However, a clear semantic separation exists between 'celebrate' and 'mourn' and their near-counterparts in emotion such as 'joy' and 'sadness,' by the fact that they contain a behavioral component, an outward manifestation of feeling that is intrinsic to any 'best illustration' or 'core' meaning we attempt to come up with (compare 'I celebrated by doing nothing' with the less acceptable 'I celebrated but I didn't do anything'). The definitions given by informants were skewed away from internal states and towards external activities and metonyms – 'what people do' – even when they were not specifically asked about this. At the same time, as we will see, the news story leads emphasize both external activities and internal states, although hardly ever in the same stories. The lead either does the work of reporting the physical activities of the celebration, or the level of enthusiasm, and only rarely both, which suggests they are used as signs of each other. Generally speaking, evaluations of enthusiasm are more common in leads in the early stories, and listings of activities are more common in the later stories, for a variety of generic reasons to be discussed further on.

Other important questions remain. How is the structure of a verb like 'celebrate' different from that of an emotion concept because it is a verb instead of a noun? Is the person who celebrates in control or not? To what extent is 'celebration' a passive or active process (cf. discussions of dative of experiencing in Slavic languages), given the contiguity with processes like 'observe' and 'mark' that seem to require less effort? These questions may not be conclusively answerable, since personal answers and community practices are constantly in dialogue. The material from the OED article on 'celebrate' indicated that the word has both secular and religious senses that have been attested for about equally long in English, and it is not clear which is prior; an apparently secular use appears in an early citation from Shakespeare's *Henry VI Part 1:* "Feast and banquet on the open streets, To celebrate the joy that God hath given us" (I: 6). The rest of the citations indicate that love, weddings, and festivals are among the other things typically celebrated over the centuries. However, the early citations are weighted toward religious usage and analogies based on religious usage, while the later

ones are weighted toward secular usage, as would make sense when one considers the shift in Europe from empires based on faiths and monarchs to nation-states based largely secularized social contracts. Citations of 'celebrate' meaning 'drink' begin in the 1920s, and on the evidence of Fox 2004, the meaning is still strong today.

To reprise the linguistic findings, the basic meaning of 'celebrate' in English can be said to be

> to change one's behavior in certain ways in recognition of and (ideally) joy in a change of state elsewhere; often done jointly with others and with the support of social institutions.

The element of joy is however often elided because it is a taken-for-granted element of the frame; however it may be commented upon if it is absent ('a singularly joyless celebration'). Celebration probably cannot be faked for the very reason that it is a formal and self-constituting process, but the expected emotion can be faked. A celebration is a deliberate human action that is nevertheless portrayed as natural or spontaneous, and that does not act to retroactively change the event that serves as its grounds, although successful celebration and layerings of successive celebrations can add to its importance, and failed celebrations can give it an 'unhappy' or disappointed aspect.

When national holidays are added to the celebration frame, it seems clear that the word 'celebrate' has been gradually enlarging its scope from more religious to more secular applications, as part of a general 'fractalizing' of its meaning (in Gal's sense of extension through recursive application, most usefully discussed in Gal 2002): an extension to ever more personal and nonce frames of reference. The fact that 'celebrate' can be used for any small thing that makes a person happy can be seen in the responses of American informants to the question sentences; at the same time, it is being applied to ever more comprehensive concepts, as in the frequently heard utterances, "We're celebrating life" or (in a re-entry of the sense of celebration as personal fame) "We're celebrating [*name*]." There is some evidence in Finnish examples and advertisements that 'juhlia' is becoming fractalized as

well. More evidence for the shift from religious to secular can be seen in the Fourth of July data, where 'celebrants,' the religious term for persons taking part in a ceremony, was used in the earliest coverage and this usage subsequently came to coexist with the more bureaucratic-sounding 'celebrators.'

At the same time as 'celebrate' is gradually fractalized and secularized, it assumes a more unifying role; using the same verb in different stories constructs a relation between events all across the social scale, from brief relaxations of the rules in prisons to boisterous public festivals to private gatherings of the political, military, and hereditary elites, such as the Grand Sachems of Tammany Hall, the Sons of the Cincinnati, Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution. Calling all of these events simultaneous 'celebrations' establishes a connection between them, and helps construct the community and the nation. The word further assumes a self-constituting life of its own, as calling a drinking round a 'celebration' seems to make it one.

We have now dealt with the basic contribution of 'celebrate' and related words to the construction of national days, and the contribution of national days to the 'celebrate' frame. In the next chapter we will look further at the activity and manner adjuncts of the 'celebrate' verbs and how they come to stand for each other in a complementary relationship. Chapter VI will investigate the metaphors produced by the juncture of nation-state, calendrical time, and historical time. The focus in Chapter VII will turn to how people orient themselves interpersonally to the phenomenon of national days and how the texts are oriented in representing them metapragmatically. Finally I will look in more detail at the news stories as part of the news landscape and will revisit concepts of information salience through given and new.

V   EVALUATING EVENTS

5.1   Introduction

The conviction that it is possible to write extended texts that are free of authorial evaluation is central to mainstream constructions of journalistic competence, and the opposite conviction is central to many approaches in current linguistics; Halliday (1994), Bolinger (1980), Fowler et al. (1979), and Lemke (1995) are just a few of the works that have asserted the importance of interpersonal positioning and reproduction of the social structure in everyday linguistic choices, including those that are supposedly made unconsciously. Close and repeated readings show that one of the most striking features of the national day news stories is evaluation; the knowledge that journalists pass on to readers is supplemented by indications of what readers ought to think about the situations. As we have seen, the news stories most typically open with some kind of summary attached to a verb of celebration, such as this lead from 1871: "At Port Richmond, the day was celebrated with unusual spirit, and it was generally admitted that a finer celebration had not occurred in the annals of the island." Manner adjuncts such as "with unusual spirit" are frequent in these leads, and are among the ways that community is constructed through promotion of common values. This chapter will investigate evaluation in the national day stories and in general, starting with these manner adjuncts as the first examples of nuclei or anchors of evaluation. The purpose of the analysis is to show how evaluations of celebrations in the news texts express underlying ideologies and invite readers to align themselves with preferred readings. Such public evaluations are an important place where elites exercise power and attempt to naturalize the desired course of events.

At the same time, the analysis provides a place to test the Appraisal framework from systemic-functional linguistics, which was developed largely through work on political and disaster news, against these seemingly more benign news stories about celebrations.

The central status of evaluation in language has long been noted, for example by Wittgenstein: "If language is to be a means of communication there must be agreement not only in definitions but also (queer as this may sound) in judgments … What we call 'measuring' is partly determined by a certain constancy in results of measurement." (1953: I: 242). The degree of this constancy from mind to mind, however, seems to be variable. Whorf, in a letter from 1927, distinguishes between personal "association" and intersubjective "connection," using as one example a subject who associates the word 'swell' with the idea 'down':

> He might for instance have had an unpleasant experience in a boat when there was a heavy 'swell' on, from which he retained a vivid impression of continually going DOWN. But this association would not be a connection. It would pertain to his own personal experience rather than to the social or collective experience which is embodied in the common linguistic stock of concepts, and the reason for the association would not be intelligible immediately without explanation; it would require an explanation bringing in his personal experience. (Whorf 1956: 36)

There is a great deal of intuitive appeal to this idea that meaning has both a shared and an idiosyncratic component.

5.1.1   *Measuring evaluation: Osgood*

The most extensive intersubjective studies of the measurement of meaning through language were organized by a group centered at the University of Illinois several decades ago, and reported in Osgood (1964) and Osgood et al. (1957, 1975). The work grew out of earlier research on synaesthesia in which subjects were asked to associate colors, words and images with sounds; it turned out that even persons who did not consider themselves synaesthesics made these associations with remarkable intersubjective consistency (1957: 20-25). In the core tests of

the large-scale study, subjects were asked to rate concepts (typically nouns and noun phrases such as 'mother,' 'my sense of self,' 'Senator McCarthy,' 'communism') on a scale of 1-7 using "polar adjectives" such as 'good-bad,' 'large-small,' 'hot-cold,' 'fair-unfair,' 'pleasant-unpleasant,' 'nice-awful.' Obviously some of these stimulus words, both nouns and adjectives, would today be considered historical artefacts. The stimulus words used in many of the main studies were themselves generated through intersubjective tests, and it is impossible to do justice here to all the different methods of randomization, rotation, statistical cross checking and counterscreening that were employed to improve the statistical reliability of results. By plotting the data on multidimensional graphs (in virtual space, using computers), it could be seen that evaluations were not evenly distributed through the space constructed by concept versus polar adjective versus subject. There was considerable clustering, at least half of which was accounted for by three axes that seemed to organize many of the choices made and appeared to account between them for a considerable portion of the perceived meaning of the nouns and adjectives tested. In other words, people were unconsciously applying whole groups of polar adjectives to the concepts in roughly the same way, although the grouping of the adjectives varied somewhat depending on the experiment. The three major dimensions that emerged were called by Osgood and his co-authors the Evaluation factor (generally corresponding to good/bad), the Potency factor (generally corresponding to strong/weak), and the Activity factor (generally corresponding to active/passive). The qualification "generally" is important here, for it is impossible to give lists of words concretely corresponding to each factor since the factors represented mathematical tendencies in the use of groups of words, and there was considerable overlap between the groups. The remainder of the variation was analyzable into much weaker factors or was not analyzable at all.

The experiments were carried out with many different populations amounting to tens of thousands of subjects, including bilinguals and schizophrenics, with different kinds of data ranging from the most general (the kind of items identified in theories like glottochronology as "basic" or "core" lexicon), to the most topical (issues in the 1952 election, paintings at an art exhibition) to nonverbal data such as sonar patterns.

Again it must be emphasized that the underlying dimensions of Evaluation[69], Potency and Activity were not direct measurements of subject responses, but statistical accounts of the ways in which the measured polar dimensions of meaning were not independent of each other. For American English, at least, the degree of agreement among groups of respondents seemed unassailable, though the system worked less well for rating denotative classifications and sensory impressions where there was a large component of material difference. In particular, the American English subjects showed a "cultural semantic bias" toward grouping notions of 'good,' 'strong,' and 'active' together, which was not necessarily reflected in other languages and cultures surveyed in Osgood et al. 1975.

The work has not been extensively followed up by linguists as those in the mainstream of linguistics chose to take some other turns in their attitude toward meaning; either considering it as subordinate to syntax, or as ineffably dependent on context, or as rooted in more elemental cognitive processes, or as an autonomous system susceptible to classifications dependent on the intuition of one or a few linguists. Another reason why Osgood's semantic differential was seen as outdated or old-fashioned was that Osgood himself had a history of belonging to the behaviorist camp, which began to attract an increasing degree of criticism from the 1950s onward. No complex system for charting evaluation was proposed again within linguistics and language studies until the Appraisal framework in systemic-functional grammar, which is quite different and which will be discussed here at some length because it brings some order to the positive and negative evaluations in the data, and can also be tested against them; the findings of the Osgood group will be revisited at the end of the chapter. Before attempting to apply Appraisal to the national day data, however, I will explain at some length what its a *priori* strengths and shortcomings seem to be.

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[69] Evaluation with a capital initial will refer specifically to Osgood's Evaluation factor.

5.1.2   *Categorizing evaluation: Appraisal*

The Appraisal theory or framework for studying evaluation[70] is an example of a linguistic model springing from the intuitions and research of a few linguists, and employed by many more. Intersubjective testing is only beginning to be employed in systemic functional grammar[71] and has not been widely employed[72] for the interpersonal function of which Appraisal is a part. Nevertheless, Appraisal has been used productively for the last dozen years to analyze a wide range of materials including school textbooks in science and history and student compositions produced in response to them, news stories and opinion columns, speeches, laws, autobiographies and personal narratives, plays and conversation (see for example the initial education-centered work by

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[70] Although Appraisal refers strictly speaking to only one specific component and level in the framework (see Figure 5-1), it has become common to refer informally to studies of the evaluative aspects of the interpersonal function as Appraisal, and I shall do so here. Appraisal is variously referred to as a framework, a system, and a theory (cf. White's pages at <http://www.grammatics.com>, "An introductory tour through appraisal theory"). Taboada and Grieve (2004) describe it as "a linguistic theory of subjectivity … an attempt to model language's ability to express and negotiate opinions and attitudes within text."

[71] For example, the questionnaire on process type classification circulated on systemic- functional grammar mailing lists in 2003 by O'Donnell, Zappavigna-Lee, and Whitelaw, which was hailed as a rare example of an intersubjective investigation in SFG. The questionnaire was intended as a check on the reliability of expert coders (by surveying other experts), and is still online as of 17 July 2004 at < http://www.it.usyd.edu.au/~casey/process/processStudy.html>.

[72] Taboada and Grieve (2004) found substantial agreement among three coders working on reviews of products, services, and artwork; however, the experiment was carried out in support of automating Appraisal analysis, not as an investigation into intersubjective similarities and differences.

Iedema, Feez and White 1994, followed by White 1997, 1998, Martin 1997, 2000, Christie and Martin 2000, Hunston and Thompson 2002, Martin and Rose 2003, and the articles in the *Text* special issue edited by Martin and Macken-Horarik 2003). While the Osgood group investigated words and noun-adjective pairs in isolation, use of Appraisal has so far relied on individual analysts' readings of real-world texts, in whole or in part, contextually situated or isolated. Martin has said[73] that he is interested in the systems he studies as systems in themselves, and is not trying to relate them either to actual mechanisms in the brain or to cultural studies from other branches of social science. Other leading exponents of the system appear to be restricting their studies similarly, placing evident limits on the investigations.

Where Osgood et al. attempted to measure the aspects of evaluation that are invariant with respect to speaker, reader and situation, Appraisal works on a completely different basis: evaluative statements are integrated with the rest of the interpersonal metafunction in language and seen as instances of particular speakers broadcasting and seeking alignment from possible interlocutors. Thus a dialogic communicative situation is always tacitly assumed, and the focus in Appraisal is clearly on connotative rather than denotative meaning, on opining creatively rather than taking the measurements of systems already "in the brain" and shared by members of a speech community. Appraisal is considered to operate as just one component of a complex interpersonal metafunction, which according to current, post-Hallidayan systemic functional linguistics is divided into Negotiation (a largely pragmatic function accounting for demands and requests), Involvement (an alignment function arising from factors such as intimacy, shared membership, or apprenticeship in a genre), and Appraisal. Appraisal encompasses three systems: a system called Engagement which describes how committed the speaker is to the evaluation (including modality, expectation, and acknowledgements of other viewpoints), a grading system called Graduation and a quality system called Attitude

[73] Remarks at a workshop of the Center for Discourse Studies, Aalborg, 21-22 June 2004.

which has attracted the most attention of any aspect of the framework. To cite one influential definition (White 2001), Attitude consists of

> values by which speakers pass judgments and associate emotional/affectual responses with participants and processes … [it] includes those meanings by which texts/speakers attach an intersubjective value or assessment to participants and processes by reference either to emotional responses or to systems of culturally-determined value systems [*sic*]. (White 2001)

It is important to note that this is a speaker-oriented theory, and that it does not attempt to distinguish between automatic and nonautomatic embodied response, nor between personal and culturally conditioned response. Appraisal is divided into systems of affective response, social/moral evaluation of actions, and a catch-all system of reactions to "qualities"; these are called respectively Affect, Judgment and Appreciation. The social/moral evaluation system of Judgment is further divided along base/superstructure lines into more and less severe judgments, that is, judgments that carry legal consequences (Sanction) and judgments that merely affect social status (Esteem):

Figure 5-1: Subsystems of the interpersonal metafunction (after White 1998)
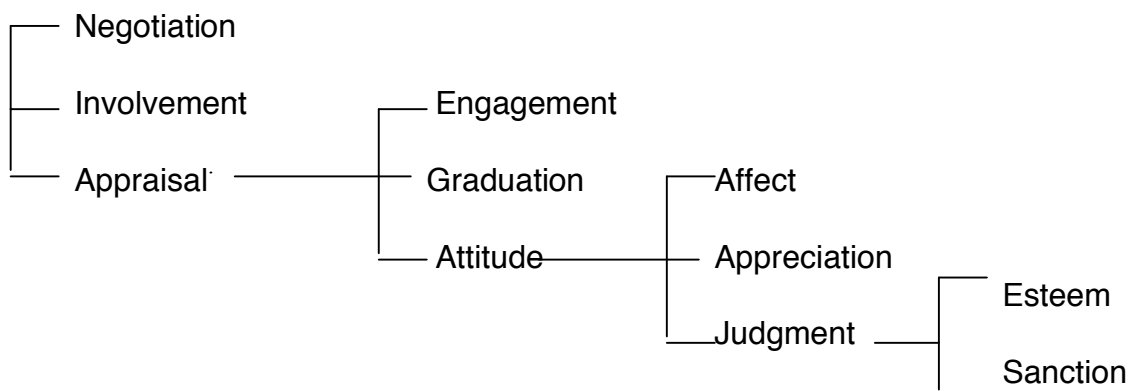
In a system of this degree of complexity, it is not always clear at what level particular features should be evaluated; for example, the monoglossic/heteroglossic aspect of Engagement (which covers commitment to the utterance and acknowledgement of other viewpoints) could be expected to partially overlap with the higher level systems of Negotiation and Involvement, while expectations have

consequences for both Engagement and Attitude (where judgements of normativity are commonly located). This points to the larger problem of trying to sort linguistic entities into acyclic trees: it is difficult to account for double parentage, expression at different levels, and all the other kinds of redundancy and feedback that are part of language and its history (for a discussion of these issues with respect to diachronic linguistics see Raukko and Östman 1994). It is a key strength of systemic-functional grammar that it provides a framework based on Jakobson-style functions for dealing with separate aspects of discourse, and also allows embedding within them; in addition, suprasegmental phenomena are in principle provided for since the functions are seen to exhibit a wavelike prosody with centers and troughs. However, when the system is applied in all the detail that has been developed, rigid sorting systems based on units of comparable size (and, by inference, roughly equivalent probability) appear to be imposed. The discussion that follows will be somewhat simplified by leaving aside the higher levels of the system pictured above, and mainly considering the quality distinctions between Affect, Appreciation and Judgment.

According to the formulation in Martin and Rose (2003), Affect has to do with expressing feelings, Judgment has to do with appraising people's character and behavior, and Appreciation has to do with things. Probes have been suggested as follows (Martin 2003: 173):

Judgment	*It was X (kind, cruel …) of him to do that.*
Appreciation	*I consider it X (innovative, unimaginative …).*
Affect	*I feel very X (happy/sad …).*

Martin further suggests converting all terms of evaluation to adjectives for ease in comparison and sorting, although it is clear from the literature that a variety of word classes and longer stretches of discourse can carry Appraisal. White (2001) prominently identifies adverbials, attributes and epithets, nominals and verbs as loci of Appraisal. But further, the literature on Appraisal expressly recognizes that the unit of evaluation can be above or below the lexeme; Attitude may be more explicit ("inscribed") or less explicit ("evoked" or "provoked" by a "token," per White 1997: 35 – and here it seems a cline approach would

be better than a sharp division); particularly in the latter case, a quite long stretch of text may be involved in setting up a metaphor or rhetorical correspondence. Similarly, it should be recognized that phonetic features (imitating an accent, say) and graphical features (eye dialect, punctuation such as scare quotes) can communicate Attitude.

Some widely reproduced tables of examples for Judgment, Appreciation and Affect within the Appraisal system are set forth below. According to practitioners such as Martin and White, the major headings in the leftmost column are based on general-linguistic systems within systemic-functional linguistics (to be detailed below), and should be considered to be invariant at least for English, while the examples in the other columns are taken from early analyses of just a few genres and are therefore not necessarily applicable to other texts. Judgment is the only resource for which more than one subcategory analysis is available (separate tables in White 1998 and in the work of Martin), and the differences are slight; chiefly, that Martin labels normality "fate" while White labels it "custom."

Table 5-1: Framework for Judgment in English
(after White 1998, Martin 2000, Martin and Rose 2004)

Social esteem "venial"	Positive (admire)	Negative (criticize)
normality (fate/custom) is he/she special?	lucky, fortunate, charmed normal, average, everyday in, fashionable, avant-garde	unfortunate, pitiful, tragic odd, peculiar, eccentric dated, daggy, retrograde
capacity is he/she capable?	powerful, vigorous, robust insightful, clever, gifted balanced, together, sane	mild, weak, wimpy slow, stupid, thick flaky, neurotic, insane
tenacity (resolve) is he/she reliable?	plucky, brave, heroic dependable tireless, persevering, resolute	rash, cowardly, despondent unreliable, undependable weak, distracted, dissolute
Social sanction "mortal"	Positive (praise)	Negative (condemn)
veracity (truth) is he/she honest?	real, authentic, genuine frank, direct	glitzy, bogus, fake deceptive, manipulative
propriety (ethics) is he/she beyond reproach?	good, moral, ethical law-abiding, fair, just sensitive, kind, caring	bad, immoral, evil corrupt, unfair, unjust insensitive, mean, cruel

The origin of the Social Esteem and Social Sanction subcategories lies in the modal verb system in systemic-functional linguistics: normality corresponds to usuality, capacity to ability, tenacity to inclination, veracity to probability, and propriety to obligation (Martin 2000: 156). The framework therefore appears to be dependent on English, and the analysis is somewhat uncertain even within English; Halliday sometimes excludes both tenacity and ability from his modal and modulation system, apparently including them under inclination ('I'm determined to'); the remaining categories of probability, usuality and obligation are then retained unchanged (1994: 91). The distinction is made in Appraisal that deficiencies in the area of social sanction may invite legal remedies, while deficiencies in social esteem invite at most therapeutic remedies; practitioners who use the framework appear to be quite committed to this bipartite distinction, in contrast to sociologists and politeness theorists who consider social judgment in terms of clines from highly esteemed ideal behaviors (whether actually occurring or not) to disapproved behaviors (which may arbitrarily be socially sanctioned or not, see for example Goffman 1963: 6-7 and Edelman 1964), or more complex multidimensional structures.

The category of Appreciation suggests by its name an organization around aesthetic impression, though Martin and Rose (2004: 63) describe it as "the institutionalization of feeling, in the context of … norms about how products and performances are valued." It appears to function as a kind of catch-all category for things that are not clearly either self-containable feelings or judgments of human behavior. The common denominator seems to be reaction to aspects of things (whether concrete or reified abstract) at a sensory or affective level.

Table 5-2: Framework for Appreciation in English
(after Martin 2000, Martin and Rose 2004)

	Positive	Negative
reaction (impact) did it grab me?	arresting, captivating, engaging fascinating, exciting, moving remarkable, notable, sensational lively, dramatic, intense	dull, boring, tedious, staid dry, ascetic, uninviting unremarkable, pedestrian flat, predictable, monotonous
reaction: quality did I like it?	lovely, beautiful, splendid appealing, enchanting, welcome	plain, ugly repulsive, revolting
composition: balance did it hang together?	balanced, harmonious, unified symmetrical, proportional	unbalanced, discordant contorted, distorted
composition: complexity was it hard to follow?	simple, elegant intricate, rich, detailed, precise	ornamental, extravagant monolithic, simplistic
valuation was it worthwhile?	challenging, profound, deep innovative, original, unique	shallow, insignificant conservative, reactionary

According to Martin (2000: 160), the framework for Appreciation is based on the three types of mental process (itself one of the six major process or verbal types discussed in the previous chapter on 'celebrate') identified by Halliday (1994: 118): reaction is related to the mental process of Affection, composition to Perception, and valuation to Cognition.

Affect is seen as underlying Judgment and Appreciation besides forming a resource of its own, and its articulation by practitioners is more complex than that of either of the other resources, using dynamic/static divisions (represented below in the Surge/Disposition columns) as well as positive/negative polarity (difficult to represent in two dimensions, but evident in some of the horizontal juxtapositions):

Table 5-3: Framework for Affect in English (after Martin and Rose 2004)

	Surge (of behavior)	Disposition
Irrealis		
dis/inclination: fear	tremble, shudder, cower	wary, fearful, terrorized
dis/inclination: desire	suggest, request, implore	incomplete (miss), lonely (long for), bereft (yearn for)
Realis		
un/happiness: misery mood: in me	whimper, cry, wail	down, sad, miserable (low/medium/high)
un/happiness: antipathy directed feeling: at you	rubbish, abuse, revile	dislike, hate, abhor
happiness: cheer	chuckle, laugh, rejoice	cheerful, buoyant, jubilant
happiness: affection	shake hands, hug, cuddle	fond, loving, adoring
in/security: disquiet	restless, twitching, shaking	uneasy, anxious, freaked out
in/security: surprise	start, cry out, faint	taken aback, surprised, astonished
security: confidence	declare, assert, proclaim	confident, assured, boastful
security: trust	delegate, commit, entrust	comfortable with, confident in/about, trusting
dissatisfaction: ennui	fidget, yawn, tune out	bored, fed up, exasperated
dissatisfaction: displeasure	caution, scold, castigate	cross, angry, furious
satisfaction: interest	attentive, busy, flat out	curious, absorbed, engrossed
satisfaction: admiration	pat on the back, compliment, reward	satisfied, impressed, proud

The framework for Affect was derived from Martin's observations of his sons as infants and his conclusion that demands for a blanket, bottle, and parent indicated a framework for in/security (blanket), dis/satisfaction (bottle), and un/happiness (parent) (Martin 2000: 150, Martin and Rose 2003: 65). Although a parent's observations have frequently been the basis of an influential theory in linguistics (for example, in early studies of bilinguals), they nevertheless seem a thin line on which to hang tools that may be influential in political studies of language – particularly given the existence of substantial work on the language of emotions outside of systemic-functional linguistics.

The lines between Affect, Appreciation and Judgment are often unclear. Martin and Rose recognize a certain amount of overlap in their discussion of how "artistry," "torchbearer," and "rockin' blues purist," in an amateur music review, function as tokens of both Judgment (character) and Appreciation (value) (2004: 35). But their book contains further problematic examples whose difficulty is not acknowledged. An analysis of a memoir by Nelson Mandela, for example, codes "the highest generals of the South African Defense Force … *saluted* me" as an instance of Affect (2003: 220). Deferential gestures such as salutes are perhaps meant at some level to be construed as symbols of Affect, but whether they should be taken as 'really' being tokens of Affect in analysis is doubtful; and in fact the scene is actually operating on several levels. The implied Affect is institutionalized as Appreciation:reaction and the whole fits within a framework of Judgment, with the soldiers performing social esteem for Mandela under the threat of social sanction. Similarly, I would interpret a sentence like 'The army performed a 21-gun salute,' a military action recognizing the surpassing importance of a person or event and its superiority to all those present, as Appreciation: reaction:impact, used as a token of Judgment:esteem. Here the Affect is even more problematic because the reaction is institutional, not individual, unless one applies metaphors for the body corporate with extreme enthusiasm. Martin and Rose's analysis (2003: 36-7) of the words "understanding" and "reparation" (used in the context of South African reconciliation) as tokens of Appreciation (healing) likewise seems forced; they could as well be tokens of Judgment (the authors acknowledge that their opposites as established in the texts, "vengeance" and "retaliation," are examples of Judgment). "Understanding" and "reparation" could even be considered tokens of Affect if sympathy, mercy and forgiveness are taken to require a component of feeling. Martin and Rose further analyze "went through hell" in a personal narrative as Appreciation rather than Affect (2003: 203) which makes no intuitive sense given the embodied feeling that is clearly a large part of the meaning of the expression "go through hell," and the intransitive structure that excludes the thing (event or process) triggering the experience. Particularly given the prior metaphorization of processes as events, the borderline between the inherent qualities of a "thing" and the

experiences people go through with respect to it is clearly one place where the Appraisal system breaks down. Evidence for this can be seen in the number of rich structures in different languages that combine a description with a statement of personal impact, for example the constructions of the type 'to me it is joyful/sad/boring that …,' commonly found in highly inflected languages. Some regular way of dealing with Appreciation embedded in Affect is needed.

Another obvious difficulty has to do with included and excluded discourses. The Appraisal system appears to assume that both the speaker and the reader are working from normative positions that are not themselves problematized. If we consider the concept of insanity, the body of scholarship and artistic works about the category of mental illness (for example, Foucault 1965, Goffman 1961a, Showalter 1987) makes it clear that a word like "insane" can be used as a classification of normality, capacity, reliability, or propriety – or simply to indicate that something is disallowed. Thus the category of insanity does appear to be primarily an instance of Judgment, but it explicitly bridges social sanction (violations of normalcy) and social esteem (through violations of politeness and behavioral zoning, and the marginalization accompanying mental illness), calling these into question. Room needs to be left for this kind of variability in interpretation, as well as for different positions in the intertextual chain from original references through various voicings to the analyst's interpretation.

It is taken for granted that the distribution of lexis into the Appraisal categories varies across genres, subgenres, and even particular texts. Thus a word that is in one category in one context of use may be in a different category in another; for example, in reporting on a debate, "low" as in "low blow" may refer to an unfair technique (Judgment), while in a personal narrative "low" as in "feeling low" may refer to depression (Affect). Along another dimension, expressions of evaluation can be positive or negative depending on their context of use, for example "bad" can mean "good" for a teenage speaker, in some speech communities "nationalistic" is positive in a discourse of national duty although it is generally negative in critical academic disciplines, and so on. Appraisal also excludes from its system evaluations that are

"technologized" as classification systems and therefore not considered subjective. This is problematic on two counts: first, an attribute that is technologized in some professional contexts may still be a token of evaluation in everyday life, as in 'He had 20/20 vision' (Judgment:capacity). Second, many technologized attributes are the subject of intense debate on their merits and scope within the profession that has technologized them, such as "felony" among lawyers or "hyperactive" among psychologists.[74] Ideally we would not want to exclude these from linguistic systems of evaluation, and indeed the Osgood experiments showed that people had no trouble placing obviously technologized bureaucratic terms like 'farm price supports' on evaluative scales (the scalar placement varying considerably with demographics although the underlying axes of evaluation were similar). Appraisal theorists acknowledge the problems discussed above and say that the tables are meant only as examples, and the tables and analyses that are actually generated are much more specific and sensitive to context; for example, the widely reproduced table of Appreciation for linguistics with terms like "useful," "penetrating," "didactic," "sloppy" (Martin and Rose 2003: 64).

On another level, it seems reasonable to suggest, following Whorf, that any system of classifications will be influenced by the classifier's own experience of the words in question, and by ambient intertextual connections. The appearance of the Catholic categories of mortal and venial sins (or possibly the Marxist distinction between base and superstructure) as divisions in the Judgment table seems prima facie evidence of this, as does the elevation of 'tenacity,' the cardinal value of British and Australian school stories (particularly in the form of loyalty), to a major category; while these categories might be quite valid for the authors and their idiolects of English, in the absence of intersubjective and intercultural evidence, we must remain agnostic about them as general categories; the virtues encoded by a language outside of "Standard Average European" value systems (Whorf 1956) could be

[74] This came to my attention in a post by Donna Miller to an Appraisal seminar list 29 June 2004, noting in support of another argument that "cruel and unusual punishment" is a matter of debate in the U.S. Supreme Court.

quite different. This does not mean that the system as it stands should not be used; as we will see, the identification of affective, aesthetic and socially based evaluations yields valuable insights. But, taken together with the other reservations discussed here, it does mean that I will not be relying on minor classifications in examining Appraisal tokens in national holiday texts. For the most part, I will not go below the level of distinguishing between Affect, Appreciation and Judgment.

We can therefore take it as established that the Appraisal analysis of any word should depend on those precisely around it as well as on the particular genre, topic and reading situation, and analyst position (an idea that received early exposition in Firth 1957). Despite talk of building a "connotative dictionary" as a reference or automation tool, at this stage it is quite unclear how much Appraisal analysis can be reused between projects, particularly when there is no body of research on coding itself to guard against tendentiousness. Until full-scale intersubjective studies of coding are conducted, Appraisal analysts will be working on Whorf's individual "associations" rather than intersubjective "connections," and there will always be a margin of disagreement on particular analyses. It almost seems likely that Appraisal classifications will have their value as a discourse to be studied (rather like nationalism, which was discussed in Chapter II, and politeness or social appropriateness, which we will discuss in Chapter VII) and an illuminator of contexts of situation, rather than as reliable measurements in themselves.

A larger underlying problem remains, however, namely that there is no proof that the categories as published are necessary or sufficient to deal with the range of human language. We have already alluded to the shortcomings of tree-structured classifications in general. It is worth noting that general evaluations such as 'good' (in the basic and flexible sense, not in the sense of morally worthy) and 'beautiful' (in the general reactive sense of very good, not in the sense of visually striking) and other borderline cases such as 'great,' 'grand,' and 'glorious' do not as such have a clear place in the Appraisal framework, which insists on a division into Judgment, Appreciation and Affect. 'Great,' 'grand' and 'glorious' are useful words precisely because they are indeterminate

between 'good because impressive' (aesthetic emphasis), 'good because inspiring awe' (affectual emphasis), and, in the cases of 'grand' and 'glorious,' simply 'big'; they are unarguably complimentary without committing the speaker to any more detailed analysis. 'A beautiful ceremony,' uttered by a guest at a wedding, is conveniently indeterminate between approval of the decorations and emotional involvement in the rite of passage; the speaker may intend to give the impression of one or the other, and the hearer may interpret one or the other, but room is left for deniability and slippage. A glance at actual analyses shows categorization on the basis of what we might call surface features: 'good' is filed under Judgment: Propriety (Martin and Rose 2004: 62), 'beautiful' under Appreciation (63), and 'great' under graduation (as an adverb in 'he plays great,' 43). To a certain extent, such complexity is easily handled through analysis as embedding or successive encoding (for example, reading Affect as encoded in Appreciation), but there is still an inevitable overlap in simple evaluations of people, who can make social and aesthetic impressions at the same time (as in 'a fine artist' or ' you're a beautiful person'). It seems awkward to have to always separate into such complicated components words that are both common and typical of Osgood's underlying Evaluation factor. Macken-Horarik (2003a: 298) has proposed 'loading' as a term for positive-negative bias, and accords it an important place in her analysis, but this is by no means general.

Another basic cognitively-related phenomenon that presents a problem in Appraisal is evaluation that acts more as a flag to pay attention to forthcoming developments in the evaluative dimension than as a conclusive evaluation in itself. For example:

> President Bush wanted today to be a special celebration for the Persian Gulf troops. It was to be a day filled with the "good, old-fashioned kind of patriotism," with teen-age drum majorettes and middle-age Shriners, with flag-bedecked babies and yellow-beribboned grandmothers, with horses and cows and antique cars and red wagons, with unicycling clowns and hoop-jumping dogs and beauty queens in convertibles and Rotary Club members atop lawn mowers. ("An Old-Fashioned Day of Patriotism," July 5, 1991, p. A8)

"Special" is a cue that more evaluation is coming, but specialness can be either positive or negative (note the euphemistic character of the word when used to describe a disability or tragic story), and the particular type of specialness requires further explanation. The evaluation turns out to be positive when Bush is considered as the source, but not quite so positive from the point of view of the journalistic voice, which appears to be poking fun at the small-town parade participants by singling out the most incongruous and circus-like features. The quotation marks around "good, old-fashioned kind of patriotism" are another clue that this word is part of a deprecating evaluation. As Martin and Rose observe (2003: 47) , the effect of the quotation marks is "to disown the evaluation embodied in the highlighted terms, attributing it to an alternative, unspecified but usually recoverable source," and the disowning is a clear sign that this is a heteroglossic story and the reporter is not aligned with Bush. It would, however, be possible to have a lead that begins the same way and continues in alignment with Bush, for example by quoting him at length, as in this example which I have fabricated:

> President Bush wanted today to be a special celebration for the Persian Gulf troops. It was to be a day filled with the "good, old-fashioned kind of patriotism," said the Commander-in-Chief in his speech to townspeople here: "On this day I would like us to remember the history that brings us together as a nation and the values of the Founding Fathers which our troops have fought for around the world."

The labels 'prospect' and 'flag' have also been applied to cues or signals that focus attention on what is coming. The problem of integrating Halliday's concepts of waves of meaning in texts with Appraisal is acknowledged, for example in Macken-Horarik's observation that Appraisal values are created online in reading and conditioned by "the position we have taken in the text 'up to now'," leaving them open for recoding later on (2003: 316).[75] Thus it is deemed possible to work with these kinds of cues, but the problem remains of fitting them into the Judgment-Appreciation-Affect categories, which we should be able to do if these are the proper categories. In the "special" example, we learn that

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[75] While clearly true, this presents an analytical problem for texts that are skimmed or have multiple uncomputable reading paths, such as newspaper pages.

the Attitude involved is some kind of Appreciation – an unusually traditional, stereotypical and therefore satisfying Fourth of July – but this is not apparent at the moment the word appears. This example is significant because much of the intensified lexis used by journalists – words like 'rumbled,' 'roared,' and 'blasted' – is of this type, chosen to draw the reader's attention without yet committing to an evaluation that some readers might reject. This is a slippery area since, as Macken-Horarik notes, following Firth 1957, "the coupling of so-called neutral messages with heavily appraised ones puts the less attitudinal ones into an evaluative schema if only because of 'the company these words keep.'" (2002: 315) Along the same lines, one section of the Osgood team's research dealt with adjective-noun pairs, and found that words in co-text modify one another's values, with a bias toward the negative being more powerful. To quote their now politically incorrect example (1957: 282):

> Whereas the meaning of NURSE can easily be devalued by attaching TREACHEROUS to it, attaching SINCERE to PROSTITUTE fails to budge the immoral connotation of the fallen woman. A TREACHEROUS NURSE is definitely not to be trusted, but a SINCERE PROSTITUTE is still a PROSTITUTE!

This kind of composite (layered, polyphonic) meaning is not easily handled by Appraisal sorting. Macken-Horarik proposes addressing the problems described above by producing a portfolio of readings in different 'frames,' (here meaning roughly contexts): "the local frame surrounding any evaluative item, the global frame of the text itself, the intertextual frame of other texts conditioning our production and reading of this text; and the contratextual frame by which we reframe our reading of appraisal values and 'read against the grain'" (2003: 317).

If Appraisal is "a linguistic theory of subjectivity" (Taboada and Grieve 2004), it appeals to the traditional dualist idea that subjectivity can be split off from objectivity. We have seen this in the idea that certain kinds of referential or denotational kinds of meaning can be "technologized" out of the system. The idea that some terms are more heavily loaded with evaluation than others has a basis in the recognition in philosophy

of differences between descriptive (propositional, referential) and other meaning (Lyons 1995: 44, and below at 64-65):

> When it comes to expressive (or socio-expressive) meaning … there is no readily available and reasonably objective criterion which enables us to decide between identity and difference. But it is none the less possible, in particular instances, to determine that two or more descriptively synonymous expressions differ in respect of the degree or nature of their expressive meaning … [The] most obvious difference is between those which imply approval or disapproval and those which are neutral with respect to expressivity … In many cases, the fact that an expression implies approval or disapproval is much more readily ascertainable than is its descriptive meaning (if it has any).

As we descend from the heights of theory, the description of the nonreferential residue of meaning becomes more specific. In an apparent reversal of the philosophical distinction, Leech (1981: 12-14) defines connotative meaning as "the communicative value an expression has by virtue of what it *refers to*, over and above its purely conceptual content" (his italics); that is, what it refers to by individual or interpersonal association rather than by direct reference. Connotation is assumed to be performance-dependent and variable, and to be "indeterminate and open-ended in a sense in which conceptual meaning is not." Leech further distinguishes the subtypes of social meaning, namely what is conveyed about the social circumstances of use, and affective meaning (14-15). Discussions of connotation are familiar to laypeople as well, from school writing instruction, columns by prescriptive grammarians, and public consciousness-raising by linguists. For example, Bolinger (1980: 72) refers to a "taint of liking or disliking" as "mixed in with most of the words in English," and connects this folk notion explicitly with Osgood's factor of Evaluation. Hayakawa defines connotation as an affective, expressive aspect of words, noting that some words are primarily affective (1964: 82). Despite the identification of evaluative meaning with individual lexemes for the naïve audience, this distinction does rest on the idea of scales of evaluation similar to Osgood's rating system, and leaves room for the position, central to recent critical theory, that there is no such thing as neutral language: all linguistic selections encode a subject position. The idea of scales of

evaluation, however, is not well integrated in the Attitude system of Appraisal that actually categorizes words into Affect, Appreciation and Judgment; rather, it is externalised to the Graduation system.

I mention the consciousness-raising efforts by Bolinger and Hayakawa, intending them as examples of the many such efforts by linguists over the years, because such enterprises are usually concerned with sensitizing readers to the language of media, and particularly with the frequent use in news and advertising of language that has affective impact.[76] The heightened intensity of news vocabulary, particularly in tabloid newspapers, has been widely noted. Crystal and Davy (1969: 188) point to a "deliberately emphatic" bias in the news lexicon, highlighted by use of "extreme" or "absolute" words and phrases ('banished,' 'blaze,' 'downpour'), especially in the popular press. Some other researchers take a prescriptive tone, asserting that it is irresponsible or wrong of journalists to use affectively saturated terms. For example, Carter (1988: 10) claims there is a "core vocabulary" consisting of elements in the lexical network of a language that are unmarked in their connotations. These, he says, are characterized by clear antonyms, wide collocational spans, lack of marked associations, and independence of particular registers or fields of discourse. (The description is reminiscent of characterizations of 'basic-level terms' in cognitive semantics.) Carter further asserts that 'coreness' is a graded characteristic, and states that "newspaper reports should ideally report the facts in as core a vocabulary as possible." Writing for a popular audience, Bolinger calls the undesirably weighted words "loaded terms" (1980: 72), a euphemism also widely used in grammar textbooks in the United States, and Hayakawa refers to "snarl words" and "purr words" (1964: 44).

If linguists acting as public language experts have a low opinion of highly evaluative lexical items as carriers of information, then journalism

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[76] The books cited are only the most linguistically pedigreed of a subgenre of works that includes the columns of William Safire and other "language watchers," as well as general works on the state of language (critically discussed in Cameron 1995) and ephemeral , atheoretical tracts on media decoding such as Spiegl 1989.

educators are even more scathing, seeing evaluation as opposed to the journalistic ideal of objectivity. In his Associated Press branded journalism manual, Cappon explicitly denounces "loaded words" that "can carry writers beyond what they intend to say and import value judgments into stories where they don't belong" (1991: 76-77). Among his examples are belittling terms like 'bureaucrat,' confessional speech verbs like 'admit,' judgmental speech verbs like 'claim,' evaluative adverbs and adjectives like 'candidly/frankly' and 'straightforward/steadfast/stubborn' as well as more classificatory descriptions like 'reform' and 'loophole.' He observes that 'reform' implies that the vast majority of citizens regard the changes in question as beneficial, and 'loophole,' which is often used for exceptions in the tax code, implies that one has found a way to operate counter to the intent of the law. Words like 'scheme' that imply cunning or dishonesty are supposed to be taboo in news, and those like 'influence' and 'special interests' are used with some degree of care, as they imply a deliberate upset to a presupposed equilibrium. As we will see, dicta like these represent a theoretical ideal of newswriting rather than a norm of practice.

To summarize, Osgood and his collaborators conceived of meaning as a vector in a multidimensional space representing the range of possible meanings; they found that words are not evenly distributed through the meaning space but tend to be clustered tightly in certain positions and along certain axes. The Appraisal theorists, and systemic functional grammarians generally, also conceive of meaning in terms of quality and quantity, but these are not integrated as in Osgood's system. In Appraisal, meaning is considered primarily in structuralist terms as an opposition to other meanings and as the outcome of a system of choices that is visually represented as if all choices were evenly distributed and equally possible. At the same time, the kind of evaluative meaning examined in the Appraisal system is felt to be analyzably present in only a fraction of language, namely the areas that are clearly saturated with evaluation; as we will see from an examination of the data, evaluation considered in any system is asymmetrical on many levels. Some of the difficulties I have pointed out have to been acknowledged to a degree within the Appraisal community, but this acknowledgement has not

altered its basic orientation toward dividing language into roughly equal-sized units which are then sorted strictly into exclusive categories. At the same time, as in any investigation of language, there is a need for some key concepts that remain the same across different analyses, since it is uneconomical and unscientific to generate a completely new framework for each genre to be examined, and Appraisal offers that.

The following sections present an analysis of the types of evaluations in the Fourth of July news data, using the Appraisal and other concepts already introduced to bring some order to the observations, but mainly performing a data-driven analysis. General, explicit evaluations associated with leads built around 'celebrate' will be examined first, followed by a more comprehensive look at evaluations in reports of celebrations for four different years spaced approximately half a century apart. These years – 1852, 1896, 1946 and 1996 – were chosen to give the widest chronological span in the collection while including years whose data was most nearly complete. The focus is on evaluations of the celebrations themselves through the journalistic voice, so I will be leaving aside many of the specialized types of coverage discussed in Chapter III, such as speech transcripts, editorials, advances and backgrounders. As we will see, it is often necessary to read beyond the sentence to determine what may be meant by a particular pronouncement and whether the journalistic voice is approving or not; in some cases the meaning remains ambivalent and as we will see in later chapters, there are some news stories that are ambivalent all the way through.

5.2   Evaluation in leads with 'celebrate'

Personal, conversational accounts of holidays often use simple, generic retrospective evaluations like 'I had a good [or, more rarely, bad] holiday.' For example, this fictionalized account, which is contemporaneous with the earliest coverage in the newspaper text collection, summarizes the evaluation with 'beautiful' (Alcott 1869, italics in original):

[finally …] I was put tenderly to bed, *not* in a torn nightgown, a fact which caused me to say, with a sob and a gape, "I'm sorry I was naughty, but I've had a beautiful Fourth of July."

With the exception of 'The Glorious Fourth,' which was a standard toast and set expression, these generic evaluations, such as 'good,' 'grand,' 'beautiful,' etc. are not directly used to modify 'Fourth of July' or equivalent expressions in the news texts, although they are frequently used for aspects of the celebration and in particular to describe visual effects such as bunting and fireworks. In the leads, in particular, a number of more specific evaluation types are preferred. The table below shows the manner modifiers from the lead sentences with main clauses built around 'celebrate' along with my classifications of them as a system of their own, and as instances of Appraisal:

Table 5-4: Manner adjuncts in the 'celebrate' leads

Year	Manner	Type	Appraisal type
1852	enthusiastically	emotion (enthusiasm)	Affect
1856	duly	faint praise	Judgment
1861	appropriately	appropriateness	Judgment: normality
1861	with all the outward display / and much more of the inward spirit that has characterized its observance in years gone by	scale and spectacle / emotion	Appreciation / Affect
1861	with more than usual enthusiasm	emotion (enthusiasm)	Affect
1866	in the orthodox style	tradition	Judgment: normality
1871	with great success	general	Judgment: capacity or Appreciation
1871	with unusual spirit	emotion (spirit)	Affect
1871	with marked spirit	emotion (spirit)	Affect
1871	in a befitting manner	appropriateness	Judgment: normality
1876	with very great enthusiasm	emotion (enthusiasm)	Affect
1886	on an extensive scale	scale	Appreciation
1886	very quietly	restraint or scale	Appreciation
1896	in the old-fashioned style	tradition	Judgment: normality or Appreciation
1896	in a quiet manner	restraint or scale	Appreciation
1896	with Democratic enthusiasm	emotion	Affect / Appreciation

	and Democratic simplicity	(enthusiasm), restraint	
1896	in a most appropriate manner	appropriateness	Judgment: normality or Appreciation
1906	in the customary manner	tradition	Judgment: normality or Appreciation
1936	with notable restraint	restraint	Judgment: prudence
1951	in a mood of hope tinged with scepticism	emotion (hopeful but sceptical mood)	Affect
1961	in the customary manner of the last few years	tradition	Judgment: normality or Appreciation

The table gives a capsule history of the way the holiday has been evaluated in leads over the years. One thing to notice is that none of the evaluations is repeated exactly; the impression of spontaneity seems to be important even though the activity is roughly the same from one Independence Day to the next. It can be seen that the bare adverbs in the earliest examples are soon replaced by complex comparisons to past years and customs, helping build the sense of a common memory of things that many readers may not actually remember. The summary leads with 'celebrate' as the master verb start disappear in the twentieth century, replaced with more artful leads and synonyms such as 'mark' and 'observe'; however, summary leads with 'celebrate' are still very common in wire service stories where a plainer style prevails.

These modifiers cluster around a few concepts: the scale and splendor of the celebration; the people's enthusiasm or spirit; the appropriateness or traditional normality of the events; and, on the other hand, the restraint in fireworks and in public celebrations that might encourage their use (this value standing in implied contrast to the widespread use of fireworks and large number of related accidents in previous years). There were also a few manner adjuncts such as "under the auspices of [the American Embassy]" and "in public and in private" which I excluded because of insufficient evaluative content, although these adjuncts may encode a subtle evaluation that the event was worthy because of its sponsorship or scope. It seems evident from patterns of manner adjuncts in related stories with other main verbs ('observed,' 'marked,' 'passed off') and from the habits of newspapers generally that an evaluation of an anniversary celebration is an expected part of news

reports on it. The success of the celebration is one thing that readers who were not present may be curious about, along with the details of anything splendid or surprising they may have missed. Those reades who were present at the events will have formed their own opinions and will be curious to see how these accord with the estimates of the journalists.

If the division into the three Attitude categories is applied here, the words having to do with emotion ('spirit,' 'enthusiasm') seem easy to classify as Affect, although they could also be a reaction to the occasion (Appreciation) or a manifestation of proper behavior (Judgment). The rest are more difficult. Some appear to be general evaluation or cues ('with great success'). An evaluation that seems particularly ambivalent is 'duly' which appears in an early story:

> The Eightieth anniversary of our National Independence was *duly* celebrated yesterday in our city and its suburbs. The anticipations of patriots and pleasure seekers were, it is true, somewhat cheerless in the early morning, when it rained in torrents, accompanied by thunder and lightning. ("The Glorious Fourth," July 5, 1856, p. 1)

'Duly' could be considered a Judgment that the people had adequately fulfilled their duty to celebrate, although at a distance of 150 years it is difficult to guess the exact flavor of the word, but it is also likely to have been read as faint praise when contrasted with the more enthusiastic alternatives used elsewhere. 'With great success' could be a Judgment if considered from the organizers' point of view, or Appreciation if considered from the participants' point of view; and the journalistic writer is not clearly identified with either. Although 'with notable restraint' refers primarily to prudent behavior on the part of those who would normally set off random fireworks (Judgment) it also suggests a modest effect beheld by citizens in general (Appreciation). As will be shown later, there are a number of expressions, for example 'attracted great attention' and 'found worthy of notice,' that simultaneously evaluate both the spectacle and the response to it. The only way to classify these simultaneously in terms of an aesthetic quality and an audience reaction, or a judgment as worth and an audience reaction, is

either by acknowledging them as borderline cases (cf. Martin and Rose 2004: 35 on the 'rocking blues purist') or by in interpreting one classification (the quality or worth) as embedded within the other (the audience reaction). Nor is it obvious in which order the functions are embedded.

In Appraisal, scale is generally explained as Graduation rather than Attitude, but here the fact that celebrations took place on a large scale is an attribute and a good in itself; thus it would be Judgment coded as Graduation (if such a thing were possible within the tree structure). There is also an element of Graduation/Judgment, but in the other direction, in the evaluations of restraint, which overlap conceptually with those of appropriateness. 'Appropriate' is a powerful word in social propriety, often used in a similar way to 'polite,' with a very general meaning and contestable applicability. Generally speaking it indicates a certain modesty or becoming scale, and is not applied to the same aspects of the celebration that are called impressive or spectacular; it is therefore associated with restraint. It may indicate either general conformity with norms of size, expectedness, aesthetics, sensation or audience response; or consistency with a particular pattern or standard. Where the pattern is that of what has normally been done in the past, 'tradition' or 'custom' may be specifically invoked. Consistency with the past is also the easiest kind of consistency to arrange, since it does not involve simultaneous coordination. All of these themes – appropriateness, scale and spectacle, restraint, and emotion – will come up again in the broader-ranging discussion to follow.

5.3   General patterns of evaluation in the data

In order to investigate evaluation of anniversary celebrations more broadly, all of the data from four years (1852, 1896, 1946 and 1996) was analyzed for the most obvious explicit and implicit evaluations, which were sorted into clusters and patterns beginning with the concepts 'extensive/ impressive', 'restrained,' 'appropriate,' and 'enthusiastic' identified above. In the earliest year (1852), most of the evaluations are easily isolated lexemes, but over the period of the text collection

evaluations are integrated into the text with increasing subtlety through representation of preferred and dispreferred examples of celebration; thus they require more extended block quotes to illustrate them. Note that the evaluations are actually gathered from reports of different celebrations around the region or the country; so consistency within a given year should not be sought – in any case, even reports of the same event were not always consistent. There is also considerable redundancy in reporting in the three earlier years (1852, 1896 and 1946), with many sentences and phrases repeated both within and across stories. Because of this redundancy and because of the sampling and prototyping nature of the study as a whole – not to mention the prosodic nature of evaluation – it is not illuminating to try to count tokens of different types of evaluation, and therefore the observations are mainly qualitative, and supplemented at the end by some further findings from other years.

In light of the finding by the Osgood team that evaluative adjectives and the nouns they modified produced a kind of weighted average of meaning, I have tried to preserve entire phrases whenever possible. Furthermore, only statements in the journalistic voice about the celebrations and their circumstances have been included, not the texts of speeches or details of accidents, for example. As noted, instead of importing Appraisal or any other preformulated system of categories, I chose to let the categories emerge inductively from the data. The results can then be compared with the Appraisal categories, as well as with each other diachronically.

5.3.1   1852: Splendor and interest

In this first year of coverage of the holiday, the writing appears amateur by the standards of today. At that time mass-market newspapers were still somewhat experimental, with small readerships and many competitors; the journalistic genre was still emerging from earlier pamphlets, letters, and reports, a process that took several centuries beginning with the earliest newspapers in the 1600s. First, we notice a great deal of repetition and digression from the topic as set forth in the headline and lead. Personal viewpoint intrudes occasionally ("we are

glad to see") and realia such as speeches, programmes and parade orders are reprinted in full in the pages. Page numbers are not used and advertisements are difficult to distinguish from editorial material. The actual reports consist largely of short items, with the evaluation distributed throughout the text in distinct lexemes including many adjectives and adverbs, as if the purpose of the item were to provide an official, expert, yet somewhat discriminating review of the happenings. The most obvious loci of evaluation have been italicized in the example that follows (and in further examples):

> … The *heartiness* with which the foreign population united in the display was *generally noticed* … The *glorious* stars and stripes were flying from *all* the public, and *many* of the private buildings … The steamers were *many of them very tastefully decorated*, and the Bay presented a *most animated* appearance as the boats passed to and fro, *loaded with passengers*. ("The Civic Societies," July 9, 1852)

Impressiveness ('glorious'), enthusiasm ('heartiness'), and appropriateness ('tastefully') are all represented here. This particular item is presented as if actually observed, though it may be a secondhand report. Throughout the coverage, the largest group of approving evaluations have to do with the impressive quality and visual impact of the festivities; the celebrations and their components, particularly parades and fireworks, are most often described as spectacles to be viewed. Words combining general approval with a visual sense are common: it is mentioned that "the public celebration passed off *gloriously*" (which makes it sound like a successfully navigated stage performance) and "the military display was very *brilliant*," and there are also references to "the *grand* demonstration," and "the *magnificent* spectacle." These are the most highly saturated evaluations; there are also less intense visual ratings using words such as "beautiful," "fine," and "attractive," as well as specialized evaluations such as "novel," "ingenious," and "wonderful" for a mechanical display of sparklers, and "eloquent" for speeches. The word "interesting," today so open in its meaning that it is rarely used in journalism, appears frequently, probably in the earlier sense of actively attracting interest. There are also more passive words implying goodness and comfort without any

particular exceptionality, for example "the *pleasures* of the occasion" and "the children passed the day *pleasantly* in Pic-Nic parties." Like "interesting" and "general," such lukewarm evaluations have mostly passed out of the lexicon of English-language journalism. In a few places the celebration is compared favourably to those of past years, as having "passed off with more than the usual éclat," while the military display "surpassed anything of the kind we have before witnessed." All of these evaluations fall essentially into the Appreciation category in Appraisal.

The reports contain many implicit evaluations of impressiveness in the form of ratings of scale and multiplicity, particularly with respect to crowds; figures from 62 to 150,000 are reported without comment for attendance at various venues. Such apparently neutral reports are related to appropriateness and politeness since, for public events, large turnout is counted a success, and large scale in spectacles is expected to be balanced with a large audience. A small turnout is disappointing, both on aesthetic grounds (Appreciation) and as a vote of confidence in the organizers (a kind of mutual Judgment), and through the reviews a public responsibility to turn out for certain events is constructed over time. In this connection we also read that "the celebration … was never more general," featuring "an immense number of citizens," who "crowded," "thronged," and "loaded" all the available spaces and modes of transportation, a description that recalls the kind of flesh-to-flesh connection said by Canetti (1960) to be central to crowds.

Some of the evaluations of impressiveness are intensified by reporting emotional reactions. That is, the journalists explicitly assess the impact on and affect in the participant audience with phrases such as "enthusiastically celebrated," "hearty applause and cheers," and "the youthful population was … overflowing with patriotism." In the statement that a display figure of Washington "showed to great advantage and was greeted with hearty applause and cheers," the wording is focused even more explicitly on audience perception and reaction (Appreciation, Affect) than on the impressiveness (Appreciation) of the Washington figure. The same focus is operating in statements that speeches "attracted attention" and decorations and

fireworks "were an object of much attraction." A description of enthusiasm can even be embedded in a reflexive statement of reaction to it, for example "the heartiness with which the foreign population united in the display was generally noticed." After these dynamic reports of perceived emotion, mere notations of affect like "they appeared to enjoy the day" seem diluted into faint praise.

On the opposite side of the ledger from evaluations that are positive for impressiveness and excitement are evaluations that are positive for restraint. The newspaper reports that the city was "peaceful," "remarkably quiet and orderly," and that many areas reported no serious accidents. While evaluations like "quiet" and "peaceful" are largely aesthetic in nature (Appreciation), the reports of no accidents can clearly be read as a judgment of good behavior as well (Judgment). These days it is not unusual for a holiday to be preceded by a public safety campaign and followed by body count reports carrying an evaluation of public prudence; the campaigns against fireworks on summer holidays in the United States and Canada are one example and the water safety campaign for the midsummer holiday in Finland, known for the number of alcohol-related boating accidents that occur during it, is another.

Between impressiveness and restraint we find (rather like Goldilocks) a middle evaluation that is also good, namely appropriateness. The newspaper reports that the day "was passed in a very appropriate manner," and individual banners and speeches are also deemed appropriate, although the standards of appropriateness are left to the readership to determine. The streets are said to be "tastefully decorated" and the bands played "choice airs," implying perspicuity of choice as well as high quality. Of the Appraisal classifications, Appreciation is mainly at issue here.

Finally we have negative evaluations. These are few at this stage of journalistic development, when newspapers were just beginning to evolve from private newsletters into mass media. The strongest denouncements are obvious Judgments related to accidents: the population is said to be "wasting an incredible amount of gunpowder,"

and gunpowder is also referred to as "villainous"; holiday-related deaths are reported with the usual lamentations and implied criticism accompanying reporting of any tragedy. But lack of enthusiasm on the part of the public is also criticized, and it is unclear if this is a negative evaluation of Judgment, Affect, or Appreciation. The journalists note that in Cincinnati "there was no united action," although the day was nevertheless "enthusiastically celebrated," and also mention that the parade of civic societies in lower Manhattan was "not as large as usual." The city leaders in Brooklyn are lightly criticized for "having appropriated but $300 to honor the day," while the citizens "seemed to deem it their duty to expend a further amount of their own in individual account in honor of the day, which they did quite liberally." It is thus established that national celebrations, like personal ones, bring with them expectations of attendance, as well as other obligations that may cost money – in particular, the obligation to put on a good show for one's neighbors.

5.3.2   1896: Hierarchy and tradition

By the end of the century, almost 50 years after its founding, the *New York Times* has clearly become integrated into the power structure of the city and the country, and journalism in general has become more professional and predictable, with list information now more smoothly digested and integrated into the flow of news. Although formal bylines are not yet used, the concept of journalism as a profession and journalists as functionaries has clearly begun to emerge. Splendor and the emotional response to it are still important, and individualized eyewitness accounts of affect and reaction are as salient as in 1852, but the celebrations are now first described in bureaucratic terms as exercises, festivities, banquets and meetings, and the reports include more detail about the rank of civilian as well as military participants.

The importance of status detail is obvious in descriptions of celebrations attended by "prominent members" of the American colony in London, with "many famous Americans" present as well (the categories of prominence and fame appear to be more widely separated than they are

now). A festival at Asbury Park, N.J., commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the resort town as well as the national holiday, included "members of the New-Jersey legislature, the State officers, the press and the dignitaries from the Jersey cities and towns," showing among other things that journalists had become a branch of the local elite. The occasion was referred to as "a great day for the natives" – a significant syntactic integration of idea of 'the people' with a constructed peak in time that efficiently encodes the significance of anniversaries in the developing civic calendar. The founder of Asbury Park was referred to in the coverage with the impromptu title of "'Founder' Bradley," a usage which presupposes that readers agree he is a known, elite actor in their community and that they support the social order, just as the proposition "the famous 'spring' did not flow," in reference to the unavailability of free alcohol at Tammany Hall, implies that readers are or should be familiar with the customs of that elite Democratic clubhouse. In addition to elitism based on public position, the language of the reports shows reverence for elitism based on heredity:

> Although the staff consisted of young men, there was *good naval blood* in it, Lieut. Winslow being the son of the war commander of the Kearsarge. ("A Noisy Fourth of July," July 5, 1896, p. 9)

It would be difficult to write such a line monoglossically or without obvious irony for a general audience today. The reproduction of hierarchy is further expressed in the repeated mention of "paying tribute" and of ringing bells and decorating buildings "in honor of" the anniversary. All of these have to do with maintaining the social structure, in particular through social esteem, and in Appraisal are associated with Judgment.

Scale continues to be important and a change from the measured reporting of 1852 is that here the revels are presented as totalizing, as in "the celebration began at sunrise and was kept up without intermission until midnight." Hyperbole and a touch of humor are used in describing the splendor, completeness and ubiquity of display:

> By this hour the city was awake and had begun to put out *its patriotic finery*. The forest of house-top poles *flung their bunting from windows* and along house fronts *everywhere loyal* colors were soon displayed. Many of the streets were transformed into *gardens of color*, and when, in the early morning, the sun *smiled* on the scene, the city *looked its brightest*. The river fronts contributed generously to the holiday effect. *Everything afloat had all its streamers on exhibition*. Some of the big craft carried *bunting enough to stock a good-sized town*. Ocean ships joined excursion boats and river craft in *honoring the day*. The rigging of the steamship Lucalia was decorated no less *lavishly* than that of the Paris. ("A Noisy Fourth of July," July 5, 1896, p. 9)

This particular excerpt also illustrates a feminizing metaphor for the nation. The reference to "patriotic finery," in particular, metaphorically compares the city to a woman dressed for a ball, and "lavishly" also belongs to the frame of parties, as well as praising the thickness of the decoration and the money spent; meanwhile "flinging bunting from the windows" recalls scenes of nineteenth-century housecleaning. The same metaphor of dress is operating in this report from Asbury Park:

> The town *was dressed in holiday garb* for the joint celebration. The Stars and Stripes floated from *every* housetop, and the business houses and hotels were *well-nigh hidden* with bunting and other decorations. ("Patriotism at Asbury Park," July 5, 1896, p. 20)

After 50 years of reporting on the Fourth of July, journalists continue to mention the impressiveness of the celebration and the exuberance of the participants, using visually oriented but also partly generic words like "beautiful," "handsome," "grand," "graceful" and "gay." Sensory arrangements are shown having a more profound effect on the public than fifty years earlier, and there are even more specific descriptions of emotional response, which is still ambiguous between Appreciation: reaction and Affect. In particular, the national symbols and national doctrines – what Lasswell (1949: 10-11) called the "miranda," things to be admired as opposed to "credenda," things to be believed – are shown exciting feeling, which is returned to them as tribute in the emotional script that underlies the reporting. The national flag, a stronger symbol after the Civil War than before it, receives "three cheers." A reader of the Declaration of Independence "was interrupted by cheers and long applause," the emotional response obviously directed at least in part

toward the document as well as its esteemed reader. This calls into question the idea that different kinds of evaluations and affectual responses are directed to things than to people which is suggested in presentations of the Appraisal framework by the division into Appreciation and Judgment.

These examples are hardly marginal; in fact they represent the most salient and elaborated pattern of evaluation in the 1896 data. The newspaper writes that a red "Liberty cap," symbol of the American Revolution, "inspired with its scarlet suggestiveness the speeches of the day"; with this statement the reporter is claiming to see a flow of energy from the symbol into the people, invoking metaphors and scripts about feeling as a fluid that moves. When ships parade along the river, "their handsome appearance evoked not only the admiration of those who saw them, but it brought salutes from guns along shore." At a parade of naval veterans, another reporter describes a flow of emotion from people to people:

> … the sidewalks were well filled with spectators who cheered the torn flags and limping columns. The *cordiality* of their reception *acted like a tonic* on the men. By the time they turned eastward at Seventeenth Street the lines were upright and sturdy. ("A Noisy Fourth of July," July 5, 1896, p. 9)

The newspaper is operating here from a strongly promotional footing (to be discussed in Chapter VII), aligned with the government and with local organizers. In Asbury Park, the "proud town folk" offer a "genuine and hearty welcome for the out-of-town celebrants." "Founder" Bradley is "almost beside himself with joy at the success of the celebration," which he engineered since he "spent a small fortune in decorations for the pavilions and bathhouses on the shorefront." His fellow citizens are shown as succumbing to emotional flooding-out (a term used by Goffman for situations where a participant "breaks frame" by releasing a flow of affect, see 1961b: 51):

> The *pent-up enthusiasm* of the natives *broke forth* the moment Old Sol showed his face above the horizon. Then *every bell in town* was rung, and *enough* powder was burned *to kill a large-sized army*. There was a lull in the noise during the intermission for breakfast, and at 10:30 the crowds assembled at

the Auditorium on the beach and listened to a *masterly* oration from ex-Congressman Butterworth of Ohio and the reading of the Declaration of Independence by Dr. George F. Wilbur. ("Patriotism at Asbury Park," July 5, 1896, p. 20)

This report is so saturated with positive evaluation that it could very well have been intended and read as humorous; but at the same time it is sufficiently respectful that serious readings are always possible. The metaphor of national anniversaries as a necessary safety valve for "pent-up" emotional energy is a set piece in the discourse of both nationalism and holidays (for example Billig 1995: 45-6, cited at the beginning of this study), although it is generally left ambiguous whether the celebrations are a keep-fit exercise for war, a means of heading it off, or both.

Appropriateness is still a category of praise in 1896, but the term "appropriate" has been largely supplanted by the more specific concepts of "patriotic" and "traditional." The concept of patriotism is both more prominent and more open in its meaning in 1896 than in the earlier coverage. Patriotism in the United States originally meant simply being on the side of independence in the wars with Britain.[77] Through the Civil War, it mainly indicated support for the Washington-based and northern-supported government against alternative forms of government (cf. the usage in Ravenel 1867, a popular novel about the war). In the 1897 coverage 'patriotic' appears to be a vague signal of approval and appropriateness, as in pronouncements that the children of the Rhinelander School "are such patriotic little people," that "patriotism was rampant at Asbury Park," and that certain exercises "were of a patriotic nature and appropriate to the occasion." It is also frequently used as a classifier for music ("patriotic airs"). Not until the 1960s did

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[77] This usage persists in limited domains. In New England, the local professional football team is called the Patriots, and team names such as Patriots, Colonials, and Minute-Men are also common for school teams. It is understood that the name is somehow representative of all residents of the region in their role as inheritors of the Revolution, and its natural opposing term would be "British" or "Redcoats" (which therefore can never be used for an American team name, although names referring to the Irish and the Scots are used).

'patriotism' become an essentially contested term, and the connotation of fervency that marks present-day uses of 'patriot' appears to be absent in nineteenth-century uses, as is the overtone of chauvinism – there is an 'us' in these national anniversary stories, but generally no 'them.' In a statement that banners at Tammany gave "a patriotic and gala appearance to the hall," little meaning is literally added by the word 'patriotic.' It mainly serves as a cue that the discourse is in the grip of an evaluative frame that has to do with orthodoxy and orientation to the nation; reflexivity and discursive contestation are still a long way off. Throughout, however, patriotism remains in the arena of Judgment with respect to Appraisal; it is one of the more clear-cut cases from that point of view.

At the same time a new dimension is introduced that is not noticeable in the earlier coverage: that of tradition. We are at a research disadvantage here because the origin of the Fourth of July is a good 75 years earlier than the origin of the news coverage, so two or three generations of celebrations had already taken place before the news stories began. It is nevertheless at least clear that the news coverage in the first year of 1852 was relatively unskilled in encoding holiday celebration as a virtue and highlighting consistency with the past and with other regions. Celebrations around the nation were reported separately using the same language, as if each were new and unique.

In 1896, by contrast, coverage of the different regions is more differentiated and there is repeated mention of "an old-fashioned Fourth" with "its time-honored customs" such as songs, speeches, fireworks and ringing of bells. The newspaper mentions "the usual banquet, reception and festive private parties" in London and Paris, the word "usual" indicating a kind of minimal coding of reasonable expectedness. It seems likely that usuality is primarily an expression of Judgment in Appraisal, but it is also a 'cue' or 'flag' word that signals evaluation to come and that interacts with other words to construct their referents as desired or undesired (compare 'the usual good food we have come to expect' with 'the usual trash' or 'the usual weeping and wailing'). The reporter of the main story on city celebrations attempts a kind of shorthand in noting after the lead that "other features, while

noteworthy, followed in great part customs well established and usually to be expected" in New York, although this coding of expectedness does not preclude rich descriptions of these well-known custom, running to another 1500-odd words. This overworded locution – "customs well established and usually to be expected" – demonstrates the kind of redundancy that tends to be built into expressions of custom, in order that no one should mistake it. Anniversaries of the celebrations themselves are now numbered, as in "The Chelsea Union went on its fifteenth annual excursion to Cornwallton Grove," and synergies are noted such as the concurrent celebration of the anniversary of Asbury Park – a coincidence of course created by the choice of the Fourth of July for the official founding of the town in the first place. Such layerings of anniversaries are common and conserve celebration effort as well as increasing the pleasing feeling of synchronization and predestination. All this creates the impression that past practices will be the guide for present reactions.

The breaking of custom is noted mainly with respect to the replacement of "the old fashioned Fourth of July parade" with a special parade of naval veterans, in connection with a national naval veterans' conference. Here the change is considered quite positive, and the newspaper implies in the lead of the main roundup story that other changes, in the direction of public safety, would be constructive as well:

> People had a chance yesterday to *pass judgment* on an *old-fashioned* Fourth. The suspension of the ordinance forbidding the discharge of explosives in the streets gave license to noise makers to *do their worst*. They disported themselves accordingly. It seemed as if a squad of them was at work in every block. They began early and kept at it late, *invading* even the business quarter down town, where *Sunday quiet* usually rules on holidays. It may easily be believed that the day *broke all records* for sales of fireworks. ("A Noisy Fourth of July," July 5, 1896, p. 9)

Although "old-fashioned Fourth" and "broke all records" would normally be positive, the juxtaposition with "pass judgment," "do their worst," and the opposition to "Sunday quiet" make it clear that the writer prefers a more regulated celebration. At the same time, using only disapproving wording would have introduced a tone of bitterness

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and humorlessness that would have been at odds with the newspaper's style at the time; the writer prefers to rely on the company the words keep to move the entire extract in the direction of negative evaluation. A similar mitigation of disapproval is evident in the statement that there were "the usual number of fires," resulting in "a respectable sum for the underwriters to pay." This kind of ambivalent evaluation, which is increasingly common in the data, is difficult to sort into bounded and monotonically valued Appraisal units. There are more straightforwardly negative evaluations to do with the "reckless" use of firearms and the "careless" handling of firecrackers, but these familiar tokens of Judgment appeared in stories whose main topic was the accidents and not the holiday. Other notes of disapproval are sounded for deficiencies; in one reporter's view there was "but little attempt at display" at Tammany Hall, except for the banners, and the lack of drink was a problem: "The many sad faces of braves testified their disapproval of economy in that direction, and the good audience was gathered despite absence of bodily refreshments." Thus the newspaper, working from a footing as an independent critic, can score political organizers for providing insufficient opportunities for flooding-out, but at this time it does not appear to criticize the people for their reserve. The main pattern for 1896, however, is straightforward: the feeling is the story.

5.3.3   1946: Scale and power

In the middle of the twentieth century the wire service dispatch style that is touted by the profession as 'objective' newswriting is at its height, and Talese (1969: 259) confirms that at this time newspaper writing was reduced to formulas as much as possible. The most common structure for news stories at this time consists of a summary lead followed by the details considered by journalists to be of interest to the largest number of people, and then by details considered to be of interest to successively smaller groups. The language is bleached of obvious, lexically based negative evaluation of events as much as possible, and even most of the positive evaluation is achieved through implicature. Most of the anniversary coverage is devoted to reports of speeches, and to reporting crowd figures, which run into the thousands and millions, and other

official statistics such as traffic and weather numbers. The precise quantification of the mid-twentieth century is a departure from the coverage in 1896 which tended toward the sweeping 'all' and 'everywhere.'

There is less visual description in 1946 than in the previous years sampled, perhaps because photographs are beginning to be used, and sound is more prominent as a sensory mode. Radio addresses are reported, as is a diplomatic telephone call from the President of Brazil and his cabinet. The main headline is "Nation Marks 4th Festively at Home, Martially Abroad"; in the context of parades, which are mentioned elsewhere on the page, the word 'martial' is often collocated with 'music' and it is difficult (at least for me) not to hear the echo of a band playing marches when reading it. We also vicariously hear the noise of fighter planes in occupied Germany and Japan; in Frankfurt, "two hundred fighter planes roared down to buzz the buildings of the great I.G. Farbenindustrie chemical trust plant, a prime target in the war" while in Tokyo "one and hundred and fifty planes – fighters and attack bombers – roared overhead." With the growth of the U.S. Air Force, first used on a large scale in World War II, large numbers of ordinary citizens living near air bases became used to hearing military planes and helicopters overhead on training runs and troop and equipment movements, even if they did not hear the battles overseas; this must have been a significant change in the American soundscape.

As in 1852 and 1896, military might is still clearly a locus of favourable evaluations, and the enemies in the preceding war are mentioned, which is uncommon in the text collection as a whole:

> Four thousand miles from the hall where the Declaration of Independence was signed 170 years ago, the American Forces celebrated July 4 today and gave *the Germans* evidence that, though they may be small in number they are worthy successors of the army *which overran this country* in the war … On Army Day there was much criticism of the small, ill-appearing force that paraded. Today there was no such complaint. ("Frankfort [*sic*] Sees Big Celebration," July 5, 1946, p. 5)

The news that parachutists made a training jump at a mock objective is

also repeated twice, the word "mock" emphasizing the difference between recent wartime coverage and holiday news. On the other hand, the occupying forces in Japan were "mobilized," a word signifying that the activity is in this case not play:

> All arms of the American occupation forces were *mobilized* for the Independence Day celebrations, which took place in all occupied cities of Japan and had their climax in Tokyo. ("Our Men in Japan Spurred to Tasks," July 5, 1946, p. 5)

Victory in past battles is clearly shown as a positive thing, but its location in the Appraisal systems of Judgment and Appreciation is unclear. On the one hand victory is a reification that is meant inspire what has recently been called "shock and awe" (Appreciation:reaction); on the other hand, it can be read as implicitly being a positive Judgment of the capacity and tenacity of the troops on the winning side. A closer examination of the Judgment system as used by Appraisal theorists shows that Judgment is largely negatively defined; that is, it focuses on qualities such as cleanliness and honesty whose deficits invite social and legal sanction; where an excess of good qualities exists, the meaning shades into Appreciation (as acknowledged in Martin and Rose 2004: 35). There are clear parallels with recent developments in politeness theory in which excess politeness is qualitatively distinguished from everyday 'politic behavior' (Watts 2003). Certainly excess and exceptionality are always positive evaluations in this set of reports, as in a "precedent-breaking" telephone call from the President of Brazil and his cabinet to U.S. President Truman and "record crowds" at Coney Island. It is unclear whether these quantifiers should be considered tokens of impressiveness for being unique, or simply counted as scalar quantifiers that might be treated with the Graduation system as well.

The word 'appropriate' does not appear at all in the coverage, but the more specific appropriateness of tradition is mentioned, for example with the annual celebration at Rebild in Denmark being called "traditional" and a mention of the revival of the "pre-war custom" of ambassadorial parties in London. Ritual is valued, as a Danish American is "ceremonially" installed as honorary mayor of Aalborg at

the Rebild festivities; this is actually a marker of institutional validation and performative happiness as much as an evaluation of appropriateness or impressiveness. 'Formal' is used as a similar model of correctness and completeness, with the recognition of the Philippines labelled "formal" several times. In two places, a climax of the events is identified: the ball at Malacanan Palace in the Philippines, and a military review in Tokyo. The local coverage, however, remains multifocal, and one can imagine the dangers of anointing one event as the focus: it might attract unmanageable crowds the next year, or make organizers and attendees of other events feel slighted. An elite, restricted event in another country, however, may be safely identified as a focus because readers cannot get there anyway. Later, when television makes it possible to have been in many places at once, peak moments in the celebration are more often identified, for example the ringing of bells across the nation at 2 pm on the Bicentennial of Independence.

The 1946 coverage also, for the first time in the series of years reviewed in this chapter, provides an example given of someone sitting at home doing nothing – and, since it is the nation's president, the idleness is evaluated positively. The newspaper reports that President Truman "passed up the excitement of patriotic celebrations … for the woodland quiet … devoted his time to rest and relaxation … spent the day quietly." His recreations and even his naps were logged. In all the previous years in the text collection, Presidents made the Fourth of July news only if they delivered a speech, as Teddy Roosevelt did in 1906, or were on their deathbeds, as James Garfield was in 1881. They are almost completely absent from pre-Civil War coverage of the holiday. Thus news of the president doing nothing marks a significant change in reporting priorities.

While the military abroad is shown making noisy forty-eight gun salutes, at home "little fireworks were available and the day was pronounced by safety advocates as a safe and sane one." "Safe and sane" was a slogan that had been used since the early years of the century as part of nationwide public information campaigns to promote a calmer holiday, and it sounds certainly more potent and active, in Osgood's formulation, and officially complimentary than the wistful

terms previously used, such as "a quiet holiday." Although there are few fireworks accidents, more efficient bureaucracy enables other kinds of misfortune to be numerically metered, and readers are presented with the typical modern summer holiday scorecard of weather, heatstroke deaths, crowd figures, traffic predictions, and road accidents.

The events for this year are characterized by implicit positive evaluations of Judgment drawn from the numbers and the position of the United States as a victor in the war just concluded. The main news is that Fourth of July has been turned from a village green affair into a world holiday, at least for the armed services abroad. Appreciation is nearly absent, although the show of power may have been considered aesthetically exciting. The extreme lack of Affect in the coverage may be the result of the nation having spent its emotions on the real and involving events of two world wars, and having little affective capacity left for constructed events and for play. The monoglossia of the coverage is also quite striking in contrast to the next text sample.

5.3.4   1996: Affect through implicature

The most difficult media language to analyze is that covering recent events, since the language seems naturalized and its context has often been personally experienced, and here we can be grateful for the loci of comparison afforded by the earlier material. In 1996, as in 1852 and 1896, emotion is foregrounded as a location of evaluation and other new information, but here, rather than relying on statements of evaluation, loaded with adjectives and adverbs, the journalists deeply integrate evaluation with description through subtle constructions and story patterns. For example, the headline "Fatal Blaze in Fireworks Store Leaves Ohio Town Stunned" clearly points to the emotion as the news, and quoted statements of feeling, presented as if spontaneous although most likely elicited by reporters, are printed in many stories.

In 1996, the ordinary main report on local celebrations, comparable to reports on parades and traffic in years immediately past, is written in a self-consciously conversational tone that assumes readers have seen

many Fourths and already have expectations and a rating scale. Precise crowd counts are not given, although there are some approximations like "several thousands." The weather is encoded as an agent that is alternately evaluated as troublesome (bad) and independent (neutral, and with humorous wordplay on "independent"):

> Some Fourth of July.
>
> A spasmodic sun, narcissistic gray clouds and a thoughtlessly headstrong wind teased and tormented people's holiday plans. Rain flashed its own independent streak, spitting, dousing, drying up, then drenching again.
>
> But throughout the New York region yesterday, plenty of people refused to succumb to the meteorological neurosis. ("Celebrating July 4 Spirit, Undaunted But Damp," July 5, 1996, p. B3)

The changing weather is described as crazy ("narcissistic," "neurotic"), and evil ("teasing and tormenting"), while the people are shown exhibiting positive tenacity ("undaunted," "refused to succumb," "managed their merrymaking" without fireworks, "somber skies did not deter most"). In the frame of the story, an attempted transfer of negative energy from inanimate to animate actors failed. There was not a great deal going on during the day; people were described visiting family, playing cards in neighbourhood social clubs and swimming in municipal pools, and working as bus drivers and policemen. Sober reports on these mundane activities were followed by some humorous idiosyncratic details of outer-borough neighborhood celebrations: the traditional Nathan's Famous hot dog eating contest, an Elvis impersonator and a child beauty queen in a Staten Island parade, a wedding anniversary celebrant cryptically dubbed "Baking Sue, the Cookie Princess" and loaded with baked goods by her friends. Such details are used by some late twentieth-century reporters to gently satirize holiday celebrations in much the same way as 'total celebration' descriptions in the 1896 coverage may have worked as satire; readers can either be impressed by the apparent goodwill and innocence of the actors, assume that the actors themselves were acting ironically, or dismiss the proceedings as unsophisticated and tasteless. The officially sanctioned city fireworks in the evening proceeded as scheduled, and

the reporter got an extended attestation of affect there:

> "I like the excitement of the people, the mob, the energy," said Andrew
> Stevens from Long Island. "It pumps you up. The best part is the fireworks,
> how it illuminates the sky. It's fantastic." ("Celebrating July 4 Spirit,
> Undaunted But Damp," July 5, 1996, p. B3)

Officially sanctioned fireworks, then, are still thought in the folk physics
of anniversary reports to effect a positive transfer of energy to the
people. A combination of eyewitness reporting and official sources are
used to construct the report, and although one spectator's remarks on
the emotional impact are transcribed with the implication that they are
generally valid,[78] no attempts are made to read the mood of the entire
crowd or form an independent judgment of the aesthetics of the display.
The evaluation is mainly implicit or cued, and readers are left to draw
their own conclusions of what it must have been like to be there from the
clearly fragmented report.

Fragmentation appears to go along with heteroglossia. While the 1852
and 1896 coverage was clumsily heteroglossic, with disorganized stories
from different viewers and unintentional duplications, and the 1946
stories were mainly monoglossic, the 1996 stories rely on fine-grained
heteroglossia, with the reporter as moderators. While the effect of
television in keeping people indoors does not seem to be mentioned
(although televised viewers are acknowledged occasionally in coverage
beginning with the Bicentennial of 1976), the writing style is reminiscent
of television, with *vox populi* representatives used as actors to increase
dramatic personification and 'jump cuts' between different scenes that
produce a 'channel surfing' effect that can be even more disjunctive than
the disordering of chronology in a traditional news story. A more
narrative quality is also part of the new style of newswriting; in addition
to reporting on the mood of the city and on individual emotions, the

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[78] Again it must be noted that quotations in the newspaper are nearly all elicited and
not spontaneous, and that rewording of quotations occurs (see ben-Aaron forthc.),
sometimes producing things that no informant could have said. The last sentence of
this story, retailing a quotation from a teenager at a city pool, contains such an error:
"Marcus Sears, 14, had only one complaint. 'There weren't enough girls around.'"

journalistic focus is on showing the holiday as a site of contestation at the national and local levels, and the evaluation is generally aimed at rating the performance of each side, rather than appraising the success of the celebration or the quality of participation of the public.

The front page holiday story on July 4 is a feature about 'patriotism' as a site of discursive contestation in a small town which is evidently intended to be representative of the nation at large. Although the overt message of the story is that other countries are no longer battlefield enemies, but trading competitors and markets, the evaluations are distributed to create an opposition between older citizens (whose point of view is favored) and younger citizens. The older veterans who are quoted as saying that young people don't understand the meaning of patriotism are accorded more elevated speech verbs, such as 'lament,' 'fault,' 'recall,' while quotations from the younger non-veterans are mostly framed using 'say.' The mention of a 1970s graduate of the local high school serving as a (male) flight nurse with a NATO peacekeeping mission in Bosnia, which would seem to contradict the reported divide between veterans and the younger generation, is buried three quarters of the way through the story; this location is often used by journalists for details that anchor a resistant reading or counterreading of the events in the lead. The older residents of the town are generally evaluated positively for their learned ability to produce Affect in connection with holidays ('having a real sense of patriotism,' 'knowing what the Fourth of July means'); and this is in part an evaluation of them as good citizens, and therefore also a rating of Judgment.

A second place where the holiday is shown as a site of contestation on a national scale is in stories about presidential candidates campaigning. The newspaper evaluates the candidates' ability to appeal broadly and project a positive, unifying message that does not spoil the mood of the holiday while still getting a good personal response. The incumbent president, Bill Clinton is lauded in a headline as "toning down politics to hail the glories of democracy," while Senator Bob Dole, the Republican nominee, delivered a speech "that was largely a nonpartisan tribute to patriotism." 'Upbeat,' in both reports, is clearly a positive evaluation of both Affect and Judgement:capacity for positive Affect.

The holiday is also a site of more localized contestation, for example in a city political dispute over the holiday between Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and citizens who wanted to set off fireworks, in particular in the neighborhood of Ozone Park, Queens. Giuliani announced in advance of the holiday that users of fireworks would be arrested, and the newspaper devoted considerable space to publicizing his program. On July 4 the police patrolled Ozone Park in particular in large numbers in a "crackdown," said to be aimed at an organization led by convicted organized crime figure John Gotti, which had been denied a permit for its annual barbecue and fireworks display for residents of the neighborhood. Though it helped Mayor Giuliani by publicizing his ban, the newspaper seemed to be taking the neighborhood's side in quotations and details again located (as in the last example) about three quarters of the way through the story:

> Though several said they supported the Mayor's effort against fireworks, they saw the police presence in the neighborhood and the cancellation of the party as *an excessive display of power meant to belittle* Mr. Gotti and his associates … The *show of force* in Ozone Park was of proportions usually seen only during armed standoffs or after a police officer has been shot. A police helicopter crisscrossed the sky looking for anyone who might be preparing a fireworks display on a roof and klieg lights on trucks flooded the neighborhood. ("The Police Department Glares, and Bombs Don't Burst in Air," July 5, 1996, p. B1)

The negative evaluations in 1996 mostly have to do with the weather and Giuliani's fireworks policy (which was praised elsewhere for reducing the number of accidents). On the other hand, casualness and idleness appear to be rated favourably these days, in contrast to the reservation of top praise for precise military displays in 1896 and 1946. A report on a ragtag holiday parade that happens "spontaneously," with no rehearsal, every year, seems to encode a virtue of casualness and appropriate recognition of the holiday as a day off:

> The 200 residents of this hamlet hidden in the Green Mountains, just south of Stowe, *pride themselves on their spontaneity*. They wake up on July 4th and *if the spirit moves them*, they *slap together* a few floats, assemble on Tom Harrison's front lawn around 10 A.M., march the 150 yards or so down Main Street, turn around, march back, and then disperse. For 19 straight years, the parade has

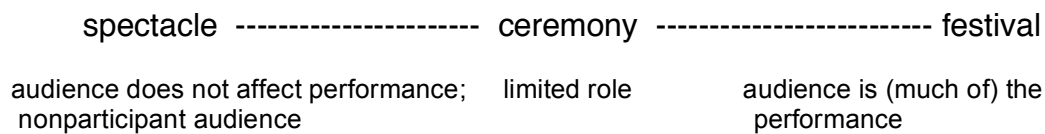*just sort of* happened. ("Moscow Journal: A Parade, Unofficial, But Always On Time," July 4, 1996, p. A12)

Casualness here involves both attitude (Affect or Appreciation:reaction) and appropriate behavior (Judgment); the people of Moscow, Vermont are shown as having a sense of proportion and a sense of humor about events other towns might take too seriously. A sense of playfulness is also apparent in other coverage, for example in a mention of providers of needed public services such as bus driving and police work, it is observed that "not everyone has their freedom on the holiday," but some see it as "the right to earn time-and-a-half." This is clearly judgmental, but lightly ambivalent in its intent: are the workers exploiting the holiday or vice versa? Similarly, words like "crackdown," "confiscated," and "zero tolerance," used in reports on the fireworks policy, are ambivalent; they might be seen as positive by an authoritarian personality or a supporter of Giuliani, negative by social libertarians. Even more than with the earlier texts, no definitive and closed reading of these recent texts can be arrived at, although the underlying dimensions of evaluation are certainly amenable to investigation and discursive description.

5.4   Hierarchy and anti-hierarchy

Both the 1896 and the 1946 data emphasized the reproduction of hierarchy through the selection of facts to be reproduced and the use of classifiers for people. I will now digress somewhat from the topic of evaluation to relate the reproduction of hierarchy in language to the reproduction of hierarchy in practices. Public events can express existing hierarchies to varying degrees. Looking from the point of view of subject positions constructed for participants, Dayan and Katz (1985) identify two prototypical extremes of public events, which they call *spectacles* and *festivals*. Spectacles are focused events performed for a nonparticipant audience who do not affect the performance, while festivals involve all present as participants and definers of the event. Dayan and Katz also identify an intermediate genre called *ceremonies*, which allow the audience a limited role as appreciators, reactors, and

witnesses, often with lines spoken in unison; alternatively members of the audience may be called up to the stage to receive prizes or symbolically receive the performance. Films are normally spectacles, and therefore events that are broadcast should be spectacles too, but producers may try to involve the audience through singalongs, programmed cheers, and cameos of audience members, and thereby move them along the scale at least to becoming a kind of ceremony.

Figure 5-2: Scale of audience participation in public events

spectacle ----------------------- ceremony -------------------------- festival

audience does not affect performance;   limited role   audience is (much of) the
    nonparticipant audience   performance

National days may appear at various places along the scale. For example, the celebrations in Mexico (Moore and Myerhoff 1977) and the USSR (Tumarkin 1994, 1997) have historically been spectacles performed by the heads of state in the seat of power, with smaller satellite spectacles in other places. The same could be said of the rites of passage of royal families, which function in a similar way to modern national days (Cannadine 1992, 2001). Traditional Fourth of July events originally consisted of assemblies held in churches and modeled on church services, which were ceremonies, followed by military parades. Parades count as spectacles, although people who are in the audience one year may perform in the parade the next and vice versa. The parades and services were followed by festival mingling in parade grounds, commons and parks, culminating in firework displays in the evening. As populations grew, the speech ceremonies fragmented into multiple small assemblies run by political parties, military units, schools, and associations; and outdoor parades and carnival events grew in importance. This is the situation at the beginning of the coverage in 1852. Parades of veterans assumed importance after the Civil War and continued until the veterans died out. Between the 1880s and World War I, song performances and pageants on patriotic themes were popular (Glassberg 1989, 1991), and these were clearly of the spectacle type, but probably more people participated in festival-type events, to judge from the crowd figures reported for parks and resorts like Coney

Island. From World War I until the 1960s, parades of military veterans were again the main official spectacle, and festival gatherings continued to attract even larger crowds. From the 1960s onward television viewing provided an alternative way to participate and crowd sizes dropped accordingly.

When we say that an American Fourth of July event, or any other national day celebration, is largely a festival, it is necessary to distinguish this idea of festival from the idea of *carnival* as described by Bakhtin (1984) and by Handelman (1990). Bakhtin, extrapolating from the work of Rabelais, describes 'carnival' as a release from normal structure into a different structure where the social and conceptual hierarchy are inverted; where a childish humor depending on food, excrement, physical punishment and the lower body dominates the proceedings; and where familiar and forbidden speech intrude upon correct speech:

> The king is the clown. He is elected by all the people and is mocked by all the people. He is abused and beaten when the time of his reign is over, just as the carnival dummy of winter or of the dying year is mocked, beaten, torn to pieces. (197)

On a more realistic note, Handelman gives the example of early 20th-century mumming traditions in Newfoundland, in which neighbors dress in grotesque costumes and invade one another's homes; if the homeowner guesses the real identity of the invaders, they are unmasked, reversing the inversion. National day celebrations do not, as a rule, correspond to these images. The positions of political leaders and local authorities are if anything more solid than in everyday life, as they inhabit their roles fully by enacting ceremonies and giving speeches on the importance of the day, which may get more extensive media coverage than routine speeches on other days because there is not much else happening. Not only politicians, but clergy, veterans, schoolchildren, and other groups may have special roles. At the same time, however, there are village fairs and street dances (a central component of Bastille Day, for example) that encourage a greater than normal degree of social intercourse among people who see each other

rarely or have never before spoken; a kind of random, proximity-based casual socializing that is characteristic of urban and marketplace life. Delany (1999: 123ff) calls this style of social relations *contact* and opposes it to *networking* which is integrated with hierarchies, purposes and genres; a higher degree of contact is one of the things people idealize most about cities and small towns of the past.

In the stories in the text collections, we can see that, although mass gatherings give expanded opportunities for contact, social hierarchy is not inverted. The lists of speaker names and military commanders that were so common in the early coverage acted to reinforce the position of the elite, and even through the 1960s, it was mainly elite speakers who were quoted, and they were further usually evaluated very positively; ordinary speakers had the best chance of appearing in the newspaper as accident victims. Contemporary newspaper coverage quotes only a few people to represent the ten million people of greater New York, and proportionately fewer still to represent the nation. As noted above, for many years the Fourth of July was an occasion for meetings of political party, war veterans', church and community groups, such as Tammany Hall and the Cincinnati; Marvin and Ingle 1999 view these "affiliative groups" as being in competition with the government to define the nation-state. Much of the reporting in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was devoted to the intermediate level of hierarchy that these groups represented, and the generally respectful coverage helped maintain their face as well.

In a previous study (ben-Aaron 2000) I showed that the content of the discourse of national days varied with the prevailing social climate. Using a subset of the text collection from 1961 to 1996, three axes of variation were identified: elite versus popular focus, local versus national focus, and majority versus minority focus. For none of these axes was there a linear progression from one pole to the other over the span of the texts collected; rather, the content of the articles jumped back and forth depending upon clearly identifiable features in the political context. However, just as Dayan and Katz identified two poles of celebration style, it is possible to identify two poles of newspaper writing – again, these are tendencies or prototypes to which stories tend, not

pure styles. The first mode, which I will call *official-source mode*, is based on interviews or audiences with official sources and on written documents obtained from those sources and others. It is written impersonally, with the most important facts first (the so-called 'inverted pyramid'). The second mode, which I will call *street-level mode*, is based largely on face-to-face or telephone interviews with ordinary people who function to represent average citizens, consumers or readers; the underlying assumption is that one person's quote is as good as another's. The writing normally has more involvement features, such as pronouns or free indirect quotations in which the writer seems to be entering the head of the person s/he is writing about. The story flows in a narrative or a series of short anecdotes, with the most significant or surprising lines scattered through it, rather than concentrated at the beginning. It may seem to be unstructured and random; thus more lifelike, in the way of a video camera held by an amateur. These two prototypes represent the extremes of experiential and interpersonal emphasis in newswriting. Experiential emphasis is often assumed to be the default, but the importance of interpersonal aspects for some newswriting styles has been touched on in earlier discussions of inverted pyramid vs. literary styles in synchronic and diachronic perspective, as well as by White (2003), Schudson (1995: 53-71 on the difference between providing information and "telling stories"), Fairclough (1995 on the *vox pop*), Wolfe (1973 on literary newswriting as the New Journalism), and Östman (1999 proposes concepts of concepts of the News story and the Friendly news story based on the models described in Chapter II).

When official-source and street-level journalism are combined with spectacles and festivals, we have four possibilities: official-source reporting on a spectacle or ceremony, official-source reporting on a festival, street-level reporting on a festival, and street-level reporting on a spectacle or ceremony. Official reporting of hierarchical, focused occasions is typical of the earlier nineteenth-century coverage, as in this report on a ceremony at the Tammany Hall Democratic party club:

> MR JOHN C MATHER delivered an Oration before the Sachems congregated in the Council Chamber of St. Tammany, after which the Red brethren and the

invited guests partook of a cold collation, when letters were read from a number of distinguished gentlemen, who were prevented from being present. After the reading of the letters, the fire-water was passed around, and the Grand Sachem announced the regular toasts. The one complimentary to the State of New-York was responded to by JOHN VAN BUREN. Mr. VAN BUREN was followed by Gov. COBB, of Georgia, Col. CROCKETT, (a son of DAVID CROCKETT.) of Tennessee, Senator DOWNS, of Louisiana, and Mr. WELLS, of New-Hampshire. At a late hour the Council fire was extinguished, and the warriors withdrew to their own wigwams. ("FOURTH OF JULY / The Tammany Society," July 7, 1852)

Here all the individuals mentioned are either well-known names, or referred to with titles and the letters from "distinguished gentlemen" are noted, as is Col. Crockett's family tie to folk hero Davy Crockett. A certain positive evaluation of the proceedings is implicit in the titles and the special lingo of the club, which gives a sense of solidarity; however, this report is from the first year of coverage and the techniques of independent evaluation of official and semiofficial proceedings have not yet really taken shape.

In the second of the four combinations set forth above, official-source reporting can also be used to describe festivals, typically in terms of statistics and reports of disorder. Most of the 1896 and 1946 coverage was of this type, and it continues to be used occasionally, as in the following example from 1971:

> On the Brooklyn Bridge, pedestrian traffic rivaled the vehicular as people strolled and dallied in the sun. The museums were still and uncrowded. Coney Island, the major playground in the city, reported a crowd of one million, a figure the Coney Island Chamber of Commerce dutifully discloses every summer holiday.
>
> In some neighborhoods, the holiday tranquility was shattered by fireworks. In the Cobble Hill area of South Brooklyn, for example, the illegal noise has been building for weeks. Yesterday evening it culminated in a crescendo of sputters, crackles, pops, thuds, whistles and tremendous bangs.
>
> Outside the city, escapees and others disported in the fine weather. Lake Sebago in Harriman State Park was packed by 9:30 A.M. and guards had to close the gates. Some of those turned away established picnic beachheads in

restricted areas of the park. The park police, recently cut back by an economy drive were hard pressed to check all the glades and thickets in the big park. ("Fourth of July Takes a Holiday in the City," July 5, 1971, p. 1)

This report of ad hoc, holiday style activities is written in official-source style, for the people appear exclusively as a mass watched from on high and the main attributed fact comes from an official source, the Coney Island Chamber of Commerce.

However, most recent stories about festivals are reported in a more demotic, street-level style (the third of the four alternatives), with more speculation about individual affect and motivations, and more quotations from reader-representative participants:

> … New Yorkers and out-of-town visitors yesterday were in a mood appropriate not only to the Fourth of July, but to a singular Fourth, one that celebrated their roots and their unabashed pride in their country.
>
> "It's a custom-made day," said Gabriel De Los Rios, a 64-year-old Chilean-American pianist standing amid a light-hearted and relaxed throng on the Riverside Park promenade watching the tall ships glide up the Hudson.
>
> "There's a brotherhood and everybody's friendly to everybody else," he added. "It happens on happy occasions."
>
> "The last time I saw this was when the hostages came home from Iran and they had that rally," Police Officer Thomas Gulotta said as he took a lunch break on a shaded bench behind the promenade. "That's when everybody was pulling in the same direction. It's a pleasure. You don't mind working." ("New York Relaxes As It Savors a Celebration," July 5, 1986, p. 1)

The quotations from the Chilean-American pianist (in the role of spectator) and the police officer serve to support the reporter's mood-reading that people attending the Statue of Liberty centennial were in a good mood for appropriate reasons grounded in the nation and history. The *vox pop* can also be used in reporting on inherently hierarchical occasions such as a Presidential appearance (the fourth of the four alternatives), giving an effect of 'the king among his people.' Here the

reporter transcribed the chance remarks and behavior of both the elite news actor, Presidential candidate Bob Dole, and the people around him:

> The onlookers at the parade swarmed as soon as they caught sight of Mr. Dole – wearing a summer-weight light-blue jacket, blue shirt, chinos and tassled burgundy loafers – coming around East Hawthorne Boulevard. Mr. Dole usually places a pen in his right hand, which was left limp by a war injury, to ward off those who want to shake it. Today the pen was replaced by the flag.
>
> "Save us from Bubba!" Bob Pietrzyk, 29, a banker, called out, in reference to Mr. Clinton.
>
> Mr. Dole stopped when he spotted 15-month-old twins, Brian and Patrick Smith. Brian had food on his chin. "Look at that," Mr. Dole said as photographers snapped away.
>
> But even in this largely friendly setting, there were discouraging words. Panos and Anne Frentzos joined in yelling greetings to Mr. Dole, but after he passed, they observed that he had not the slightest chance of winning.
>
> "People are more confident with Clinton right now," Mr. Frentzos said. ("For Dole, Upbeat Crowd on a Spirited Day," July 5, 1996, p. A14)

Hierarchy is further reinforced in the Fourth of July stories through gender roles and their reproduction, since the combination of politicians and other elite individuals (mostly male) giving speeches, traditionally male activities such as military parades and fireworks, and police keeping public order adds up to male dominance in the stories. In addition, the political club meetings in the 19th and early 20th century were all-male (since women did not have the vote yet), and the veterans' clubs were all-male and continue to be mainly male. This effect was confirmed in one of the experiments that formed the background work for this study: The Fourth of July news texts from 1961 and 1991 were compared with the Brown and Frown general corpora of written American English, which consist of 75% nonfiction and 25% fiction from 1961 and 1991. The only surprising finding was the following: In the general corpora, 'she' and 'her' were fairly frequent words, appearing one third as much as 'he' and 'his.' In the Fourth of July stories, 'she' and 'her' appeared far less frequently, and often referred to ships when

they did appear. This linguistic bias accords with certain metaphorical views of the nation as a maiden who needs to be protected by men, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Different results might perhaps be expected in countries where women have long had leading roles in politics, or in countries where women were required to do military service.

This section has given an idea of how national day events can vary between spectacles and festivals, and how the newspaper's reporting on them can be more hierarchical or more participatory. However, even when both the Independence Day events themselves and the newspaper's style of coverage appear maximally vernacular, the sentiments expressed on Independence Day are clearly restricted; there is permitted and unpermitted language.

5.5   Criticism and protest

We have still far from exhausted the evaluative potential of the language in the text collection. Having covered what appear to be the standard parameters of evaluation, namely impressiveness, appropriateness and restraint, and enthusiasm, we will now look at a curious phenomenon that mainly occurs outside the four years already discussed, namely outright criticism of the festivities. Coverage in 1861 referred to "the customary harangues of the Fourth" and in 1866 to "the bunkum speeches of 'set' orators" and the fireworks being "a fizzle as usual." All of these imply that boredom, nonsense and disappointment are to be expected in Fourth of July celebrations, an interesting use of language in the years around a war when (to judge from recent experience) the nation might have been expected to speak more monoglossically and to take itself more seriously. In 1886, the newspaper mounted an attack on the political rituals of the Tammany Hall Democratic club:

> Senator Zebulon B. Vance, of North Carolina, was introduced by the Grand Sachem as the first of the "long talkers." Mr. Vance was greeted by the Tammany braves as only Simon Pure Jacksonian spoils Democrats are ever greeted. The braves had all read in THE TIMES of the many relatives which the North Carolina statesman had put in the public service, and they knew he

was a man after their own heart. Senator Vance was stilted, declamatory, and demagogish. ("Tammany's Patriotic Day," July 5, 1886, p. 8)

And when they get together on the Fourth of July, and invite all the noted or notable men of their party to meet with them, they are apt to get only those who curry their favor or who sympathize with their purposes. They rarely get men of independent thought or of unselfish devotion to principle. Their orators usually either flatter them, or give rhetorical emphasis to the low sentiments and narrow and mean ideas by which the society is guided. ("Tammany Ideas," editorial, July 6, 1886, p. 7)

"Simon Pure Jacksonian spoils Democrat" is obviously not a compliment to the person or the party, and nepotism is usually a discredit to a politician. These are a rare case of words in holiday discourse that express violations of Judgment:social sanction, rather than merely of Judgment:social esteem. If there were any uncertainty about the tone of the first excerpt, it vanishes at the end of the paragraph when the phrase "stilted, declamatory, and demagogish" nails the Senator as a hack and solidifies the evaluations made up to this point. The editorial simply reinforces what is already clear: that scores are being settled here whose scope extends beyond the anniversary occasion.

Damning words are often employed as instruments of comparison rather than bottom-line summaries. When the quality of apparently politic celebratory behavior, and particularly of politicians' performances, is perceived as mediocre, it tends to be explicitly contrasted to the real feeling that is the desideratum in the evaluation system of the newspaper:

Under the *claptrap* and *static* and *canned speeches* of both political conventions one note was clear. One real emotion, narrow but profound, ran through the quadrennial folk festivals like a recurrent phrase in a symphony. It was an emotion for America, the strong homesickness of wandering Americans for the large, loose and comfortable pattern which had always distinguished the country from all others whatsoever. ("America Today," editorial, July 4, 1936, p. 12)

The criticism here is directed mainly at uses of language which are felt to be false and empty. Along the same lines, 'trite' appears twice in the text

collection, almost 100 years apart. In both cases, it is used as a counterweight to the recognition of better sentiments, but at the same time acknowledges the predictably dull and clichéd quality of much if not most national holiday discourse:

> There will be orators to-day for whom the victories of our armies and the valor of our soldiers will be somewhat *trite*, and for whom still less the annual tribute to the memory of the Fathers, is the only theme for an oration. ("The National Anniversary," editorial, July 4, 1866)

> "What I am saying to you is not a recital of *trite banalities*, for these rights and responsibilities are the base of our American way of life, and, in fact of our civilization." ("[Former President Herbert] Hoover, at Independence Hall, Rallies Youth to Fight Tyranny," June 28, 1961, p. 3)

In Fourth of July stories during and since the Vietnam War, an age more given to irony in journalism than any since the nineteenth century, the newspaper has printed some irreverent stories about the holiday and framed other quotations in an irreverent way. For example, in this story lead which we have already seen in section 5.1.3, the reporter distances herself from President George H.W. Bush's sentimental view of the holiday by surrounding it with details that may sound absurd in the reading context of her urban audience:

> GRAND RAPIDS, Mich., July 4 – President Bush wanted today to be a special celebration for the Persian Gulf troops. It was to be a day filled with the "good, old-fashioned kind of patriotism," with teen-age drum majorettes and middle-aged Shriners, with flag-bedecked babies and yellow-beribboned grandmothers, with horses and cows and antique cars and red wagons, with unicycling clowns and hoop-jumping dogs and beauty queens in convertibles and Rotary Club members atop lawn mowers. ("An Old-Fashioned Day of Patriotism," July 5 1991, p. A8)

This kind of writing is obviously similar to some of the hyperbolic and ambivalent 19th century descriptions in that it does not rely on negatively evaluated lexical choices as a device for mockery. Rather, it is the images described that are a locus of implicit evaluation (provoked Appraisal), as we saw in the 1996 coverage; and knowledge of the widening cultural gap between rural and urban Americans is needed to

understand this particular example. General affiliative clubs like the Shriners and the Rotary Club are emblematic of provincial life from the point of view of the implied reader whose associations are mainly professional; equally emblematic are livestock, circus acts, high school football culture (exemplified in the marching bands) and the presence of a full range of generations. But not all of the evaluation is implicit. Some lexical evaluations are used in late-twentieth century coverage, however, notably 'hoopla':

> The children were responding to questions posed by a visitor to three first-grade classes in two schools. The goal: to find out, in the midst of the celebration of the country's 200th birthday – *hoopla* that includes Bicentennial sneakers and hydrants repainted red, white and blue - what the Bicentennial means to youngsters who have not yet completed a decade in their own lives. ("A View of the Bicentennial From First-Grade Classrooms," July 2, 1976, p. A18)

> Despite the problems and broadsides from critics upset over what many have called the excessive *hoopl*a and tasteless exploitation of the statue and Liberty Weekend, there was also a sense that the show would go on, come what may. ("On Eve of Liberty Salute, a Whirl of Final Touches," July 3, 1986, p. A1)

"Hoopla" here means celebration that is out of proportion to the occasion, which is a violation of taste or aesthetics as much as it is a violation of judgment. With words like "hoopla," also, the vacuity and playfulness of the situation are acknowledged. The interpretation is available that the newspaper is saying the celebration is in fact rather trivial and not worth taking so seriously – citizens would be forgiven for making fun of it or disattending, as President Truman did on his retreat at Shangri-La. The acknowledgment of disattendance waxes and wanes with the times, however, and both in the exuberant coverage of 1896 and the dry reporting of 1946, the reporters wrote monoglossically as though the public events ought to have been naturally riveting.

All of the reports discussed above assume a certain basic alignment with the nation and the alignment on the part of both the newspaper and its readers. The newspaper takes a somewhat oppositional footing only when it criticizes the holiday arrangements or the local politicians, but it never completely calls for ignoring the holiday or changing the regime,

and the degree of criticism seems to have become milder over time. This is at least partly a consequence of the newspaper's emerging responsibility in the late 20th century as the dominant middle-class newspaper locally and nationally, as opposed to being just one contender in the lively 'penny press' market of Victorian times. Stricter libel laws may also have been a factor factor. The matter of footings will be discussed in more detail in Chapter VII.

5.6   Conclusion

As the examples from four widely spaced years show, the use of evaluation in news about national days recurs to a few main themes, all of them more specific than would probably be used in casual conversation where people speak of having had 'a good/nice/beautiful holiday.' In 1852, a variety of evaluative terms are used, centering on the large scale, impressiveness, beauty, appropriateness and lack of accidents on the holiday; in terms of Appraisal, the main mode is Appreciation. In 1896, there is even more emphasis on the visual effect, and also on the emotions said to be shown by participants; Appreciation is still important, but is upstaged by Affect, and national symbols are shown as both sources and sinks of popular feeling. Hierarchy and tradition, used mainly as implicit Judgments of social esteem, are now constructed as axes along which celebrations can be evaluated. In 1946, the audience impact of Appreciation shifts from the visual to the auditory, and evaluations become much more implicit, invoking the familiar cognitive metaphor of BIGGER IS BETTER, while at the same time descriptions become more bureaucratized and exact. Affect is virtually absent in this postwar year, as is negative evaluation. Finally, in 1996, participants are separated into opposing sides, including the people versus the weather, and evaluated for tenacity and strategy (Judgment) in relation to each other; the official proceedings are intermittently mocked and ways of attending through disattending and disattending while attending are pointed out. In this period the mode of evaluation is primarily through resemblances and pragmatic reasoning that requires some explanation. At the same time, impressiveness, affective display, and a certain notion of appropriateness or restraint are constant loci of

evaluation, which is perhaps surprising given the magnitude of other changes in society over the period.

If we compare the reports of firework displays for the four years, the differences in evaluation are immediately apparent. For 1852, evaluation is located fairly straightforwardly in attributive and predicative adjectives detailing the impression made by the display:

> In the evening there was an *extensive* display of fireworks in the Park, Tompkins, Madison and other squares, by order of the City authorities.

> In front of the City Hall the *attractive* display was made by J.W. Hadfield. After a *beautiful* display of rockets, small wheels and Roman Candles, came a *novel and ingenious* design in the form of a globe. ("The Fireworks," July 9, 1852)

In 1896, evaluation is located in hyperbolic statements of the extent of the festivities and the affective reactions the journalist claims to see:

> The *pent-up enthusiasm* of the natives broke forth the moment Old Sol showed his face above the horizon. Then *every bell in town was rung*, and enough powder was burned *to kill a large-sized army*. There was a lull in the noise during the intermission for breakfast … ("Patriotism at Asbury Park," July 5, 1896, p. 20)

Here, the feeling is the story in more ways than one. It seems likely that in the decades after the Civil War, there was special pressure to show universal involvement in affirming the nation. In 1946, by contrast, there seems to have been no public fireworks display as imitation militaria took a back seat to the real thing displayed abroad. The reporting is drily factual, with appeals to authorities:

> As on the July fourth holidays during the war, little fireworks were available and the celebration was pronounced by safety advocates as a safe and sane one. ("Nation Marks Fourth Festively At Home, Martially Abroad," July 5, 1946, p. 1)

"Safe and sane" is by now a familiar, almost bureaucratic classification. The rest of the coverage indicates that if there had been firework

displays in 1946, they would have been reported on in terms of pounds of powder fired and thousands of people in the crowd. In 1996, individual tenacity is the focus of narrative and of positive evaluation, with no attempt at comparison with past years or ideal standards:

> The somber skies and intermittent sprinkles *didn't deter* people from their backyard celebrations, of course. *Nor did they prevent* tens of thousands of New Yorkers and tourists from staking out space along the East Side of Manhattan last night to view the annual fireworks display.
>
> Starting around 7:30 P.M., spectators began laying blankets on sidewalks along Franklin D. Roosevelt Drive while others sat on stoops or garbage Dumpsters. Many simply stood outside, or watched from apartment windows, waiting for the flaming chrysanthemums and spider-leg sparks to dance across a slightly hazy, slightly foggy, night sky. They were *lucky*, too, as the light rain that had been falling for much of the evening stopped shortly after the fireworks began around 9:30 P.M.
>
> The city had four barges in the East River to lob a half-hour's worth of fiery comets, a twinkling red apple, and a final 56-pound shell destined to explode in a rocket shower 200 feet in diameter.
>
> "I like the *excitement* of the people, the mob, the energy," said Andrew Stevens from Long Island. "It *pumps you up*. The best part is the fireworks, how it illuminates the sky. It's *fantastic*." ("Celebrating July 4 Spirit, Undaunted But Damp," July 5, 1996, p. B3)

Here affect is again important, but it is attested through the remarks of a participant, not through the journalistic voice. Readers are left to infer the experience of presence and the newspaper's footing from the pieces of information given, making the newspaper into a 'hotter' medium (that is, requiring more participation from its consumers) than it had previously been.

The alternations in this coverage are somewhat reminiscent of the variation found by Coffin (1997, 2002) and subsequently by Martin (2002) in school history texts. In her study of Australian schoolbooks, Coffin found that students are apprenticed into studying history first through reading personal and institutional chronologies of events; then

through texts that tie the events together as cause and effect, with some of the events treated as fairly direct causes of others; and finally through texts that metaphorize persistent, nominalized qualities such as 'injustice,' and discourse types such as 'propaganda' as things with their own causes and effects. With the national day news stories, as the newspaper and its readers entrain one another into the genre from one generation to the next, storytelling moves through a number of different styles: first, recounts of events with evaluation achieved mainly through adjectives and adverbs; then, narratives of affect that relate the different evaluative states as cause and effect; then, narratives through statistics and classification, and then most recently, narratives of closely balanced opposing forces where the reader can take a side, and metadiscursive discussion of 'patriotism' and affect realized mainly as transcribed quotations. However, after the naïve style in the earliest year examined, which was also the first year of the newspaper's operation, the cycle of styles cannot be seen as a progression in any particular direction; it is simply variation, and cycling in some aspects – and there are still different combinations of features in the intervening years that were not sampled.

As the preliminary survey of the leads with 'celebrate' showed, the most varied and frequent evaluations have to do with impressiveness in size (scale) and beauty; enthusiasm and excitement (emotion); and appropriateness, quietness, and restraint. Impressiveness is obviously strong on Osgood's Potency factor (which includes 'large-small,' 1957: 63) and Evaluation factor (which includes 'beautiful,' 1957: 62 'beautiful'), while enthusiasm and excitement are strong on the Activity factor (which includes 'excitable-calm' and 'interesting-boring,' 1957: 63). The various forms of appropriateness and restraint would seem to have to be positive for Evaluation (compare words such as 'harmonious' and 'reputable' at 1957: 53, 55), but passive rather than active. Negative evaluation varies greatly from year to year, but generally seems to involve a low degree of Potency in the organized events, leading to low Activity on the part of the participants.

From the perspective of Appraisal, the evaluation in these stories is both strongly prosodic – it clusters in certain stories and certain places – and

highly embedded, with Affect, Appreciation and Judgment being treated as signals of each other. The evaluation of something as impressive is mainly based in an Appreciation reaction to the splendor, but also it is also based in Affect (satisfaction:admiration), and it is frequently Affect that concerns the implied speaker the most; in the upcoming chapter on metaphor we will examine the discussions of the intangible 'spirit' of the holiday. An evaluation of something as 'attractive' is close to an evaluation of it as 'attracting interest,' which shades into the observation that the participants were 'interested' in it, and historical shifts in use make it difficult to completely separate these.

The evaluation of enthusiasm is based in Affect (satisfaction:interest in the events), but it also codes Appreciation (reaction:impact) and Judgment(:propriety), in terms of the fact that good citizens are supposed to be enthusiastic about displays of nationalism. The evaluation of something as appropriate is based both in Appreciation of a harmonious and well-balanced event, and in the Judgment that propriety has been maintained and authorities have acted wisely.

Evaluations of scale have to do with Graduation, but also with the idea of proper proportions for a celebration. In the particular case of the Fourth of July, the task has historically been to organize an event that is as large and intense as possible without damaging anyone present; and it is clear from the iconography of parades and fireworks that this charge was for many years interpreted specifically as transmitting the awe of battle without the possibility of casualties or loss. Public enthusiasm for outdoor celebrations has waned since World War II, but it is still true that in jubilee years such as the 1976 Bicentennial, the holiday expected to be especially large and splendid. On occasions of grief, such as the shooting of the President just before the holiday in 1881, or the Fourth of July following September 11, 2001, an exception is made and the holiday is supposed to be muted. Thus Judgment as well as Graduation must be invoked in evaluating performance against expectations.

Judgment is the master factor in these evaluations. As a whole, the news coverage valorizes having proper feelings (Affect), and displaying them through local socially appropriate reactions to events and occasions

(Appreciation) – all seen in terms of exhibiting proper citizen behavior (Judgment). Reproducing these relations between feelings, actions and behavior is frequently the main point of the coverage, and since these aspects of social life are continually restated in terms of each other, they must be irreducible to each other for the relations to work as propositions. That is to say, if an equivalence A=B is stated as a thing worth saying, to avoid a tautology A and B cannot have been perceived as the same to begin with. This supports the Appraisal model of having Judgment, Appreciation and Affect as separate categories at some level of the analysis. However, the category spread of words like 'great,' 'glorious,' and 'beautiful,' together with the way Judgment seems to underly the other evaluations in the data, provide us with substantial arguments that they are not independent at all levels, and more importance needs to be given to positive/negative loading.

So while we can sort the words into categories according to their strongest or most apparent meaning, more complex and situated analyses of their resonances were needed to complete the picture. As we recall, in the 1996 story, the weather, which is usually a target of Appreciation, becomes a target of Judgment. At the same time, it becomes an agent ("narcissistic," "tease and torment," "independent," and also "spitting," a bodily act which is usually judged as a breach of propriety). In systemic-functional linguistics this kind of personification is considered a type of ideational or grammatical metaphor, and it is built on the idea that verbal processes are the most basic level; thus 'celebration' would be a grammatical metaphor for 'celebrate' for example.

At this point it is reasonable to ask what the Appraisal framework has brought us, since it does seem to have significant shortcomings in dealing with the data. I do not believe it succeeds as a complete and principled attempt to account for evaluation, due largely to the premature formalization of the framework and the fact that no attempt has been made to reconcile it with approaches from outside systemic-functional linguistics, in particular psychological experimentation. On the other hand, the main meaning categories of affective response, aesthetic satisfaction and moral/social judgment should be, and have

been recognized as among the important loci of evaluation in English at least. For example, Scannell (1996: 115-6) fixes on "feelings," "aesthetic judgments" and "moral judgments" as three main categories of opinions about stories – apparently independently of Appraisal. The three categories can also be seen to correspond to the well-entrenched Freudian concepts of id, ego, and superego, respectively – which should open Appraisal for both the benefits of ties with Freudian theory, and the criticisms leveled at it.[79] It is not clear that these categories are necessary, sufficient, or independent, but the preceding discussion demonstrates that attention to the fungibility of particularly Appreciation and Judgment in public discourse can yield many significant findings, and I do not think I would have produced the analysis given here if I had not had the Appraisal categories to apply in the first place. Thus the framework is valuable for the insights it can lead to, although it should not be considered to provide an accurate picture on its own.

This chapter has dealt largely with how a picture of desirable and undesirable feelings and activities is built up from particular words. The next chapter will turn to the way metaphors integrate the holiday practices and their evaluations into cognitive models of history. A broader cognitive view of metaphor from a non-systemic functional perspective will be the subject of the next chapter, followed in the later chapters by explorations of the ways in which, by stating these propositions, the newspaper is reproducing its position as an entity that evaluates others. We have seen how scripts work for the process of celebration as a whole and the process of appreciating and paying

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[79] Martin has in fact presented the three levels as stages in human development, saying children develop Affect first, which is then socialized and channeled into Judgment and Appreciation (this is the order in which he takes them up in Martin 2000 and 2003). (White appears to treat the three categories as parallel.) However, this layered approach is too neat, since it is clear from work in ethnography (e.g. Briggs 1969 and Lutz 1987, 1990) that Affect and Judgment are integrated in socialization from an early age as children are taught the appropriate feelings. This same ethnography also describes emotion and judgment categories that do not exist in English, and it is unfortunate that the mainstream of Appraisal has not taken either anthropological or cognitive research findings into consideration.

homage to national symbols; Chapter VI uncovers the metaphorical scripts for the history of the nation-state in the national day texts. Following that, Chapter VII will look at face and footing phenomena, drawing on both metaphor and on specific areas of evaluation such as the contested notions of appropriateness and patriotism, as well as negative evaluation. Chapter VIII, the final major chapter, will investigate the information structure and generic functions of national day news, as well as what is new within them.

VI   NATION AND METAPHOR

6.1   The study of metaphor

The preceding discussions of celebration and evaluation examined the underlying cognitive structuring of statements that most readers would consider to "factual," or at least treat as facts. This chapter takes up the cognitive structuring of more abstract and usually clearly unreal propositions, which are nevertheless accepted as true, and which help structure factual statements about national days in extended texts and across groups of texts. It will look principally at the metaphor of the nation as person and its various entailments, but also at the nation as family and other metaphors for the nation, as well as at metaphors based on celebration or the national holiday itself.

The study of metaphor has followed two paths. The older, literary school of thought going back to Aristotle was primarily concerned with the formal categorization of figures of speech, the term in classical rhetoric for any perceived departure from strict literality, unmarked word order, and default intonation (Baldick 1990: 83); metaphor in particular was defined by Aristotle as "application of an alien name by transference" out of its normal use (*Poetics* XXI). Figures of speech were seen as fanciful transformations of underlying meaning, with the vehicles of the transformations being deliberately and even arbitrarily variable, although it was recognized early on that arbitrariness did not give the best results. Building on the work of Black (1962), G. Lakoff and his collaborators began in the 1980s to publish a series of studies that examined cognitive patterns in the meanings of metaphorical

expressions, which appeared to be organized in terms of underlying metaphors or metaphorical domains (G. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, G. Lakoff 1987, G. Lakoff and Turner 1989). They concluded that many metaphors are a natural outgrowth of the human propensity to interpret experiences in terms of the body and its immediate surroundings, for example (small capitals will denote metaphors) LIFE IS A JOURNEY or DEATH IS SLEEP or LOVE IS A LIVING THING. These basic-level metaphors carry other metaphors involving their parts or attributes with them as entailments, for example, LIFE IS A JOURNEY entails BIRTH IS A STARTING POINT FOR A JOURNEY or BIRTH IS LEAVING HOME. Successful popular rhetoric very often involves finding and exploiting new entailments of existing conceptual metaphors. Basic-level metaphors can also be organized into higher-level generic metaphors, such AS EVENTS ARE ACTIONS, but this is typically done only by linguists for classificatory purposes.

The development of conceptual metaphor theory (CMT), as it began to be called, was an important step toward integrating the study of this aspect of language into a more general psychology of mind and body. CMT asserts that metaphor is a conceptual phenomenon, part of an integrated system of language and thought, rather than being an ornament on the surface of language. While CMT insists that the most important metaphors follow a constrained or at least motivated logic of meaning, the traditional literary views of metaphor allow more scope for serendipity, convention, and individual expression. We will see evidence for both views in the data at hand. While many of the metaphors for nations, including the politeness phenomena to be examined in the next chapter, are organized around the conceptual equivalence between nation and person, the early rhetorical flourishes of Fourth of July speechwriters introduced a wide variety of other metaphors that cannot be organized in this way.

The basic definition of metaphor is elusive, which is unfortunate because we would like to be sure we can reliably identify the metaphors in the data. As Dirven (1994) notes, the definition needs to be flexible for different levels of linguistic structure, including most obviously phonetic (for example sound symbolism), morphological (reduplication), lexical

('*foot* of a mountain'), phrasal (multiword lexical metaphors like 'give someone *gooseflesh'*), sentential (nominalizations that involve a change of word class, and personalizations like 'the day *saw* many changes'), and discourse metaphors such as folktales, poems and novels. Anthropologists and other social scientists also frequently structure their expert discourse as metaphors, notably relating culture to nature, but also one event to another, ritual to social structure, and ritual to history. One definition that fits these requirements is that of Goatly (1997: 8,108), who describes metaphor as unconventional reference or colligation which is understood "on the basis of similarity or analogy involving at least two of the following: the unit's conventional referent, the unit's actual unconventional referent, the actual referent(s) of the unit's actual colligate(s), the conventional referent of the unit's conventional colligate(s)." The main weakness of this definition is that it is difficult to apply for large discourse units such as allegories and interlocking systems of metaphor, since it is difficult to disentangle individual expressions of metaphor from each other, and the metaphors may be ambiguous to different readers.

Halliday also emphasizes the unexpectedness of metaphorical language, referring to "nonliteral" or "incongruent" wording (1994: 341ff). He is mainly concerned with building a theory of "grammatical metaphor" in which a semantic configuration that could be represented "congruently" or literally by one type of clause is represented metaphorically by another. For example (from Halliday 1994: 349 and Martin 1997: 28-29 respectively):

> *Metaphorical:* He has a comfortable income.
> *Congruent:* His income is large enough for him to live comfortably.
>
> *Metaphorical:* Failure to follow loading instructions could result in serious injury and death.
> *Congruent:* If you don't act as you've been instructed to when loading, you could injure yourself seriously or die.

In the first example, a clause is collapsed into an adjective describing the word 'income' and indirectly communicating the size of it to competent users of the idiom. In Martin's account of the second example, a possible

action by the reader is nominalized to delete the pronouns. However, the congruent wording is more likely to be imperative than declarative:

> *Congruent:* Do not fail to follow the loading instructions, or your failure may be punished by serious injury or death.

Nominalized paraphrases of such requests are a common practice in official discourse that seeks to give orders without explicitly constituting the commanding entity in language through pronouns or other means, or without making the power relation explicit (for example, 'Smoking prohibited on pain of $500 fine'). Such shifts in word class have clear metaphorical consequences on a textual level, for example allowing a process to become an entity that is subsequently used as an agent (for example, 'smoking harms your health'). Many of these grammatical metaphors are conventionalized to the point of being considered part of ordinary grammar.

The examination of sentential metaphor nevertheless brings to the fore the larger theoretical issue that relating all such 'metaphorical' wordings to hypothesized base wordings implies a basically transformational model of language generation, in contrast to more holistic approaches such as Construction Grammar in which wordings are apprehended as fully formed form-function pairs (Fried and Östman, eds. 2004). Even within the CxG family of theories, however, Goldberg (1995) discusses "metaphorical extensions," a term that similarly implies that language is at its heart nonmetaphorical. Issues of generation and processing of metaphor are therefore still extremely vexed, as are questions of the cline between 'living' or 'permanent' metaphors that are productive and shared elements of language and those that are invented for a particular situation and then forgotten.

Because of the extreme flexibility of the definitions of metaphor, which basically rely on the idea of resemblance or analogy which can only be subjectively perceived, it is impossible to give a complete list of explicit signals or patterns that indicate metaphor is being employed. Goatly attempts such a list of "root analogies" (1997: 48-49), but the expressions involved are too flexible to serve as a basis for mechanical searching. We

do have notions of "unconventionality," "nonliterality," and "incongruity," which leads to an awareness of an alternative, more direct wording for the same underlying idea; however, what is "dead" convention to one reader may be fresh innovation to another, as translators well know.

G. Lakoff and his co-authors do not define metaphor precisely either, choosing to see it as the system underlying particular metaphorical expressions. In this system, certain domains (the target domains) are cognitively and linguistically structured in terms of others (the source domains). G. Lakoff et al. add the further constraint that metaphor be seen in terms of extension from human-scale, concrete, experienced objects and events to more abstract metaphorical uses, for example using the physical experience of containers to model a country. The relation is usually stated from abstract to concrete[80]: A COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER, which would entail among other things that it has contents and borders. I will refer to this as the strong version of CMT.

Kövecses (1990, 2000, 2002) works with what might be called a weak version of CMT. He describes conceptual metaphors as figures of speech that bring two distant domains or concepts into correspondence with each other. One of the domains is typically more physical or concrete than the other, which is thus more abstract, but this is not an absolute requirement (2000: 4). In the analysis of the Fourth of July data that follows, both the distance and the abstraction elements of CMT are called into question.

As we saw with Goatly's definition, metaphorical language introduces an equivalence, which may be perceived as such if it is sufficiently explicit or conventional and/or if the recipient is sufficiently alert. Metaphor and other figurative language is often studied by linguists who work on political language because it can be a mechanism of ideological impact: once metaphor is understood as conceptual, treating an abstract entity as a concrete entity may be seen as programming the

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[80] In G. Lakoff's terms, that is. It could be argued that the experience of living in a country is quite concrete, while the general idea of a 'container' is abstract.

mind of the public to see a natural equivalence. Schön (1979) was among the first to identify the importance of metaphor in modern public policy, and he demonstrated how poorer neighborhoods that are detached from the matrix of the city are stigmatized as "diseased" rather than lauded as naturally self-sustaining; in doing this he demonstrated how the use of metaphor is a site of power. Richmond (2005) has applied similar methods to the study of transportation policy, noting the rhetorical equivalence of train systems with urban potency. Within media studies, Cohen (1979) identifies a suspicion of rhetorical uses of metaphor going back at least to Hobbes and Locke. It is often asserted that when the equivalence is used without being explicitly declared, the effect is especially insidious; G. Lakoff and Turner (1989: 129) state that "those [metaphors] that are most alive and most deeply entrenched, efficient and powerful are those that are so automatic as to be effortless." This suspicion of ideological manipulation hidden in the conventional may be well founded, but I will argue that metaphors that may have been perceived as new and striking are also powerful; awareness that metaphorical language or imagery is being used in advertising, for example, does not necessarily diminish its impact, and may reinforce it if people assume that clever advertisements are a signal of clever products. When people listen to political speeches they are alert for imaginative metaphors that may inspire them, such as the New Deal and the Third Way, and are often hopeful that the new metaphors or extensions indicate a hopeful new reality.

If important metaphors are predominantly rooted in physical experience, the kinds of physical experience employed should be common to all humans in order to make the metaphors understandable, and these types of experiences are probably limited. Attempts have been made to build a comprehensive list of metaphors in English, for example the Conceptual Metaphor Homepage at the University of California at Berkeley (G. Lakoff 1994-2004). The most elaborate and principled effort to synthesize all of the approaches mentioned above has been made by Goatly (1997), working from a base that includes both systemic functional linguistics and pragmatics. (specifically, relevance theory) He provides a more comprehensive and systematic table (1997: 48-9) of metaphorical systems based on analysis of dictionary material. Goatly's

system distinguishes between first-order, second-order, and third-order entities (his terms) as follows: first-order entities are things and have spatial extension; second-order entities have temporal extension (typically actions or events); and third-order entities have neither (typically abstractions or more abstract activities). Metaphorical mappings between second-order and second-order, and second-order and third-order entities form a significant part of the metaphor base according to his research. I will be referring to Goatly's basic metaphor formulations in the sections that follow, including his division of instances of metaphor into Topic (the actual thing being talked about, the target domain in CMT), Vehicle (the metaphorical thing to which it is being compared in terms of similarity or analogy, the source domain in CMT), and Grounds (the basis for the comparison). As for basic definitions, he sees no hard barrier between metaphor and other forms of figurative language, characterizing metaphor in terms of "unconventional reference or colligation," and considering conventionality as a cline rather than a hard-sided category (1997: 108-9).

Most of the examples in the present study come from editorials, speeches, and quotations. Today ordinary newswriting in broadsheet newspapers is supposed to contain few metaphors, due in part to restrictions on news styles and the literal mindedness of copy editors; metaphorical styles are thought to be imprecise or inflammatory or both. In his newswriting handbook, Cappon (1991: 108-111) says in an intentionally self-referential instruction: "Figures of speech are slippery characters, valuable when they're on target, distracting when they misfire." He exhorts writers to avoid clichés, gratuitous personification ("Winter thrust his icy fist into the nation's mid-section today"), incongruous metaphors ("Interest rates sprouted fresh skids today"), mixed metaphors, and protracted metaphors that are elaborated for paragraph after paragraph. In his history of the *New York Herald* Tribune, Kluger (1987: 320-1) describes a sports editor who "on encountering the line 'The second half saw the tide of the game turn ...' admonished the writer that a period of time cannot 'see' anything, adding 'Do it again and I'll jump out the window.'" Possibly because of this conditioned distaste for metaphors on the part of reporters, many of the news examples in what follows come from headlines, editorials, and

columns, and from direct quotations that are spared some of the strictures on newswriting in the official voice – and they are supplemented by examples from literature. However, even in straight news copy, we will see that metaphors are by no means as scarce as editors would wish.

6.2   Nation as person

6.2.1   Personification as embodiment

Many of the metaphors used on national holidays have to do with characterizing the country in human terms. The idea that A NATION IS A PERSON with a human body dates back to approximately the beginning of the modern system of nation-states, as can be seen in the expression 'body politic,' whose first OED cite with the meaning of an imagined community is 1634; it is descended from the older legal meaning of 'body corporate' or 'body politic' as a group that can legally be treated as a person. Since a body is only one aspect of a person, this figure of speech combines metaphor and metonym. Among its most familiar entailments is the idea that different characteristics of the nation correspond to different parts of the human body. The list below shows some of these structural mappings, as described by G. Lakoff (1991 Gulf War memo) and Rohrer (1995):

Table 6-1: Body-part mappings for A NATION IS A PERSON

Target domain	Source domain
landmass	body
national wealth	health
military power commercial power	muscle, strength
economic activity traffic and transport	blood circulation

Dirven suggests that these body part metaphors are not metonymic, that is, the part is not being used to stand for the whole (1994: 17-18). Rather, these mappings are used to signify both a relationship between the

nation and a body, and a correspondence between the nation-part and the body-part, so that further equivalences can be suggested.

Body part mappings have a wide variety of possible entailments, including most notably a concern with the integrity of the body and its resistance to intrusion. In certain situations this leads to a conception of foreigners and immigrants as troublesome intrusions, either in terms of food that is too inert to be digested by the body, in terms of microorganisms that carry disease (O'Brien 2003), or in extreme cases in terms of rape. Such mappings have also attracted anthropological analysis, as in Douglas' analyses of purity and danger (1970: iii):

> The group is likened to the human body; the orifices are to be carefully guarded to prevent unlawful intrusions, dangers from poisoning and loss of physical strength express the lack of articulated roles within it … the inside of the body under threat of attack is thought of as vulnerable but undifferentiated.

This analysis was in her view applicable only to those kinds of communities that lack differentiated internal roles, an argument that lies outside the scope of the present study – but the general metaphor is immediately familiar. Even Anderson (1991) uses THE NATION IS AN ORGANISM as an expert metaphor when he speaks of "a sociological *organism* moving calendrically through homogeneous, empty time."

6.2.2   *Necessary metamorphoses*

In addition to being statically conceived as a human body, the nation is conceived as having a biological life cycle that can be mapped onto historical time. This metaphor is frequent in histories and retrospectives, with a schema like the following:

birth ----------- adolescent crisis ---------- mature, perfect/able state

Thus, at the beginning, a nation is born. A range of different historical circumstances can be interpreted as a birth event, including many of those discussed in the section on nationalism in Chapter II: arrival at a new place (retroactively constructed as a destination), the birthday of the

founder of the first powerful state in the region, a date associated with a religious conversion, agreement on a form of government, performance of a linguistic act that expresses national self-awareness, performance of a speech act formally declaring or granting independence, the beginning or end of a battle for independence. It seems clear, however, that some nations lack a historical event that is treated as a birthday and instead characterize their origins with phrases like 'lost in the mists of time'; as noted, England is the most prominent example among the English-speaking countries.

The original birth event of a modern nation can be seen very clearly in these headlines from an Indian newspaper on the date of India's independence from Britain, which was accompanied by the traditional blowing of conches for the start of a new enterprise:

B I R T H O F I N D I A ' S F R E E D O M
      NATION WAKES TO NEW LIFE
            Mr. Nehru Calls For Big Effort From People
                "INCESSANT STRIVING TASK OF FUTURE"
                    Assembly Members Take Solemn Pledge
                        WILD SCENES OF JUBILATION IN DELHI

(*The Times of India*, August 15, 1947, p. 1)

In the main text collection there are only 6 occurrences of "born" referring to nations or their independence, several of them referring to the granting of Philippine independence in 1946. Language using the birth metaphor is highly naturalized and is not seen to need any explanation (focal words in the metaphors are italicized in this and further examples):

> With this ceremony a new nation is *born* – a nation *conceived* in the centuries old struggle of a people to attain the political liberty to embark upon its own national destiny – a nation dedicated to the furtherance of those rights and those principles which serve to compose and advance man's dignity upon the earth – a nation upon whom the eyes of all oppressed people are today cast with the burning light of a new faith. ("Texts of Statements on Philippines," July 4, 1946, p. 6)

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> Mr. McNutt ended: "A nation is *born*. Long live the republic of the Philippines! May God bless and prosper the Filipino people and keep them safe and free." ("Philippine Republic Is Born As U.S. Rule Ends In Glory," July 4, 1946, p. 1)

The mention of conception in the first example is a clear intertextual reference to the passage in Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, perhaps the best known speech in American history because of its brevity, referring to the United States as "a nation conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" (1863). A division is made here between nations who have "attained the political liberty to pursue their own destiny," and "oppressed people," who are not yet at this stage but must, according to the speaker, want to achieve it. The second example is a case of a nation being apparently spoken into existence, as Paul McNutt, the outgoing U.S. High Commissioner for the Philippines, reads a proclamation from President Harry S. Truman granting the islands independence.

Not only countries, but cities can be born. It is felt to be somehow lucky or apt for cities and people to share birthdays with the nation:

> Hollis Spaulding Spotts is a two-year-old boy living in Montclair, N.J. who will have a Fourth of July celebration of his own. Little Hollis has the rare fortune to be born on the Glorious Fourth, and of having a mother who celebrates her birthday on the same day as her son. So, of course, Charles Humer Spotts as happy father and husband and good American had to roll three celebrations into one. ("Here's a Patriotic Family," July 4, 1906, p. 7)

> "We're lucky," said Jean McClatchy, executive director of San Francisco Twin Bicentennial Inc., "because we're one of the few places outside the original 13 colonies that can interpret the *birth* of the nation through our own *birth*." ("San Francisco Is Celebrating Two Bicentennials – Country's and City's," July 4, 1976, p. 26)

As noted in connection with examples in earlier chapters, the layering of anniversaries is felt to increase the festive spirit and is often arranged deliberately. The birth event for the United States is defined narrowly as the presentation of the Declaration of Independence to the Continental Congress for their signatures in July, 1776, and broadly as a series of

rebellions, speech acts, and wars taking place in the 1770s and 1780s. The Gettysburg Address positioned the Revolutionary leaders as both fathers, and, through the conception metaphor, as mothers or midwives:

> Fourscore and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation: conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. (Abraham Lincoln, November 19, 1863)

In the metaphorical life cycle, birth is followed by maturation, but only to the point of strong and capable adulthood, not in the sense of having aged and grown weak. The examples below unambiguously characterize maturity as positive, while also paying homage to the worship of youth:

> In the two centuries that have passed, we have *matured* as a nation and as a people. We have gained the wisdom that *age and experience* bring, yet we have kept the strength and idealism of *youth.* ("President's Proclamation," July 5, 1976, p. 25)

> The nation has had the rare opportunity of *growing gradually* in the exercise of political power. We have been free from our *boyhood,* and were not reared in slavery or ignorance until our more *matured* strength frightened our rulers into giving us our rights. Our liberties, therefore, have *grown* with our *growth* and strengthened with our strength. In the prime of young *manhood*, we can bring to their exercise the intelligence and temperance of familiarity and experience. We can extend them beyond our borders, or widen our borders to include others in their enjoyment without violence, and without the mischievously-narrow zeal of propagandism. ("Our National Anniversary," editorial, July 4, 1871)

The second example contains a characterization of the United States as a male.[81] National populations seem to be unable to avoid gendering the nation, sometimes using only one gender and sometimes both, as

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[81] This metaphor was in use in the early republic; Thomas Jefferson is widely quoted as having said that Constitutional conventions should be held every 30 years because "you cannot expect a man to wear a boy's jacket"; the actual quotation in his Letters is, "We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors" (letter to Samuel Kercheval, July 12, 1816, excerpted in Rayner 1834).

Rousseau (1772) does naturally in an appeal for nation-building in Poland:

> I should wish that, by honours and public rewards, all the patriotic virtues should be glorified, that citizens should constantly be kept occupied with the fatherland, that it should be made their principal business, that it should be kept continuously before their eyes. Have many public games, where the good mother country is pleased to see her children at play! Let her pay frequent attention to them, that they may pay constant attention to her.

It seems more usual to style countries as female[82]: the Columbia figure for the United States (displaced as the nation's female symbol over the last century by the Statue of Liberty, which does not represent the nation *per se*), Britannia for England, Marianne for France, the Finland Maiden (*Suomi-neito*) for Finland. Uncle Sam, first popularised by the 19th century cartoonist Thomas Nast, is more of a satirical figure like John Bull. The male characterization allows easy access to language about age-graded hierarchies, while the female characterization allows easy access to language about beauty, purity, motherhood, and rape. Nations may even be thought of as hermaphroditic, sometimes shifting to the female gender after they grow up. The equation of land with woman in terms of something that can be socially defiled or raped is well documented, as is the metaphor of land as a mother that nourishes its young and deserves respect for that role and defense from the outside world.

There is some cross-linguistic variation in life cycle metaphors; we can note that the embedded metaphor of the nation's life cycle as a journey is especially prominent in Finnish anniversary language[83]:

> *Ulkomaiset valtuuskunnat toivat myös lahjoja itsenäisyytensä 50-vuotistaivaalta juhlivalle Suomelle.*

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[82] It is my sense that English speakers now consciously avoid 'fatherland,' even if they did not before, because it is so frequently used in popular depictions of the Nazi regime.

[83] Translations from the Finnish in this study are my own unless otherwise noted.

Foreign states also brought gifts to Finland as the country celebrated *its 50-year journey/path*. ("Itsenäisyysjuhlinta alkoi 50 tykinlaukauksella [Independence festivities begin with a 50-gun salute]," *Helsingin Sanomat*, December 6, 1967, p. 9)

Suomi on kansakuntana kulkenut tuosta ajasta sadassa vuodessa matkan, josta meillä on syytä olla ylpeitä ja kiitollisia.

Since this time Finland as a nation has *traveled a journey* that we should be proud of and grateful for (Independence Day speech by Helsinki Mayor Eva-Riitta Siitonen, 2000)

Many more examples can be found in speeches for the anniversaries of other institutions such as corporations and institutions. They are so similar that it would be tedious to list them; this is a metaphor that is clearly interpersonally shared in great detail within the Finnish speech community. However, it is found only rarely in the data on the Fourth of July, and not with 'journey,' only with the smaller-scale 'path':

He believed the friendly feeling of Hungarians was reciprocated in America and he hoped that Hungary would continue in the *path of progress*. ("Hungary Observes Fourth," July 5, 1926, p. 5)

"For the original thirteen colonies which fought the American Revolution the struggle for democracy and well being did not end with the achievement of political independence. Independence is one very great step along the *path to a democratic, prosperous and peaceful way of life*." (excerpt from message of the Secretary of the Interior reported in "Truman Declares Philippines Free," July 5, 1946, p. 5)

In both examples, the path to progress or to democracy, prosperity and peace is constructed as something that every nation travels, not as the special path of the United States, which accords with our previous findings on nationalist discourse as relying on the multiplicity of nations. It is implied elsewhere, however, that the American colonies were "exceptional" (see the Arthur Krock column to be quoted in the last example in this section) and were pioneers on the paths to enlightenment.

Looking at independence scenarios from around the world, an Oedipal scenario is commonly present as well: a patriarch, either a colonizer or a monarchy, provides long-term and short-term stimulus for a crisis of independence. This is not true of all countries, however; there are some longstanding monarchies that present themselves as relatively eternal and downplay any temporary overthrows or constitutional concessions. Britain, Denmark, Sweden and Japan are obvious examples. But for many of the world's 200-odd countries, a breakaway event or period is highlighted and re-commemorated on at least one of the chief national holidays. Recall from Table 2-1 that Independence Day appeared to be overwhelmingly the most popular name for a national holiday, and there were a few dozen more event-centered names such as Constitution Day, Liberation Day, Revolution Day, Proclamation Day, National Statehood Day, Emancipation Day, Rebellion Day, Transfer Day and Freedom Day.

Thus independence may be conceptualized as either a birth or an adolescent crisis on the timeline above; in both cases, a rite of passage. Nations are shown as facing problems and having to prove themselves in order to show that they are entitled to continue without supervision by more experienced states:

> With independence the Republic of the Philippines is admittedly *confronted* with many difficult *problems*. Almost any new nation facing independence would be *confronted* with similar *problems*. (remarks of President Truman reported in "Texts of Statements on Philippines," July 4, 1946, p. 6)

> What we have done is to show that as a nation we are *worthy* of the institutions we enjoy, that we can bring to their support a constant, intelligent and progressive public opinion. We *have proven* that a Republic is possible which neither tolerates the license of a mob nor surrenders to the aggressions of usurpers … We have shown that with us not even civil war can throw down the safeguards of liberty, and that after the last crucial *test of the endurance* of our institutions, our people are more *fit* than ever for self-government, more ready and able to perfect the machinery therefore, and less exposed than ever either to usurpation or corruption. ("Our National Anniversary," editorial, July 4, 1871)

> "Now, friends, remember that Lincoln *faced the greatest crisis* that this Nation has seen since the Revolutionary war -- as great a crisis as the Nation can ever face, for it was a crisis which, accordingly as the result went one way or the other, meant *National life* or *National death* …" (Speech by Theodore Roosevelt, "The President's Speech," July 5, 1906, p. 2)

The "last crucial test" in the second example and "the greatest crisis" in the third refer of course to the Civil War, which for many years afterwards even overshadowed the Revolutionary War in the public mind. Besides going through crises, countries can explore their limits, a metaphor often used for experiences of adolescence. Here the limit in question is absolutely physical, namely the size of the continent:

> A country born in a sense of limitlessness has found its natural, geographical limits. ("Inheriting the Future," editorial, July 4, 2001, p. A14)

The reward for surviving crises is, in this discourse, not merely survival, but status as a great nation:

> In this year of our nation's Bicentennial, we enter our third century with the knowledge that we have *achieved* greatness as a nation and have contributed to the good of mankind. ("President's Proclamation," July 5, 1976, p. 25)

Thus, successive 'birthdays,' in addition to providing an occasion for 'performing the state' and 'doing being citizens,' allow the nation to be conceptualized along a quasi-human timescale – but one that does not look ahead to decline and death. Metaphors of sickness and decline are rare; an exception is the description of the declining Ottoman Empire as "the sick man of Europe," which is occasionally revived for other nations. Typically regimes or empires are described as being on their last legs; while nations are treated as eternal, possibly because of the roots of the word in the French concept of 'nation' as a birthright membership in an ethnic/regional group (Williams 1988).[84] Wiping out a

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[84] 'Nation' is now being re-extended to a subnational sense in English with the reference to sports fandoms in North America as 'nations,' beginning with the 'Red Sox nation,' a term apparently coined in 1986 by sportswriter Nathan Cobb (per Wikipedia). In other languages, it has never lost the subnational sense, as for example in Finland Swedish where student organizations based on regional origin

nation in that sense would require complete genocide, which is thankfully rare. The Roosevelt reference above to "National life or National death" is unusual, and death here functions more as an antonym to life than as a state in itself to be metaphorically elaborated. On a holiday that celebrates nationhood, the focus is on the positive, as this second example shows:

> The tide of world affairs ebbs and flows in and out. *Old empires die, new nations are born*, alliances rise and vanish. But through all this vast confusion the mutual friendship of our two countries shines like a tenfold beacon in the night. ("Text of McArthur's Address in Manila," July 5, 1961, p. 14)

The maturity test is applied to other countries as well, as in this column on a historical theme, which I am quoting extensively because it demonstrates explicitly the ideology underlying much of the rest of the material:

> The Declaration of Independence was an extraordinarily courageous venture of a *highly civilized* people, and unique in that no other up to that time had formally revolted against the motherland and established an independent government.
>
> But it is a vastly overdrawn analogy when American politicians with an eye on group votes in their constituencies, and chroniclers who write history as they wanted it to happen, assert that the United States Government must support immediate independence for all peoples under external rule anywhere or betray the declaration. The event of 1776 at Philadelphia, and its political and spiritual causes, certainly commit the American people to freedom and self-government for national societies everywhere, and to their unimpeded preparation for this status by their alien masters. But the Declaration is no true precedent for this Government's support of revolutions in the United Nations for "immediate independence ... without any reservations" of *almost totally unprepared* societies, such as that in Angola. Even the *much more advanced* people of the Philippines were trained by the United States for independence for several decades after the surrender of Aguinaldo …

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are called 'nations' (e.g. Åbo Nation for students from the Åbo or Turku area living in Helsinki).

> The attempted analogy with some of the African independence movements breaks down also because the American colonists were deeply *experienced in self-government* in 1776 …
>
> The current contention that tradition commands our support in the U.N. of immediate independence for any people developing a leadership for it is based on the set of facts that demonstrate instead the boldness of the venture at Philadelphia in 1776 … ("The Anniversary of an Extremely Bold Venture," column by Arthur Krock, July 4, 1961, p. 18)

After World War II, the United States was no longer so "unique" in having successfully fought for its independence as a colonial power; in fact, it was in the position of granting independence to some of its colonies. The contrast, without any definitions or evidence, of the American colonists, "civilized" and "experienced in self-government," with the people of the Philippines, "advanced" but still needing (American) guidance and, at the other extreme, the "almost totally unprepared societies" (in Africa) is a familiar rhetorical structure in pro-colonialist discourse. This view is of course rooted in the familiar Western scale of progress with the Great Powers permanently situated at the desirable extreme. Furthermore, there is an underlying mapping of national history to biological history and the history of the human species in particular, including traditional notions of evolution as progress: HISTORY IS EVOLUTION and is now COMPLETE (for the nation in question).

This metaphorical complex is also grounded in a more general view of self-determination as the highest good in a world-scale politics "concerned … mostly with sustaining the principle of full and uncontested sovereignty of each state over its territory, with the effacing of the few 'blank spots' remaining on the world map, and fighting off the danger of ambivalence arising from occasional overlapping of sovereignties or from outstanding territorial claims." (Bauman 1998: 62) The successful exporting of the ideology and mythology of United States independence, for example in the person of Wilson at Versailles, helped make this model of foreign politics widely accepted.

Polanyi (1989) sketches a project in the analysis of narrative conversations that produced a "grammar of American cultural constraints" in the form of a story grammar (1989: 181-196, capital letters were used by her to indicate "important " as opposed to grammatical words):

> ADULTS are INDIVIDUAL PEOPLE WHO KNOW HOW to DO what they MUST DO; CAN DO what they MUST DO; and DO it. … They HAVE the RESPONSIBILITY for DOing and the RIGHT to CHOOSE what and how they should live their lives, manage their affairs and SATISFY their NEEDS … There are still those who CAN NOT INSIST (on their rights), CAN NOT DEMAND, are not ABLE TO KNOW or to DO. They remain CHILDREN – without RIGHTS, without CHOICE, without FREEDOM, inhibited from pursuing HAPPINESS as they might wish to … The FUTURE is in the hands of those who DO KNOW, who CAN DECIDE, who TAKE CARE of them.

Borrowing the style of her conclusions but using the metaphors discussed above, I would propose that the relationships built up among the underlying cultural constructs are as follows:

> A COUNTRY is a PERSON, who is born IMMATURE. It sets out on the ROAD to INDEPENDENCE, where it will face many PROBLEMS. Some COUNTRIES are MATURE enough to DECLARE THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE and some need it PROCLAIMED FOR THEM when they have PROVEN THEMSELVES and are READY.

The partial correspondence to the widely applicable narrative structure found in Propp (1928) is obvious not only in the concept of a story grammar but in the content of the result above. Propp reduced a corpus of Russian folktales to a basic "grammar" of steps that might be included, omitted, or repeated, but whose order was generally kept. Typically the young protagonist defies a prohibition from a parent and ventures outside the family compound, setting forth on a dangerous journey that after many tests culminates in fulfilment of a quest (for example, to slay a monster), discovery of a mate and acceptance by society as an adult. Characters encountered along the way may act as helpmeets or give magical presents. Similarly, after revolutionary struggles, and often a civil war or election which may have the bipolar

nature of a fertility rite[85], nations are accepted by the community of nations. A parallel to the donor figure can be seen in nations like France and Poland which sent military leaders and funding to the American Revolutionary effort; these gifts are an important part of historical mythology. Like the script for 'celebrate,' the words indicating an underlying life cycle metaphor act to narrativize news stories and other texts that may not appear narrative or chronological in their surface structure.

6.2.3   *Marking progress*

In a modern bureaucratic society with precise recording methods, the idea that the nation has been born entails that it has an annual birthday, and the stories in the text collection make regular reference to this:

> *Our* National Birth-Day *has dawned again … the American who is not proud of his country, -- the American in whose veins the blood does not leap exultingly, when the Fourth of July dawns upon the world, and the beams of its rising sun touch the shores which bound his country, -- should hide his head in shame, as the degenerate inheritor of a birth-right which he cannot prize and does not understand. ("The Day and Its Lessons," editorial, 1852)*

> Americans in Colonia Dublan [Mexico], taking heart from the presence of the American army, are prepared to hold an old-fashioned celebration of the *natal day of the nation* with a barbecue, speeches, flag raising, fireworks, and firecrackers for children, as they used to celebrate before the revolt raised by Madero. ("July 4 at Colonia Dublan," July 4, 1916, p. 4)

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[85] Marvin and Ingle (1999: 248-291) treat elections in the United States as fertility rituals of an exogamic people, since they require a symbolic contest between the members of the two major political parties or kinship groups. The choice of vice presidential candidates, who are typically from different parts of the country to the presidential candidates, is perhaps closer to a mating ritual than the election itself is.

In the first example, it is assumed that the nation's birthday should be a cause of joy to the population – anyone who does not celebrate is a bad citizen – and we will explore this assumption further in the next chapter. As we see in the second example, having a birthday further entails that the nation is entitled to a party, which is obviously easier to hold if the celebrants are feeling safe since celebration is supposed to be a time to relax and let one's guard down. Explicit comparisons are drawn with personal birthdays, for example in the greetings used and the performance of certain actions associated with birthdays, such as eating cake and other festival foods and cheering for the guest of honor:

> "I am sorry," said Johan Meyer, 17. "I am very happy to be in America and help you *celebrate your birthday*. I am Norwegian, and I can't *jump and scream*." ("Norway's Crew Celebrates Two Important Birthdays," 1976, p. 20)

> The mood of the crowd was that expected at *a family birthday party* – cheerful and relaxed. The spectators *clapped* in time to the Marine Corps band playing the "Marines' Hymn," *ate hot dogs and Popsicles*, and pointed out the flags of their home states to their children. ("500,000 View Capital Bicentennial Parade," July 4, 1976, p. 1)

There are limits to the parallel, however; the nation does not literally blow out the candles on its cake, if any, nor make wishes. "Happy Birthday" is not generally sung, although patriotic songs honoring the nation are. The nation does not necessarily get gifts, except for diplomatic tokens from other governments on superjubilees, and the "Happy Birthday" greetings tend to come in editorials and oratory, not in everyday speech:

> ROME, July 4 (UPI) - Pope Paul VI *wished* the United States *a happy 200th birthday* today and gave the nation his blessing. ("Pope Blesses U.S.," January 5, 1976, p. 18)

> At the close of the fireworks in Washington, a battery of laser guns spelled out on the clouds, "*1776-1976, Happy Birthday, U.S.A.*" ("A Day of Picnics, Pomp, Pageantry and Protest," January 5, 1976, p. 1)

> "*Happy birthday, America*!" was the theme of newspaper editorials, which appeared yesterday because Canadian papers have no Sunday editions. But

the papers combined editorials with a cool re-examination of the increasingly complex relations between the two nations. ("Canadians ambivalent," January 5, 1976, p. 18)

All of the components of personification that we have so far discussed, except for the concepts of independence and readiness for it, are commonplace in other institutions as well; cities, towns, buildings, companies, and other inanimate and collective entities are also personified and given metaphorical body parts and birth scenes and childhoods and birthdays and occasionally real birthday parties.

6.2.4   The speaking subject

A second familiar aspect of personification is the structuring of nations as thinking and speaking beings, which leads to the reification of foreign policy in a conceptual model of events driven by agents, similar to the model for human actions. Since news generally requires such event structuring, personified event structures are a news commonplace and can be found on any given day; these were on the American ABC News website on the randomly chosen day of 27 November 2002):

> Indonesia *Pulls Noose Tighter* in Bali Bombing Probe
>
> Nigerian Government *Calls For* Death of Writer
>
> U.S. *To Train* Iraqi Opposition

The idea of the nation uttering greetings or formulas is also salient in stories about diplomatic communications. Recall from Chapter III that in addition to the reports on celebrations and accidents, there were a large number of stories whose impact seemed more pragmatic. In particular, there were 28 stories classified as Communications, whose main event was textual and whose main content was metapragmatic (in the sense of Verschueren 1985, as pragmatics transmitted through speech verbs and other metalinguistic features). These stories were typically summed up in a headline with a speech verb, for example:

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1946    Truman Message to Shanghai
1956    Eisenhower Thanks Voroshilov
        Greeting Sent Russians
        Tito Sends July 4 Message
1961    Khrushchev Sends July 4 Note to US
        Indian Leaders Greet US
1976    Pope Blesses US
1981    US Aide Praises American Values
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Typically these stories are short wire service dispatches in which the existence of a greeting is asserted or the message is quoted or summarized. There is usually no evaluation. One of the shortest stories reads in its entirety:

> BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, July 3 (UP) – Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia sent a congratulatory cablegram on Independence Day to President Eisenhower tonight. ("Tito Sends July 4 Message," July 4, 1956, p. 3)

All of these occurred during the Cold War, when great importance was laid in the interpretation of messages flowing between the Soviet Union and the West and misunderstandings were thought to bring the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe. In addition, at this time nations more frequently withheld diplomatic recognition of each other and of actions (the United States boycotted the People's Republic of China until 1974, for example, and refused to recognize the Soviet takeover of the Baltic States) so even routine communications between capitals were significant in their presence.[86]

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[86] It is easy to see why these kinds of stories do not occur in the earlier data – the press was not privy to executive communications, and nuclear weapons were not implicated in diplomatic brinksmanship – but difficult to see why they do not occur in later data, and why, as a general phenomenon, we hardly ever see important stories about the texts of diplomatic communications today, aside from occasional perfunctory mentions of ceremonial exchanges between heads of state in connections with anniversaries and rites of passage. One answer may be that with cheaper communications technology, such messaging is increasingly unscheduled and routine; that is, the communications stories were in part technology stories to begin with. Another may be that the governments whom the United States is most worried about its relationship with (typically the larger countries in the Middle East and Asia) are tacitly assumed in the ideology of the newspaper to be untrustworthy,

In all of the communications stories, the leaders are standing for their countries. The exception is a 1956 story in which the head of the American Legion, a veterans' group known for its conservative political views, sent an Independence Day greeting hoping that "universal message of democratic revolution expressed in our country 180 years ago will bring full freedom to the peoples of the Soviet Union" to those peoples via an outside radio station called Radio Liberation. It seems clear from the channel of the message that the intent was provocational and from its Soviet-style wording ("universal message of democratic revolution") that was most likely humorous. There will be more to say in the next chapter about the implications of personification for politeness and face threats in speech and action; for now, it is enough to note that writers of the texts were quite aware of these implications. They even provided explicit commentary on the nation as person from time to time, as in the following example:

> A nation was not an abstraction, it was a *personality*. The sailor does not see an abstraction, when he beholds the flag of his country floating in foreign lands, or on lonely seas; the soldier does not behold an abstraction when, in the din and smoke of battle, he catches a glimmer of the Star Spangled Banner; the statesman does not talk of an abstraction when he speaks of his country's *honor* and his country's *shame*. How keenly, therefore, must we feel any assault upon our nationality, involving, as it does, the liberty of the world? (oration by Rev. E.H. Chapin, quoted in "Celebration at Cooper Institutes," July 6, 1861, p. 2)

The complex metaphorical entailments in this extract strongly suggest that the orator and the journalists felt that the citizen and the nation are two persons connected, and a face threat to the nation is a face threat to any and all good citizens.

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unskilled with language, or coming from such a different cultural base as to make communicative nuances meaningless.

6.2.5　　*Person as Nation*

Here I will make a slight detour to show that the nation metaphors may even be inverted to form a reverse conceptual metaphor as follows:

> A PERSON IS A NATION　:　HAS SOVEREIGNTY
> 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　:　CAN DECLARE INDEPENDENCE
> 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　:　CAN MARK AN INDEPENDENCE DAY

For example, when the only member of the Senate who was "independent" or unaffiliated with a political party decided to lend his name to a brewery product, the *New York Times* ran the story on July 4:

> It has come to this: SENATOR JAMES M. JEFFORDS of Vermont, whose decision to become an independent broke the Republicans' control of the United States Senate, has a beer named after him …
>
> Concern about a backlash against Mr. Jeffords, including a possible boycott of Vermont products by conservatives, led Magic Hat [the brewery involved] and five other Vermont companies to schedule a party to promote their goods and services tomorrow in South Burlington. One of the companies, the Vermont Teddy Bear Company, which makes stuffed animals to order, said that someone had called to ask if it had a "Benedict Arnold Jeffords" bear. (The answer was no.) ("Boldface Names: Toast to Independence," July 4, 2001, p. B2)

The item turns on the coincidence of Jeffords being an independent just as the nation is, in another sense of the word, independent. The topic (Jeffords) is linked to the vehicle (the nation) through the obscure grounds of the date, which is not strictly necessary to either condition of independence, and the mention of Benedict Arnold, the iconic traitor of the Revolutionary War. This suggests that a significant date by itself can invoke any number of possible metaphors. The Jeffords item reverses the more common metaphor of A NATION IS A PERSON to A PERSON IS A NATION. The latter metaphor, with July 4 again as the point of grounding, was also famously used in *Walden*, where Henry David

Thoreau notes casually that "I began to occupy my house on the 4th of July, as soon as it was boarded and roofed" (Thoreau 1854: 58); he does not make anything of the date, though commentators have characterized Thoreau's move to Walden as "a personal declaration of independence" (Michael Meyers introduction to the Penguin *Walden*, Thoreau 1854 [1983]: 7).[87] For another example of this reversal that does not involve the holiday, consider the following from Alcott's classic *Little Women*:

> In France the young girls have a dull time of it till they are married, when 'Vive la liberté' becomes their motto. In America, as everyone knows, girls early *sign the declaration of independenc*e, and enjoy their freedom *with republican zest*, but the young matrons usually abdicate with the first heir to the throne and go into a seclusion almost as close as a French nunnery, though by no means as quiet. (1869: Chapter 38)

Here the extramarital socializing habits of young women in both France and England are compared with their national communicative symbols of independence. This equation of national independence and personal independence is by no means isolated; see for example the extended allegory in the Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *Independence Day*, in which the protagonist sorts out his relationships with his family and the world on what he calls "my favorite secular [holiday] for being public and leaving it only as it found us: free" (Ford 1995: 7).

We can also note certain flag practices as expressing an equivalence between the individual and the state, such as the Danish practice of flying the national flag from houses and using it as a party decoration (even on the cake) as if to signify "A Dane was born." Analogously, if someone living in a Finnish apartment building dies, the flag will be displayed at half staff for a day on the front of the building, and in the absence of general everyday flag displays, it is quite conspicuous. The private and isolated location of the flag makes this practice different in quality from the national mourning display of lowered flags after the death of a national figure or a large group of citizens.

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[87] Groups and corporations can also make use of the day; for instance, the *Los Angeles Tribune* chose to launch its first number on July 4, 1911 ("New Paper Against Taft," *New York Times*, July 5, 1911, p. 16).

6.2.6 *The ghost in the machinery*

However, we must note that the nation is not only considered in terms of its physical attributes, as in the body part and speech metaphors examined in this section. Its most important attribute or function is construed as intangible or spiritual; the data contain many references to the nation as having a heart, spirit, or soul, even in recent years:

> Mr. Patel was too busy becoming an American this weekend to toast the idea; but he was integral to it. For the immigrant does more than work on everyone else's day off. The Indian newsdealer, the Haitian cabby, the Greek cook – with their energy and their dreams, they nourish and redeem a nation's *soul*. ("A Cheerful Celebration of the Good-Hearted American Idyll," July 6, 1986, p. 17)

> [President Bush] asked the nation to pray and to "renew the spirit of brotherhood and commitment that forms our national *soul*." ("For Bush, A Special Day At Rushmore," July 4, 1991, p. A8)

> The current mayor, Rudolph W. Giuliani, drew the rowdiest welcome in Staten Island. "You get a feeling in this parade," he said, "of being part of the *heart and soul* of America." ("Mayoral Ambitions, Paired With Tradition," July 5, 2001, p. B3)

Wierzbicka (1992: 31-64) explores the meaning of the soul in different languages; in general, it is a mental or emotional structure, inaccessible to the ordinary senses, that undergoes changes in reaction to events and the passage of time, and that enables its owner to have feelings and to do good things. From the examples, the national soul appears to share at least some of these qualities; it certainly changes if it can be "nourished and redeemed," though it is unclear from the examples whether it motivates the feelings and deeds of the nation in return. There is, however, obviously a major difference in that the soul of the nation is thought to be formed and maintained by fellow-feeling, which is a property that individual souls do not obviously have. The examples above indicate the idea of a collective soul that is a sum or common denominator of individual souls (analogous to the way crowds are felt to

be the sum of their participants, especially in matters of mood; see Canetti 1960: 54-72). Since souls are, in their central senses, thought to distinguish living things from nonliving ones, the attribution of a soul to the nation is a signal manifestation of the wish to see the nation as a living organism. This also extends to the use of self-animating symbols, such as rippling flags[88] and flames; the 1986 editorials strain to describe the Statue of Liberty in terms of something moving:

> The Statue of Liberty, 305 feet of stone and steel and copper, is the most monumental of monuments. Yet what she symbolizes best is movement.
>
> Liberty shimmers under the overlay of one symbol after another … The best place [to view her] is "from a ship moving to port across her gaze." For as the ship moves, so does the Statue.
>
> At first, "*Liberty* appears to be striding powerfully forwards, the lines and contours of her form (especially the drapery folds) sweeping together upwards in a forceful movement to the torch … But as the ship passes in front of the Statue … the dynamic image retreats and a second figure emerges standing rigidly erect."
>
> There, finally is the strongest symbolism of all: motion. Energetic thrust verges rapidly into monumental stability. ("How to View the Statue," editorial, July 4, 1986, p. A26)

In addition to national monuments, symbolic words such as liberty, deeds, and history are also constructed as having a living core, either directly or through the metaphor of a flame:

> *The* flame *which burned feebly and doubtfully in 1776, now* swells *and* blazes *with* devouring *fervor in the hearts of the American People, and has swept, sometimes in* consuming *wrath and sometimes with genial* kindlings *of energy and hope, through half the world. ("The Day and Its Lessons," editorial, 1852)*

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[88] The metaphor of THE FLAG IS A BODY is explored thoroughly in Marvin and Ingle 1999, who treat the flag specifically as representing the dead body of fallen soldiers sent into battle as scapegoats for the rest of the nation.

"Liberty is a *living flame* to be fed, not dead ashes to be revered, even in a bicentennial year." (speech by President Ford, reported in "A Day of Picnics, Pomp, Pageantry, and Protest," 1976, p. 1)

The anniversary of our Nation's birth-day comes to us this year with double force and peculiar joy. Our brave boys in blue are coming home, bringing back the old Stars and Stripes in glory, "not a Stripe erased nor a single Star obscured;" but with more than their original luster they shine forth with increasing brightness. There never was a time when we had so much to celebrate or so much occasion for rejoicing … Their noble *deeds* of glory will *live* in song and story as long as time and memory shall last. (*Robert Merry's Museum*, children's magazine, editorial, July 1865, p. 23)

In the view of the first example, flames go through weak and strong periods, with a strong period seen at the time of writing. Flames, and by inference feelings, are seen as things that can spread like a fire from a small central point. The second example provides the dangerous image of the country's soul as a dead flame in the form of ashes, but only to contrast with the desired image. The idea of liberty scarcely adds anything; any symbolic word associated with the nation, such as 'democracy,' 'freedom,' 'independence,' or 'patriotism' would do here. It should be noted that chains of signifiers are often expanded and contracted, for example sometimes it is 'the flame of the love of freedom' that is alluded to, and sometimes 'the flame of freedom' itself. This corresponds to the expansion and contraction of other chains in holiday discourse; for example, it is often written that 'the nation' is celebrating Independence Day, although technically it should always be 'the people of the nation' who celebrate. And what is celebrated on July 4 is sometimes referred to as the completion, reading or signing of the Declaration of Independence (although technically none of these things actually occurred on that date), but more often the chain is often elided to say that 'the Declaration of Independence is celebrated,' 'independence is celebrated,' or both expanded and contracted to say 'the spirit of the Declaration is celebrated' or 'the spirit of independence is celebrated' – the shorthand is commonly understood, as with the general association of July 4 with independence.

Like souls, spirits are considered to be markers of life and are attributed to the nation and its associated concepts, but they are used in narrower senses. Here separate spirits of different ages are imagined mingling in the air like ghosts. There are 76 occurrences of 'spirit' or 'spirits' in the main text collection, and the most frequent collocations are revealing. Spirits are associated with primarily with ideals ("spirit of democracy," "spirit of freedom," youthful vigor ("spirit of youth," spirit discussed as motivating people to do something), and social skills ("spirit of friendship," "spirit of brotherhood," "spirit of compromise"). There are of course also references to the particular spirit of certain times: "the past," "a golden age," "the Bicentennial," "that original Fourth of July," and "the spirit of 1776," for example:

> The *spirit of 1916* and the *spirit of 1776 met and merged* yesterday when New York celebrated the 140th anniversary of American Independence. It was the biggest as well as the "sanest" Fourth of July celebration this city has ever had. Americanism was its dominant note and the flag almost wholly supplanted the firecracker as the exponent of patriotic fervor. ("2,000,000 Here Salute the Flag," July 5, 1916, p. 12)

"The spirit of 1776" or "the spirit of '76" is a set expression that first appears in the text collection in the example above; it was the title of a much-reproduced 1891 painting of a Colonial fife and drum corps by Archibald M. Willard, and gained currency as the image was replicated; there was also a 1905 movie based on the painting. Around the time of the Bicentennial of Independence in 1976 the phrase was widely revived as a marketing slogan as well as the title of a musical and a movie. In addition to embodying the essence of different ages, spirits may be compared favorably with one another, for example: "The spirit of the newly independent Asian nations is the spirit of the signers of the American Declaration of Independence 180 years ago" ("Nixon's Talk Warning Nations of Perils of Neutralism," July 4, 1956, p. 2). Finally, an examination of the collocations of 'spirit' shows that spirits can be high (or low), good (or bad), dampened or recharged. The attitude toward the word in both singular and plural is usually positive; the rare negatively oriented phrase like "spirit of cynicism" is likely to be

negated or used as a contrast with the desired spirit, and low spirits can always be lifted again.

Wierzbicka (1992) attempted to define spirit, beginning with the observation that 'spirit' is something like 'soul,' although souls tend to be tied to a single individual and spirits do not. In terms of the semantic metalanguage that she uses to explain culture-specific concepts in terms of universals, she glosses 'spirit' thus (1992: 447):

> *spirit*
> something good
> one cannot see it
> it is not part of this world
> because of it, a person can do good things

From the evidence in the data at hand, I would say that in this text collection 'spirit' means the following, sacrificing some of the attempted universality for more explication of this particular case:

> *spirit*
> emotional force
> usually good, never trying to be bad
> one cannot see it
> one can feel it
> it is not part of this world
> it may be associated with something particular
> young and energetic people have it
> because of it, a person or a people can feel happy

The following, more narrative script for 'spirit' is also suggested by the data:

> Great people in the past had it.
> If we can get the same spirit back, we will be great too.

6.2.7   *Nation as* homo economicus

The history of a nation can also be mapped in whole or in part onto scripts with a shorter time frame. In the American context, the idea of independence as some kind of mercantile exchange is prevalent, with metaphors for bargains and wagers being especially common. The bargain metaphor is an updating of the Biblical idea of a covenant, or the even more ancient idea of sacrifice:

> Freedom and Liberty, purchased by the best blood of our Revolutionary fathers, has *[sic]* been *repurchased and consecrated anew* by the noble heroes who have freely died that their country might live. (*Robert Merry's Museum*, children's magazine, editorial, July 1865)

The religious language used to describe the deal invokes the long history of verbal images of Americans as a chosen tribe, 'God's people in the wilderness.'[89] (For a description of the AMERICAN SETTLERS ARE ISRAELITES metaphor in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, see Boorstin 1965: 1-33.) The ideas of wager and challenge are related because they are risks, and both wagers and bargains demand agreement from a counterpart. Bargains, however, cannot be won or lost, as the contrast in the following examples shows:

> There was a reasonable chance that Mr. Jefferson and the other members of his committee and of the Continental Congress would be executed, driven into exile, or deprived of their possessions. So when Mr. Jefferson wrote at the end of the Declaration, "We mutually *pledge* to each other *our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor*," he was discussing possibilities that might become probabilities. The retreat across Jersey, the winter at Valley Forge, the loss of Philadelphia – these and other defeats were still ahead.

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[89] Such metaphors are by no means exclusive to the United States; see for example the widespread informal use of "God's own" or "Godzone" by New Zealanders in reference to their country.

> The Declaration of Independence came out of history. One can trace its thoughts to the British and French philosophers of the early eighteenth century. But it is important because men *risked their lives and fortunes* for it, and some died for it. Signed in blood and sweat, it is a document particularly fit for a time of danger such as the time in which we live. ("Our Lives, Our Fortunes," editorial, July 4, 1961)

> What America of 1976 requires of its leadership most of all is what the American leadership of 1776 had in abundance: courage, imagination, principle and purpose. This is the revolutionary *challenge* that comes ringing down to us through two centuries of history. We as a people have to *meet it*. ("Third Century," editorial July 4, 1976, p. D10)

In the first example the leaders of the colonies bet their security, not against each other but against the outcome of the Revolutionary War, in other words against history. In the second example, history challenges the current leaders to be as good as former leaders; the application of the challenge to leaders was not arbitrary, since the Bicentennial closely followed Watergate. The wager metaphor is an extension of ideas of fate and chance applied to individual lives; a concept of personal fate exists in many languages in terms of unchosen things that happen to different individuals (Wierzbicka 1990: 65-116). Concepts of risk seem particularly applicable to countries of settlement, since immigrants to those countries are seen as active participants in risks rather than passive holders of fates. However, the metaphor of investment is also used in Finland with respect to sacrifices made by the dead in the wars near the beginning of the country's independent history. The following line comes from a letter asking for donations for war veterans (Helsingin Sotainvalidipiiri 2004):

> *Tällä hetkella panostetaan erityisesti sotainvalidien ja heidän puolisoidensa kotona selviytymisen tukemiseen, kotiavun järjestämiseen ja huonokuntoisten asuntojen korjauksen.*

> At the moment [donations] are being invested particularly in supporting veterans and their spouses in continuing to live at home, arranging household help for them and repairing houses in bad condition.

The letter subtly continues the metaphor by treating the donations to the fund as a retroactive investment in the nation's past, as much as the community's present. Such letters are circulated annually to all households in the Helsinki area annually by the local branch of the Sotainvaliidien veljesliitto (War Invalids' Brotherhood League) – a name that presumes on the metaphor of family for a nation, and male family members for its troops.

6.3　　　Nation as family

In national day discourse the nation is sometimes seen as a collection of people who are undifferentiated for the purpose at hand, and other times as a collection of variegated people who fill specific roles. The last major ideologically significant entailment of the humanizing metaphor to be treated here is:

A NATION IS A FAMILY : HAS A HEAD / PATRIARCH

The nation as a patriarchal family is an old metaphor, going back at least to Rousseau (1762) :

> The family then may be called the first model of political societies: the ruler corresponds to the father, and the people to the children; and all, being born free and equal, alienate their liberty only for their own advantage. The whole difference is that, in the family, the love of the father for his children repays him for the care he takes of them, while, in the State, the pleasure of commanding takes the place of the love which the chief cannot have for the peoples under him.

Societies which are organized as kingdoms, such as Britain, embody the family metaphor in an especially direct way. Even in countries founded later, hierarchical family or tribal roles are frequently constructed in national holiday texts through coverage of the President and other politicians.

Alternatively, the country itself can be a parent. 'Motherland' and 'fatherland' are not normal terms in American English; both appear in an

abstract discussion of patriotism (itself a fatherland word) in 2001 and the only other references are a 1961 mention of England as "mother" (cf. the use of "mother country" by Australians and New Zealanders) and two nineteenth-century references to the "fatherland" of the German-speaking population of New York. More usually, however, the head of the national family is the President:

> The celebration played to Mr. Ford's strength. He and his strategists concluded months ago that he had no chance of matching Mr. Reagan as a campaigner. But the President, they believe, profits by acting Presidential – and that was what he was able to do on Sunday, teaching the lessons of the American past and the goals of the American future, functioning as a symbol of national unity, *presiding*, in effect, at the Federal birthday party. ("A Bicentennial Windfall for Ford," July 8, 1976, p. 21)

However, on historical occasions the head or patriarch may also be a historical figure who is treated as an ancestor:

> It was a great day for family portraits to be taken with the most senior member of the American Family. The process began early in the day in front of the Federal Hall National Memorial on Wall Street, on the site where George Washington took the oath as President on April 30, 1789. ("O Say, It Was A Glorious Patchwork Quilt Of A Fourth," July 5, 1976, p. 1)

The text collection contains approximately 60 references to politicians of the colonial and early independence period as "the fathers of the country," "our reverend forefathers," and other paternal expressions referring to early American leaders. There are also three references to "city fathers." "The/our fathers" was mostly replaced by "Founding Fathers"[90] beginning in the 1970s – perhaps because reporting on specific families was appearing more frequently and there was a need to distinguish generic fathers from founding ones; or perhaps because a new generation of readers needed more specific designations. The nonsexist alternative of "founder" is used only 13 times in this sense in

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[90] Judson Welliver, speechwriter for US President Calvin Coolidge in the 1920s, is credited in Washington folklore with the term 'Founding Fathers' (Noonan 1990: 94), although the OED has a book title citation from 1914.

the entire text collection. George Washington is the colonial politician who is most often referred to as the Father of his Country (see Boorstin 1965: 337-362 for a discussion of the Washington cult in the early republic), and he is occasionally depicted in early American art as God or an angel, watching over his people:

> At the City Hall Park will be represented a "great naval battle between the *Constitution* and the *Guerriere.*" Though it is not expressly stated, we believe the appearance of the warships will be as follows: "The *Constitution* will be a sea-worthy bark of ancient mold, armor-plated according to the latest devices of engineering skill. For her figure-head she will present the Father of the Republic [Washington], and in the centre of the scroll-work over her quarter will be a medallion representing the features of the martyred President [Lincoln]." ("Minor Topics," July 4, 1871, editorial column, p. 4)

Although Washington is the most usual candidate for Colonial patriarch[91], he was not a successful patriarch in the literal sense, since he had no children; the children shown in pictures of the Washington family were those of his wife Martha by an earlier marriage. Thomas Jefferson, on the other had, was a prolific sire and in 1976 the *New York Times* ran a story about his descendants, headlined "Thomas Jefferson's Descendants Continue to Serve." The author of the Declaration of Independence is their ancestor in a literal sense, but the presence of the story in the newspaper implies that the majority of Americans who are not related to Jefferson are expected to have an interest in his genetic legacy and the progress of his family.[92] The question of his slave-owning

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[91] Samuel Adams is called "the father of the Revolution" in one article in 1876, but this appears to be an isolated usage.

[92] Citizens of monarchies are also expected to have an interest in their ruling families, but in those countries there is an underlying assumption (even where clearly not true) of low immigration and relative ethnic uniformity. This assumption gives people more of a tribal basis for identifying with a single clan. It could be said that identification with a monarchy in this way is the prototype for which the American case, where people who could hardly be related to the "Founding Fathers" are expected to feel affiliation with them, is the extension.

and possible fathering of children with one of his slaves, Sally Hemings, is adroitly finessed[93]:

> It has also been alleged through the years, though it has never been proved to the satisfaction of most members of the Monticello Association, that the Jefferson family includes descendants of Sally Hemings, a Monticello slave who was reportedly Jefferson's mistress.

> One present Hemings descendant, Elmer W. Roberts, 51, a Los Angeles probation officer, says, "I don't 'claim' to be a Jefferson descendant, I am. I'm not particularly proud to be a bastard progeny, but fact is fact. For me, the Fourth of July will be a quiet day." ("Thomas Jefferson's Descendants Continue to Serve," July 6, 1976, p. 12)

The first paragraph contains at least five hedges ("alleged," "never been proved," "to the satisfaction," "most members," "reportedly"), some of them within the syntactic scope of others. However, the probation officer in Los Angeles is allowed the last word in this matter, symbolically enlarging the network of people who are descended from genuine patriarchs. Elsewhere, the article notes that "there was very little money left in the estate when Jefferson died" and "most of his estate was sold off" after his death, possibly attempting to mitigate the national question of guilt and profit from slavery.

An important role in local celebrations was held for some time in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by the Sons of the American Revolution and Daughters of the American Revolution, organizations of descendants of those who fought in the wars of independence. For

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[93] As DNA analysis became available, a number of Hemings and Jefferson descendants came forward to be tested. Most of the Hemings descendants did not have Jefferson DNA markers, but one did. It was then noted that the area around the Jefferson plantation contained a number of Jefferson relations who had the same DNA markers, and one of them might have been the father of a child by Sally Hemings (Foster et al. 1998, Lander and Ellis 1998, see also Thomas Jefferson Foundation 2000). The analysis of the changing strategies by which the majority public voice tries to disavow the possibility of a forbidden relationship (interracial, extramarital, master-slave) involving a Founding Father is fascinating, but outside the scope of this study.

example, Dr. C.L. Morehouse, the last surviving son of a Revolutionary soldier in New York, customarily performed an early morning flag-raising and Declaration reading in Central Park, and his widow continued after his death,[94] while elsewhere the great-grandsons of soldiers were pressed into service, perpetuating the idea of the sacred nature of the original participants and their blood descendants.

6.4   Other metaphors for the nation

In addition to personification metaphors, several container metaphors are associated with the nation. Container metaphors are assumed to exemplify an important image schema in cognition (and one related to personification) on the conjecture that an important experience of things that have an inside and an outside is the progress of food from the exterior to the stomach or from the rectum to the exterior (G. Lakoff 1987: 271, 354). I find this analogy intuitively suspect, since prototypical containers that children first associate with the word have relatively rigid sides, and do not digest their contents. The 'maw' variety of container would appear to be a special case. It is a case that does appear, however, in metaphors for swallowing, digesting, and excreting which underlie some characterizations of immigration phenomena. Nations, however, are characterized in the data by other kinds of container metaphors, in particular containers for people. For EXAMPLE, A NATION IS A BUILDING, with the entailment that it NEEDS A STRONG FOUNDATION:

> "Are 'the institutions under which we live' working the way they should? Are the *foundations laid* in 1776 and 1789 *still strong enough and sound enough to resist the tremors of our times*? Are our God-given rights secure, our hard-won liberties protected?" (address by President Ford reported in "A Day of Picnics, Pomp, Pageantry and Protest," July 5, 1976, p. 1)

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[94] See for example *New York Times* July 4, 1911, p. 16, and July 4, 1916, p. 1. This was not an isolated case, cf. "The National Flag was raised on the Battery at sunrise by Christopher R. Forbes, great-grandson of Sergt. John van Arsdale," *New York Times* July 5, 1896, p. 9.

The ideals of freedom and equality, of liberty and justice -- and indeed of the "Pursuit of Happiness," suggesting the valid aspiration of all men and women to reach out for a better life -- were the conceptual *foundation-stones* for a democratic revolution that has stood the test of two centuries but is not yet concluded and never should be. ("Third Century," editorial, July 4, 1976, p. D10)

Foundations come under particular scrutiny during earthquakes, of course. The vehicle of the metaphor is often the verb 'build':

On Independence Day citizens do well to dedicate themselves anew to the ideals and principles on which our nation has been *built*. (message from the Governor of New York, reported in "Tammany Orators Split On New Deal," July 5, 1936, p. 1)

Thus a nation can be built on intangibles. The metaphor appears to be cross-linguistic; a Finnish Independence Day flagraising speech that I attended asserted that *äidinkieli on kansakunnan kulmakivi* – 'the mother tongue is the cornerstone of the nation.' (2001). The building metaphor can also be seen in numerous clichéd references in US patriotic discourse to "the men who built our nation" (note also the connection between "founding [father]" and "foundation").

A warmer metaphor, THE NATION IS A HOUSE or HOME, also appears, for example as "the home of freedom, a shelter of the oppressed," in an 1865 editorial in the children's magazine *Robert Merry's Museum.* Such images can further be seen in the words for 'homeland' in many of the world's languages, and in the phrase "Homeland Security" which appeared in American English during the writing of this study (and was interpreted by many not as warm, but as vaguely fascist). Another locus of the house metaphor is the often referenced idea of "the common European house."[95] And perhaps most famously, Emma Lazarus's poem "The New Colossus," inscribed on the base of the Statue of Liberty, refers to the "sea-washed, sunset gates" and "golden door" of an imagined

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[95] Originally coined by Mikhail Gorbachev as "our common house" and used to greatest notice at the XIXth Communist Party Conference in summer 1988 (Meissner 1989). It seems likely that Gorbachev intended the word "house" to mean a building or block of flats, not a private family dwelling.

dwelling or enclosure. A rough mapping of source and target domain (or Topic and Vehicle in the terms of Goatly 1997) is provided below:

Table 6-2: Source and target domains for A NATION IS A HOUSE

Target domain	Source domain
landmass	home
national wealth	property, investments
military defense	fence, gate, security system
immigration	door, gate
world of nations	neighborhood

Although there are actions associated with the house and home metaphors, they are relatively static compared to the familiar metaphor A GOVERNMENT IS A MACHINE which is made by people and can run well or badly. Home metaphors are also relatively static compared to the various balance or equilibrium metaphors which are used for the national condition (see ben-Aaron 1997 for a discussion of flood and equilibrium metaphors in stories about immigration).

The house and home metaphors often appear in connection with the nation as a source of prosperity and increase – what Marvin and Ingle 1999 call "the regenerating center" and what Foucault called "power over life" or "bio-power" (1976: 135ff), while the personalized speaking and acting metaphors discussed earlier are the ones normally used in situations of "power of death": issuing ultimata, taking stands, taking violent action. However, the house metaphor can also be defensive:

> But Kevin Mathey, a 43-year-old bricklayer and school board member, saw hypocrisy, and more than a little irony, in a nation of immigrants *slamming the door shut*.
>
> "People came to this country from Europe because of religious persecution, and now the religious right wants to dictate the way people should believe," he said. "And then people want to *put up gates and fences* around our borders," fearing that an influx of newcomers will mean native-born Americans will be forced to do with less. ("Amid Flags and Fireworks, New Meanings of Patriotism," July 4, 1996, p. 1)

The gates and fences referred to here are literal as well, and are common with two container metaphors related to the house metaphor, namely THE NATION IS A GARDEN, famously used by Shakespeare, and THE WORLD IS A COMMUNITY (OF NATIONS), as in the now common expression "global village," a contradictory term originally introduced by Marshall McLuhan in the early 1960s to describe the proximatizing power of electronic communications and the shift back to an oral culture with the advent of electronic media.

In addition to A NATION IS A BUILDING/HOUSE/HOPE, a second common family of container metaphors for the nation is A NATION IS A SHIP, as seen in the expression 'ship of state.' Here again the nation is an enduring and capacious container that holds people and in this metaphor makes a journey along a path – which may not be entirely peaceful, either in intent or in natural conditions:

> The grandstand, accommodating 1,500, was erected directly in front, partly obscuring the monument of Jose Rizal, Philippine patriot who was shot by the Spaniards on that spot half a century ago. The speakers' rostrum, built like a vessel's prow, symbolized the newly-launched *Ship of State*. ("Philippine Republic Is Born As U.S. Rule Ends In Glory," July 5, 1946, p. 1)

This image is particularly salient in 1976 when the unintended centerpiece of the Bicentennial celebration was a parade of tall ships representing different nations:

> This new nation, this new hope, almost *foundered* at the outset, *riven and tossed* by the *turbulent backwash* of the Napoleonic wars; for the next few decades its *buoyant* self-confidence was overshadowed by the ominous clouds of civil strife; after the blood-letting came the wild and exuberant age of expansion, exploitation and corruption; and on into this century of intense industrialization, worldwide commitments and conflicts, it reached undreamed-of affluence and the ultimate arrogance of power. ("Third Century," editorial, July 4, 1976, p. D10)

Here the ship metaphor, although supported in the beginning by a dense web of words normally found in descriptions of seas and storms, blends into a simple narrative of expansionism that is more likely to have taken

place on land. Along the same lines, the actual "Tall Ships," the international fleet of old sailing vessels that paraded through New York Harbor on the Fourth of July in 1976, 1986, and 2000 were a popular and open-ended symbol, combining the idea of rich and orderly navies, commercial fleets and imperial power with the familiar conceptual metaphor of UP/HIGH IS GOOD:

> Although of more recent vintage, these magnificent *sailing ships* fittingly recall the spirit and the values that gave birth to a nation two centuries ago. Their towering mass and *graceful hulls* readily evoke the lofty aspirations and fine sense of proportion of those who designed and built them. Less apparent but no less important are the devotion, the skill and the steadfast courage that tall ships, like great nations, demand of those who would *sail* them through *all kinds of weather*. For New Yorkers, this visiting armada of ships from all over the world calls timely attention to our city's rich maritime heritage … The visit of the tall ships is a bicentennial tribute – and an inspiration. New York receives it with a warm welcome to the ships and their crews from around the world. ("The Tall Ships," editorial, July 4, 1976, p. D10)

At the beginning of this paragraph, the ships are used as a worshipful metonym for history: they are the material trace of the "spirit and values" of a bygone age; the "lofty aspirations and fine sense of proportion" of previous generations of humans; they "recall" the past. The Renaissance term "armada," also used in half a dozen other places in the newspaper, reinforces this. By the end of the paragraph, the metaphor has shifted to become the nation, and the top politicians are "those who sail" and need "devotion … skill … and steadfast courage." In addition to the positive associations with height, there is another thread of BIGGER IS BETTER: not only the crowds within the nation, but the crowd of nations outside who were sending the ships in honor of the occasion (and thereby created a crowd of ships). In related news coverage, the ships and the smaller craft that went out to watch and guard them were further personified, or at least animated: "the boats showed courtesy and care"; "the Coast Guard boats nipped at them like sheepdogs guarding their flock." However, the building, house, and ship metaphors are not as important as the human metaphor in building a discourse specifically of national holidays.

6.5   Celebration as source and target

The point of a calendar is to make days different from each other; there is no known calendrical system in which all days are exactly alike. This is a species of the general opposition that Durkheim called the sacred and the profane (1912: 34ff), which accords with the idea that celebration marks something special. History and the nation may not be necessary for all types of regular celebration – they may not be necessary for seasonal celebrations such as solstice celebrations, for example – but they are necessary for the kind of celebrations we are discussing, which tend to be seen simultaneously in terms of devotional study to the national project, and of release from the mundane chores of nation-building.

The instruction that one must not treat the national day like any other is given in both 'factual' and 'fictional' texts. One of the very first texts in the collection reads:

> PITTSBURG, July 6 – Yesterday business was entirely suspended and Independence anniversary [*sic*] was more than usually observed. ("Celebration of the National Anniversary," July 7, 1852)

As mentioned in earlier chapters, ordinary business was at first replaced on the holiday with a churchlike service built around the Declaration of Independence and an "ode"; the more vernacular amusements of parades and fireworks were supposed to be secondary, although it is these that have survived to the present day. For citizens who plan to spend the day alone, private devotions are recommended: a short story by Sarah Orne Jewett, printed in the *New York Times* in 1896, suggests that it would be a good thing to use the holiday to hear speeches, read a life of Washington, and meditate on those who died for the country – in other words, to perform religious devotions. Even the hero of *Independence Day* (Ford 1995), living in late 20th-century New Jersey, finds himself reading *Self-Reliance* by Thoreau's neighbor Emerson and other texts of historical interest on the eve of the Fourth.

If the holiday is not constructed as a time for sacred assembly, it may be constructed instead as a time for profane assembly: staged performance

with settings, lighting, props, and actors, to be judged by popular participation. The following examples use the language of the theater business to describe and evaluate the holiday:

> The celebration of our Anniversary day, in this city, on Monday, *passed off* with more than usual eclat. The City Fathers having appropriated but $300 to honor the day, our citizens seemed to deem it their duty to expend a further amount of their own in individual account in honor of the day, which they did quite liberally … Almost every house, public and private, in the City, "let off" some kind of fireworks, either from the roof, or front, or both, of their houses: and with the city fireworks on Fort Greene, and the brilliant light made by the burning of the Willoughby mansion, on Fulton-avenue, *the scene was magnificent*. ("The Celebration in Brooklyn – Accidents, &c.," July 7, 1852)

> Probably the *most spectacular feature* of the city's celebration will be the illuminations in the evening. The Mayor's Committee *directing*, and the New York Edison company co-operating, lights have been placed all over the city from the Statue of Liberty to Yonkers, in most advantageous positions, and this evening will be the brightest ever known in New York. An informal inspection of the points to be illuminated was made last night, and everything was found ready. ("City To Celebrate Its Fourth Quietly," July 4, 1916, p. 1)

There are eight instances of "passed off," all from 1852 to 1886. This is not a current usage in American English, but it is clearly related in meaning to "came off," which would indicate a performance project successfully completed. The OED defines "came off" in this sense as "of a proceeding: to be carried through and completed (with more or less success)" and gives examples of a festival, a labor demonstration, and a wedding. During this period citizens are also encouraged by example to join and enlarge the staged pageant by decorating their houses with bunting, lights, and fireworks.

At the same time as the Fourth of July is promoted for prayer and for spectacle, the third or vernacular layer emerges as the day is constructed more popularly as a time of riotous celebration.

> The *pent-up enthusiasm* of the natives *broke forth* the moment Old Sol showed his face above the horizon. Then every bell in town was rung, and enough powder was burned to kill a large-sized army. ("Patriotism at Asbury Park," July 5, 1896, p. 17)

This is a powerful and frequent metaphor; as the examples in Chapter V showed, journalists of all periods attempt evoke the flooding-out of emotion into noise, light and fireworks while working within the norms of their time. This trope appears prominently even in fictional texts: for example, a rather depressing verse about teddy bears celebrating the Fourth of July[96]:

> "Let's go tomorrow to the Zoo to see
> The animals *imprisoned* there:
> The elephant and polar bear,
> The lions, tigers, and kangaroos,
> And tell them one and all the news:
> That July-the-fourth is the day that we
> Who own and love this country,
> Do *celebrate in smoke and noise*,
> That we may teach our girls and boys,
> That this one day of every year
> Is given them *free to shout and cheer*;
> As a *safety valve* for them and you
> *To keep things running square and true*."
>
> ("The Bears Celebrate the Fourth," by Seymour Eaton as "Paul Piper," July 1, 1906)

The exuberance of the Fourth here only serves to throw the animals' normal condition of "imprisonment" into deeper relief. The model of the holiday as a safety valve for (inevitable) excess emotion has been taken up uncritically, or else independently invented, in expert discourse by social scientists; recall the following quotation from the earlier discussion of scholarship on nationalism:

> All nation-states have occasions when ordinary routines are suspended, as the state celebrates itself. Then, sentiments of patriotic *emotion*, which the rest of the year have to be kept far from the business of ordinary life, can *surge forth*.

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[96] This illustrated poem was part of a seven-month Sunday series called "The Roosevelt Bears," published in the newspaper during the Teddy Roosevelt administration and said to be the closest thing to a comic strip ever to appear in *The New York Times*.

> The yearly calendar of the modern nation would replicate in miniature its longer political history: brief moments of nationalist emotion punctuate longer periods of settled calm, during which nationalism seems to disappear from sight. (Billig 1995: 44-45)

The Freudian steam engine metaphors for emotions and (sexual) release are evoked here, and a sexual intercourse metaphor can also be read in statements about festivities reaching their peak, and in the equation of fireworks with orgasm.[97] Fireworks are generally used in idiomatic English as a metaphor for climactic or spectacular events, for example, 'The pianist's Ravel did not live up to the fireworks of his Prokofiev,' or 'Now that the fireworks are over …' The general image of something like a firework, champagne bottle[98], or party cracker exploding in an upward direction is a frequent metonym of celebration; one informant in the 'celebrate' tests said that *fira*, the Swedish word for 'celebrate,' gave her a feeling of "up and out." Compare this also with the examples given in connection with the family party metaphor (section 6.2.3): the blood "leaping exultantly" in the veins of the citizens, and the Norwegian seaman who assumes one would "jump and scream" on the birthday of one's country. It seems to me that in conversation the natural gesture accompanying this explanation is to throw up one's hands with the fingers splayed out, and it might be natural if sign languages had this kind of sign for 'celebrate.' Unfortunately, the sign for 'celebrate' in American Sign Language is far less abstract: only the

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[97] The novel *Independence Day* metaphorizes fireworks thus: "Plus, I had a strong urge to make her happy … and wished in fact she'd take the train to Haddam the next day, by which time the Markhams and the parade would be in the record books and we could resume our speculations into the evening, lie out in the grass … and watch … fireworks, after which we might ignite some sparks of our own (a borrowed idea but still a good one)" (Ford 1995: 435). The television comedy series *Love American Style* (1969-1974) always closed with footage of fireworks after fading out on the happy couple of the week's episode.

[98] Fox notes that "in most Western cultures, champagne is synonymous with celebration, such that if it is ordered or served at an otherwise ordinary occasion, someone will invariably ask 'What are we celebrating?' Champagne prompts festive, cheerful light-heartedness, which is why it would be inappropriate to serve it at funerals" (2004: 382).

index fingers are held up, and moved back and forth like tiny flags waving – or windshield wipers (Butterworth and Flodin 1995).

In terms of national holidays as a festival of release, two more specific image patterns for the Fourth of July can be discerned. First, the obvious metaphor – if one can call it that when the source and target domains are closer together – that A NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATION IS A PARTY:

> The polyglot town [of New Orleans] sees the 200th birthday of the United States Republic not so much as a patriotic event as an excuse for a party. ("New Orleans Enjoying Spirits of '76," July 4, 1976, p. 26)

The difference between a generalized ritual and a party may seem trivial, but some formal events are called celebrations are not parties, and most religious ceremonies are not parties. The informants in Chapter IV commonly listed 'party' as a synonym for 'celebrate,' and their other answers supported the intuitive notion that events that are constructed as parties are generally happy, social, relatively public, and manifested by specific behaviors such as eating, drinking alcohol, talking and dancing, the exact constellation of such behaviors varying with the culture and subculture involved. Not all national holidays are compatible with parties. Finnish Independence Day is more like a memorial day; although its most widely publicized event is a ball at the President's palace, in the lifeworld of communities it is characterized by torchlight parades from graveyards, gatherings of veterans, and solemn speeches. ("Only the people at the President's Ball are celebrating," one Finnish student said when I was collecting anecdotes. "They're doing it for the rest of us.") Conversely, certain life cycle events are constructed as having celebrations (which may be "parties" or not), and others may not be; for example, it is a matter of uncertainty whether divorces and sex changes should be greeted with congratulations.

Both party and performance metaphors are evident in the following, although prayer is mentioned as well:

> The town was *dressed in holiday garb* for the joint celebration. The Stars and Stripes floated from every housetop, and the business houses and hotels were

well-nigh hidden with bunting and other *decorations*. "Founder" Bradley, almost beside himself with joy over the success of the celebration, spent a small fortune in decorations for the pavilions and bathhouses on the shore front. ("Patriotism At Asbury Park," July 5, 1896, p. 17)

New Yorkers and their friends poured into lower Manhattan yesterday and compressed 200 years of their history and varied ethnic heritages into a day-long birthday *party* crammed with prayer, martial *music, high spirits and good fellowship*. ("Ethnic Diversity Adds Spice to Fourth," July 5, 1976, p. 1)

The second more specific metaphor, which does not suffer from domain overlap and is clearly a metaphor, is AN INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION IS A REBELLION. This metaphor can be signaled by mentions of guns, fireworks, or protest:

Ring the bells, wave the flags, fire the guns, shout the loud huzzas, and sing "Victory at last!" (*Robert Merry's Museum*, children's magazine, editorial, July 1865)

John J. McElligott, Fire Commissioner and Fire Chief of New York, whose department has taken a leading role in the city's campaign to outlaw fireworks, himself was burned late last night when a firecracker exploded in his right hand. ("M'Elligott Burns Hand Setting Off Firecracker," July 5, 1936, p. 20)

PHILADELPHIA, July 4 – Tucked miles away from the official celebration of the nation's 200th birthday, demonstrators estimated at more than 30,000 *rallied today for their own idea of an American revolution*. ("2 Counterrallies in Philadelphia," July 5, 1976, p. 18)

Chanting, "Giuliani is a Backstabber," and holding signs that declared the Mayor a "disgrace to Italian-Americans," the *protesters*, most of them teen-age boys and young men, encouraged passers-by to honk and they cheered loudly every time the *furtive pop* of a firecracker echoed down the street. By 9 P.M., the police had handed dozens of motorists $65 tickets for "unnecessary honking." ("The Police Department Glares, And Bombs Don't Burst In Air," July 5, 1996, p. B1)

The first example describes exultation such as would be appropriate after winning a battle. The second shows a city official breaking the law

because he could not resist rebelling against it and setting off fireworks. In the other two examples, the protests are more literal, and this too is a not unknown feature of national holiday reporting. Thus words associated with rebellions are used not only literally, for demonstrations against the government (which may be reported with more or less sympathy depending on the political climate), but generally for symptoms of noise and excitement, particularly fireworks, whose unlicensed use is illegal in many states. In the early newspaper examples, fireworks are discussed almost exclusively as dangerous nuisances that maim children, but with safer packaging and extensive public safety campaigns, they became a sanctioned form of revolt and the newspaper can be seen winking at their use. And just as rebellion can be a source domain for metaphors about the holiday, the holiday can be a source domain for fire and explosion-related crime, as in this line from a contemporary Scottish mystery novel (Close 1997: 302):

But nobody knows if, or when, the place is going to go up like the Fourth of July.

It is as if the national holiday has two co-existent modes of observance: obeisance towards the state, and, equally appropriately given the day's provenance, a show of resistance toward it – even, as the McElligott example above shows, by its officers – that is not monoglossically condemned by the newspaper's implied speaker.

6.6   Incongruent metaphors

Syntacticians and psycholinguists have asked why speakers use metaphors at all, since nonliteral statements seem as if they ought to require more cognitive processing than literal statements.[99] Synthesizing from past work past work, Goatly identifies a broad spectrum of uses for metaphors: filling lexical gaps; explanation and modelling; reconceptualization; argument by analogy and/or false reasoning; ideology; expressing emotional attitude; decoration, disguise and hyperbole; cultivating intimacy; humor and games; calls to action or

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[99] In fact, work by Gibbs et al. (for example 1997) indicates that people do access conceptual metaphors notably quickly in some situations.

problem-solving; textual structuring; fiction; enhancing memorability, foregrounding and informativeness (1997: 148-168). The general personification, container, and life cycle metaphors discussed above seem to work to express emotional attitude and try to evoke an emotional response in the audience, though occasionally they are used to serve a political argument.

However, there are also a large number of metaphors that cannot be organized in a sensible way, either because they do not connect to each other or to the larger patterns, or because the reader cannot see any resemblance between the topic and vehicle (or as CMT would have it, the source and target). These metaphors are reeled off one after the other in particular texts, typically speeches and editorials (which stylistically very close to speeches). The first thirty years of the text collection (1852-1876) are seeded with real orations like this speech at the unveiling of a statue of George Washington:

> …when remorseless tyranny had sown its dragon teeth in the soil, there sprang up a band of patriots, armed with a wisdom, courage and honesty, such as a special Providence only could call forth. I need not pronounce their names, they are written deep in our memories. But, clearly as they shone through the twilight of our morning, there was needed a central sun to hold them in their orbits: and WASHINGTON arose. His mild, yet all-pervading influences were radiated by a heart that was first good, then great. Issuing from a virtue without warp of selfishness, prejudice or fear, the lines never crossed, because all were straight and there was none obscure or notable, ignorant or philosophical, but felt the superior attraction. Whatever officer in the body God assigned to others, WASHINGTON was the soul, and the life of that soul was truth. Who doubts that had he been less true, he might have been King, beloved as a monarch never had been or shall be, and scarcely a rebroach [*sic*] been cast upon him; for the world dreamed not of such disinterestedness until he showed it. But he could not have worn a crown. God made him and gave him to us, in himself the the [*sic*] type of what our Republic should be in all his elements great, even, consistent, each vigorous in its own action, yet all held in harmonious balance by the unity of a single purpose … ("Inauguration of the Washington Statue – Imposing Spectacle – Rev. Dr. Bethune's Address," July 5, 1856)

First the dragon's teeth from the classical myth of Medea are invoked, and then Washington is described in terms of a Messiah ("arose"), followed by a somewhat inaccessible sentence referring to "god" and "soul", and assertions of perfection, royal quality, and balance. The hyperbole, unpredictable shifts and incongruities give an impression of overstatement and probable falsity. Notice that there are a number of copulas ("Washington was the soul," "might have been King"), leading to an absence of grounds for structuring a resemblance; technically, these are not metaphors at all. The evaluation seems laughably overstated. This impression is not just a case of reader relativity; contemporary observers found little of value in Fourth of July orations and occasionally satirized them (Glassberg 1989: 20), perhaps most famously in a mock oration by the newspaper publisher Artemus Ward, first published in 1859 (excerpted from the version in Boorstin 1965: 388):

> … Thare was no diskount, however, on them brave men who fit, bled and died in the American Revolushun. We needn't be afraid of setting 'em up too steep. Like my show, they will stand any mount of prase. G. Washington was abowt the best man this world ever sot eyes on. He was a clear-heded, warm-harted, and stiddy going man … He luved his country dearly. He wasn't after the spiles. He was a human angel in a 3 kornerd hat and knee britches, and we shan't see his like right away.

Even in the 20th century, when Americans pride themselves on having discarded the flowery, long-winded patterns of earlier writing, there are some strings of metaphors that unwind without building into coherent structures of elaboration and extension. For example, this Franklin D. Roosevelt speech from 1936:

> It was symbolic that Thomas Jefferson should live on this mountain top of Monticello. On a mountain top all paths united, and Jefferson was a meeting point of all the vital forces of his day.

> There are periods of history when one man seems great because those who stand beside him are small. Jefferson was great in the presence of many great and free men. When we read of the patriots of 1776 and the fathers of the Constitution we are taken into the presence of men who caught the fire of greatness from one another and all became elevated above the common run of mankind.

The source of their greatness was the stirring of a new sense of freedom. They were tasting the first fruits of self-government and freedom of conscience. They had broken away from a system of peasantry, from indentured servitude. They could build for themselves a new economic independence. Theirs were not the gods of things as they were, but the gods of things as they ought to be. They used new means and new models to build new structures … ("Roosevelt Speech at Jefferson Home," July 5, 1936, p. 3)

In the first three paragraphs alone Roosevelt (or his speechwriter) compares a mountain top to a meeting point, Jefferson to a meeting point, (by transitivity) Jefferson to a mountain top, greatness to fire, freedom to fruit, economic independence to a built structure, early American politicians to gods. Although there is an underlying relation of HIGH equals UP equals GOOD, the comparisons do not reinforce each other, and, partly as a consequence, feel random or forced. Similarly, in 1971 the holiday editorial spoke of summer as a time of expanding horizons in which Thomas Jefferson could write a Declaration that "cut through" to fundamental matters, creating a minimalist government. The tension between expansion and contraction leaves the reader with no impression at all. Such indecisiveness is also operating in the 1976 example in which the ship of state metamorphosed into the wide open frontier in mid-paragraph.

There are also borderline cases like the following, where the metaphorical structure is reasonably coherent for long stretches, but still shifts too fast for comfort:

Neither the siren of prosperity nor the red fury of civil war has been able either to destroy our Government or to weaken our faith in the principles upon which our Government is founded, but out of the fiery furnace of her afflictions and trials America emerges greater, truer, better, nobler than ever in her previous history. [Applause.] ("Staten Island Festivities," July 5, 1876, p. 10, oration by George W. Curtis)

The underlying image of fire is reinforced by the word "war" (often metaphorized as fire) and the Biblical image of trial by furnace, making it more successful than the other examples, but still probably not as

compelling to audiences as more concrete and experiential modes of rhetoric.

Why should mixed or vague metaphors be used; that is, having introduced a metaphorical domain, why do people not stay within it – why do they produce combinations that surely require extra processing? The most likely answer is that the function of such combinations is simply decoration or hyperbole – the writer trying to show his mastery of the language, and not succeeding very well. It has been claimed by relevance theorists that "the wider the range of potential implicatures and the greater the hearer's responsibility for constructing them, the more poetic the effect, the more creative the metaphor" (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 236, see also Goatly 1997: 139ff). It could also be that the positive connotations of each example outweigh the incoherence of the whole, particularly to a listening audience who would only be able to keep short soundbites in their head. But these examples certainly show the risk of overreaching.

It is of course possible that this style was somewhat more comprehensible to contemporary readers accustomed to elaborate sermon styles, and it is only our present-day reading habits that renders it indigestible. Nevertheless, the mixing of metaphors was condemned as bad style by Aristotle, and the most prolix examples mostly vanish toward the end of the 19th century, and do not return; from this we can conclude that tastes shifted again in a way that rendered flowery prose unfit for survival. There may be a historical explanation. In a major study of nineteenth century fiction, Wilson (1962: 635ff) noted a "chastening of the American prose style" in fiction after the Civil War. He characterized the style of earlier writers such as Poe and Melville as "embroidered … coagulated … clogged and viscous … self-conscious archaizing," while in postwar writers such as Mark Twain "the plethora of words is reduced; the pace becomes firmer and quicker, the language becomes more what was later called 'efficient,' more what was still later called 'functional'" – as a result of becoming focused on essentials and mortality. We can observe the progressive shortening of sentences and restriction of vocabulary in the emerging genre of newspaper language as the nineteenth century closes, but the overworded flavor of the

archaic style has continued to be preserved in diluted form by some writers, particularly in spaces that are clearly marked off from the news, such as editorials, columns, speeches, up to the present day.

6.7   Problems with CMT

The significance of G. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) was that they got others to realize that restructuring of one domain in terms of another was a general pattern in human thought, and that groups of metaphors were often organized by an underlying structural metaphor. As noted, this opened the way for linguistic research on metaphor, which was formerly widely thought to be an embellishment studied by literary scholars, and promised the reorganization of human thought into domains. It is unclear, however, whether the domains are universal or even cross-linguistic; G. Lakoff and Johnson originally intended the "we" in *Metaphors We Live By* to refer to speakers of American English (Dirven 1994: 180), so it is no wonder that the system is easy to apply to the Fourth of July data.

A larger problem is that it is not clear which domain is more concrete and basic, and which is more abstract. G. Lakoff and Turner claim that there are no symmetrical metaphors, only complementary systems that address different aspects of the domain being metaphorized, but this is questionable if we consider examples like, 'She extended her fronds toward him' or 'We sat under the outspread arms of the tree.' In the first case, PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, and in the second, PLANTS ARE PEOPLE. Presumably humans experience the arms of other humans before they learn the parts of a tree, so under CMT only the second metaphor should exist. Further problems exist when the "concrete" domain consists of a superordinate, abstract category, as in HABITUAL BEHAVIOR IS AN ATTRIBUTE (G. Lakoff and Turner 1987: 202) and LIGHT IS A SUBSTANCE THAT CAN BE TAKEN AWAY (30). When we come to examine the Fourth of July data, we find a large number of clearly metaphorical correspondences in which neither domain is clearly physical or clearly a primitive of human development. For example:

A NATION IS A HOME

A NATION IS A SHIP

AN INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY IS A BIRTHDAY

Here target domains, such as HOME (or even HOUSE, but not DWELLING, which would include caves) and SHIP (not the humbler BOAT) and BIRTHDAY, are usually thought of as the work of settled, acculturated societies; and we have no idea whether language communities have been able to live without any concept of them as we understand them in English today. It seems most clear that there have at least been societies without birthdays, and thus these metaphors challenge the assertion strong version of CMT that the target domain is always clearly more physical and essential than the source domain. Another source of challenge is scientific terminology, which was developed for the purpose of describing the world inaccessible to the senses, and was subsequently available to describe the familiar, human-scale world as well (examples are mine):

> I feel *stressed*.
> He went *nonlinear*.
> My brain is decomposing into its constituent *quarks*.
> Each of these index cards is a *quantum* of project information.

At the same time, many expressions for human-scale phenomena can be used to describe inanimate objects:

> The system is *confused* about which operating system it's running.
> We bombard the sample with electrons to *make it angry* and see what happens.

G. Lakoff and Turner would argue that these are not symmetric but simply involve complementary domains; and further that where two metaphorical expressions appear to be symmetric they are not of equal status; one will seem to be natural and conventional while the other is a forced image for spontaneous, throwaway use. Nonetheless, all of the examples above are naturalized at least within the community of science and engineering geeks. It is not difficult to think of other metaphors involving units of comparable abstraction where, although one element is clearly prior to the other, it is not necessarily a natural kind, such as A

PRESIDENT IS A KING, or A CAR IS A HOUSE (or "an apartment on wheels," as a newspaper columnist of my youth memorably described it). Kings and houses have existed longer than presidents and cars, but it would be problematic to claim that these concepts cut nature at its joints.

Another example of unclear directionality is the metaphor that has been used to structure philosophical discourse about nationalism since Rousseau, NATIONALISM IS CIVIL RELIGION (Bellah 1967, Marvin and Ingle 1999, O'Leary 1999, Handelman 1990), which would entail the assumption that 'religion' is a more basic and universal belief system than nationalism. While satisfying and illuminating in some ways, this metaphor is problematic in view of the longstanding debates about the definition of religion, the classification of religious systems and the difference between religion and 'primitive' magical belief systems (Douglas 1966, Durkheim 1912), as well as the claim that secularism is found even in preindustrial societies (Douglas 1970). Goatly points out that when correspondences are set up between abstract entities, they can have reciprocal effects on one another's meanings (1997: 118). I would add that in instances like this, what seems to be a basic domain to one reader may not be basic to another. Despite the widespread assumption of the prevalence of Standard Average European conceptual structures arising from the globalization of Western lifestyles, modern technology may be enabling more diversity and layering of experience than so-called primitive ways of life allowed.

In addition to synchronic differences between human experiences, historical differences need to be taken into account in diachronic data. Dirven (1994: 28) suggests that assumptions about the ideological effects of metaphors should not be pushed too far as a community may have a stock of outdated metaphors that do not reflect its present ideology, as in Afrikaans where many of the unique metaphors are based on the way of life at scattered Boer farmsteads of the early colonial period. The majority of present-day South Africans are less likely to have fields and trails as their common reference points. At a longer remove it has been observed that, for example, present-day English speakers are unable to comprehend many of Shakespeare's metaphors without a historical gloss. Similarly, we might ask how many of the people who use the

ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphorical domain identified by e.g. Lakoff and Johnson have actual experience of war, and whether the requirement of a more familiar source domain might not be better satisfied by the metaphor of WAR IS CONVERSATION, for example, 'The enemy answered with cannon fire.' However, this does not address the political-linguistic question of whether the metaphors affect the hearers' perceptions in some subtler way.

Some researchers have seen the prototypical extension of concrete to abstract as a limitation, since so many useful metaphors are concrete to concrete (A HOUSE IS A CASTLE) or abstract to concrete (A NATION IS A PERSON), and prefer to speak of "blending" (Coulson 2000, Coulson and Oakley 2000). In blending, two domains are combined, but neither needs to be more concrete or basic than the other. A blending map is usually a diamond-shaped figure topped by a listing of basic-level concepts and domains drawn on by both sides of the metaphor; followed by a double listing of specific characteristics from both domains that are available for mapping, with lines drawn to indicate equivalence and use; and at the bottom, an account of resulting blended entity. This more general structure has some additional advantages as a generalized replacement for strong and weak CMT, since it can be modified to allow for counterfactual and image-schematic links as well as the prototypical verbal-analogical ones; and integrated with mental space theory which positions non-real and non-propositional areas of discourse in different spaces that can be linked in chains (Fauconnier 1997). Blends can be chained as well, while the strictest version of CMT does not easily lend itself to analysis in terms of chaining, although chaining of signifiers is well recognized in less stringent approaches and of course in semiotic analysis of texts.

6.8   Conclusion

In this chapter we have moved from concretised, analogical metaphors that are implemented with obvious lexemes, such AS A NATION IS A PERSON WHO HAS A BIRTHDAY and A NATION IS A BUILDING through more deeply buried and only occasionally explicit metaphors, such as A

NATION IS A FAMILY. The patriarchal, family metaphor is seen to structure a great deal of the hierarchical ceremony attending the holiday as the "Founding Fathers" are invoked, the sitting President may lead the national celebration, and the descendants of Revolutionary War soldiers hold special club meetings and ceremonies. At the same time, the nation itself is usually conceived of as female, though occasionally it is described as a young man growing to mature leadership. The male image allows access to metaphors about maturity for work, responsibility, and place in the hierarchy of nations, while the female image enables metaphors about motherhood, beauty and rape.

Two other commonly operating metaphors that are specific to national days are A NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATION IS THE RELEASE OF SURPLUS EMOTION and AN INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION IS A REBELLION. The 'excess of emotion' metaphor, which holds that holidays and celebrations are necessary outlets for the release of inevitable pent-up emotion, operates in both folk and expert discourse, and provides more evidence about the importance of emotional display in the construction and evaluation of national days. The rebellion metaphor justifies deviations from the desired behaviors of respectful appreciation, including disattendance, protest and the detonation of illegal fireworks. In the next chapter, on face and footing, the implications of these metaphors for behavior will be explored, in particular how the linguistic and metalinguistic evaluations for behavior are maximally coherent with cognitive models and expectations on the national holiday. Thereafter congruence and coherence with larger systems of news will be discussed in Chapter VIII. We will begin by extending the idea of the nation as a person with a birthday to concepts of politeness and respect expected from citizens on the nation's birthday.

VII FACEWORK AND FOOTING

7.1   Concepts of politeness

It is clear from the discussions of the evaluation of affect in holiday
reports as well as from the projection of family birthdays onto national
holidays that the discourse of holidays involves certain obligations and
taboos. This brings us naturally to a discussion of facework, line, and
footing, which in linguistics have traditionally been subsumed under
politeness theory; the study of mass special occasions such as national
holidays provides an opportunity to extend politeness theory from
individuals to groups and corporate entities such as the nation, the
public and the newspaper. Politeness is a concept that has been used
by linguists to describe and explain things that they could not otherwise
account for, notably various types of indirectness and obligatory
interpersonal formulas; most of the examples in which politeness theory
is grounded were originally collected from one-on-one and small group
conversations. R. Lakoff, one of the first to employ the term for
linguistic purposes, defined politeness as a system of interpersonal
relations that evolved to facilitate communication by reducing conflict
and friction (1975: 64, 1990: 34). Politeness features can be seen to
represent an acknowledgement of the social system in which utterances
were embedded; frequently these features result in complications of
simple propositional sentence patterns. R. Lakoff theorized that
politeness systems involve strategies of deference, distance, and
cameraderie, and preferences for each of these strategies vary from
culture to culture. Another well-known approach was developed by
Leech (1983), who also tried to model politeness in terms of pragmatic
principles that would be specific to it, such as maxims of tact, solidarity,
and generosity.

Probably the most influential and highly developed politeness theory has been that of Brown and Levinson (1987), which is based on conversational data from three typologically different languages, and treats politeness primarily in terms of strategies for handling requests that may threaten the face of the speaker or hearer. Rather than giving a concrete definition of politeness, Brown and Levinson define it by implication as a system of conventions for attention to face wants, specifically "the positive self image that [one] claims for [oneself]" (positive face) and "[the] basic want to maintain claims of territory and self-determination" (negative face) (1987: 70). All of these theories of politeness are rooted either in the Gricean model of language users as inherently cooperative beings who only violate the 'maxims' of cooperation for good reason, or else in principled deviations from the Gricean model. The few studies of politeness phenomena in writing, such as Myers (1989) have worked within these approaches, pointing out how writers use interpersonal resources in language to allow the distant reader to maintain a good self-image, and to keep him or her involved in the text.

Watts (2003) has pointed out a number of difficulties with these approaches to politeness theory. First of all, it is clear that not all behavior is aimed at cooperation – one obvious example is debates – and work on politeness (or language in general) must be able to account for hostile and passive-aggressive behavior as well. Second, there are frequent mismatches between one person's idea of conventional politeness and another's, even within small and supposedly homogeneous speech communities, and this is one of the factors that allow remarks to be experienced as polite or impolite, as well as intentions to be denied. These mismatches also mean that it is impossible to provide a complete account of politeness in a language, and to compute polite utterances and their outcomes in particular situations (24-25). Furthermore, as Eelen (2001) has also pointed out, any linguistic studies of politeness implicitly use the linguist's judgment as a stand-in for the speaker's and hearer's judgment, which means that the analyst's own internal norms of social behavior are rather unavoidably presented as the interpretation of the participants. This is evident in

many of the definitions of politeness by linguists, such as "proper social conduct and tactful consideration for others" (Kasper 1993). Politeness studies which are concerned with strategies and speaker intention (for example, Brown and Levinson's analysis of strategies for requests) also fall into the trap of ignoring the actual response and effect of the utterance *in situ*. Watts rejects Brown and Levinson's equation of politeness with facework strategies, and asks whether an utterance that computes as polite in the Brown and Levinson framework still counts as polite if the hearer refuses to accept it as polite; he observes that many hostile utterances are in fact clothed in 'polite' forms intended to make them more difficult to counter. He further suggests that if speaker computations always resulted in the most appropriate strategy for the situation, then politeness would be highly predictable, indeed conventional, and thus invisible and ineffective; therefore other people's reactions to utterances should always be taken into account.

Accordingly, linguistic theories of politeness are currently being overhauled to account for politeness as a discourse in itself, rather than as an additional dimension to 'basic' uses of language, or a collection of motivated behaviours (see also Meier 1995). Recent work notably by Eelen (2001) and Watts has replaced the concept of politeness as facework with a double concept, called *first-order politeness* or *(im)politeness1* and *second-order politeness* or *(im)politeness2* as follows: first-order politeness is "the ways in which (im)polite behavior is evaluated and commented on by lay members of a language community" (Watts 2003: 274). Second-order politeness means politeness as a technical term in theories of linguistic politeness, and the authors believe that analyses should take into account judgments of first-order politeness (277)[100]. Eelen makes no assertions about the reality of politeness explications,

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[100] It should be noted that this division into first-order and second-order politeness (however they are expressed typographically) is somewhat nonintuitive, not least because in other fields from mathematics to psychology the basic, observed phenomenon is usually labeled first-order and the more abstract or removed level – in this case the judgments that help categorize politeness phenomena – is labeled second-order. However, it could also be argued that first-order politeness is the data and second-order politeness is the system that is extracted from it.

but treats politeness as an "essentially contested concept" (2001: 249). Essentially contested concepts (a term borrowed from Shotter 1993 who borrowed it from Gallie 1962), which also include notions like 'culture' and 'morality,' are characterized by vagueness, normativity, frequent use of evaluation, and description through examples; different viewpoints with respect to an essentially contested concept can be debated but not ranked or tested because they are so essentially subjective. We can see that 'politeness' here has much in common with 'appropriateness,' discussed in the chapter on evaluation, and with 'patriotism'; because of its universal nature it can even be considered a discourse on a par with nationalism.

This system therefore shifts the essentially contested concept of politeness to the other essentially contested concepts such as pragmatic competence, consideration for others, and social appropriateness in context (which began to be reified in for example Meier 1995 and Blum-Kulka 1990), but in doing this it at least addresses the incorporation of non-linguistic phenomena, which can be seen as a stumbling block for Gricean approaches to politeness,[101] and it gives a separate slot to the perlocutionary effect, namely first-order politeness. As far as we know, the notions of socially appropriate behavior and of comment on the appropriateness of behavior are universal in human culture, even if specific linguistic realizations are not (Watts 2003: 24). However, socially appropriate behavior is always appropriate to the context in which it appears, not just as a property of languages and cultures in general; in the words of Meier (1995: 388), "politeness can be said to be universal only in the sense that every society has a set of norms for appropriate behavior, although those norms will vary … By acting appropriately and contributing to a group's underlying social harmony, the actor is accorded social value and consequently a certain amount of power" – or at least does not lose power. This formulation is reminiscent of

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[101] See for example the observations in earlier work on pragmatics to the effect that "one can follow the cooperative maxim non-linguistically, for example by passing a person a screwdriver rather than a pickaxe when you see him trying to fit a door-handle" (Leech 1980: 18).

Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, which knowledge of proper behavior on special occasions is certainly an example of.

Watts adds another general level of universals, namely a distinction between the normal socially appropriate level of politeness, which he calls *politic behavior*, and the "going above and beyond" behavior that is evaluated as actively polite in first-order politeness and has a real perlocutionary effect, for which he reserves the term *polite behavior*[102] (and there is a similar category for impolite behavior). Beyond that level of generality he does not believe there are any universals, and he has avoided computational analyses of traditional surface manifestations of politeness such as T and V pronouns, circumlocutions, off-record strategies, hedges and other potentially analyzable features in favor of situated analyses of behaviour, with the stress on determining whether it is polite in his terms, or merely politic. It is no accident that most of the examples in politeness studies come from pair and small group interactions, since not only are these the easiest interactions to collect data from in a technical sense, but it is here that deviations from the norm become most apparent, whereas in a crowd, less attention is focused on individual behavior and a sort of average is reached.

Eelen observes that earlier approaches to politeness rely on an essentially top-down approach to norms which assumes that individuals take their cue from 'society' or 'culture' and allows little room for creativity or change; he attributes this model specifically to Talcott Parsons though it resonates with any number of other social theorists. (His own definition of politeness as an analytical conceptualization of "a form of expressive behavior, driven by a system of culturally shared social norms, and constituting a socially regulative force in the maintenance of social order and stability" (2001: 245) does nothing to counter this.) The unintended result of referring to top-down models is that the work of politeness researchers themselves serves to further reify the norms. The Parsonian theory also assumes that every system or entity in society has a

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[102] Reserving the word *polite* for a special use is obviously problematic and I will therefore refer to *actively polite* behavior when I mean behavior that exceeds regular levels of social appropriateness and represents an attempt to build social capital.

purposeful function, a tacit assumption that strongly influences the Brown and Levinson theory in particular. Both the orientation to norming and the orientation to function work to obscure the deliberate exercise of power. Watts rejects Eelen's goal-oriented approach, conceiving of social structures along Bourdieuan lines as evolving practices rather than top-down systems. Like Meier, he sees politeness as a primary, society-constituting act, not as "piggybacked" (Meier 1995: 387) on more substantive acts of language.

I will be looking at politeness on national holidays from two points of view: first, briefly, in terms of socially appropriate behavior that may function as a site for comment in the newspaper; and second, in more depth, in terms of how politeness is implemented in the newspaper coverage itself. In analyzing writing it is difficult to impossible to find situated evidence of a perlocutionary effect and for that reason we cannot completely reject Brown and Levinson and other early approaches to politeness that are dependent mainly on inferring speaker intentions, particularly as one of the most fruitful applications of politeness phenomena to writing has been Myers' (1989) extension of then-current politeness theory to scientific articles. The concepts of individual needs for reassurance and autonomy, which are pervasive in politeness literature in various guises such as positive and negative face, are also useful in dealing with the material.

As noted, the discussion of politeness as an essentially contested concept or a discourse naturally recalls the discussion of nationalism as a discourse in Chapter II: and indeed as we saw in Chapter V, the expected behavior on national holidays is both vaguely defined in advance and sternly evaluated in retrospect. On national holidays, the discourse of politeness and the discourse of nationalism are integrated, as the following example will illustrate: On one Finnish Independence Day (December 6) I walked by the demonstration in front of the President's palace with an Estonian friend. The demonstrators were generally protesting the inequities of the economic order (with similar motivations to recent protests outside World Trade Organization meetings), and particularly what they saw as the irresponsibility of the Finnish elite who were then gathering at the President's palace for the

Independence Day ball. My friend became outraged at the protesters, saying "That is so disrespectful – they can have their protest any time, but not on *this day.*" She saw the threat of protest as deviant and inappropriate on a national holiday; her internalized norms of politeness were clearly outraged. And I understood on some deeply programmed level what she meant and how her response constituted a categorization of the protesters as impolite, likely to be agreed upon by many or even most other citizens of modern states – even though, on an analytical level, it was clear that it was the day itself that created the occasion for protest, and in Finland the protest in front of the Independence Day ball has been a regular and expected event for at least the last decade.[103]

My focus on these kinds of social appropriateness and my framework for examining their linguistic reflection in the news reports are built on the ideas of Goffman, whose work on frame analysis, facework, deference and demeanor, and other aspects of social interaction (most usefully 1967, but also 1959, 1961a, 1961b, 1963a, 1963b, 1974, and 1981) approaches human beings in their most corporate and corporeal aspects. In theoretical terms, Goffman's work suffers from its close integration with a description of North American norms of the mid-20th century[104],

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[103] So much so that in 2002 a satirical counterprotest was held in which a small group of members of the Keskustanuoret or youth wing of the agrarian-conservative Center Party held up signs saying *Hyvää Suomi, Linnan juhlat tottakai,* and *Joskus pitää juhliakin* (roughly: "Yea, Finland!" "Yes to the President's ball," "Sometimes you have to party, too"). The main protest, whose avowed immediate impetus varies from year to year, is publicized on Left and Green student political mailing lists under rubrics like "Gatecrashers' Ball" and is also anticipated by the police, who often arrest some of the demonstrators.

[104] To give just one example, he frequently mentions acknowledgement of another's presence, such as salutations by people who know each other, as a norm of ordinary society that was broken by, for example, mental patients in a locked ward (1967: 71ff). In Finland and some other cultures, the normative situation might be otherwise: people need not normally acknowledge each other when they pass at a distance and to do so habitually may indicate that something is wrong. This variation spans not just the human but the animal kingdom; some animal species and individuals habitually use spoken or mimed greetings while others do not. Further, norms can change over time; for example, the smoothness requirements for

but this is not a handicap in the study at hand, since the main case is the United States.

Before looking at the language in the text collection, I want to begin by listing the broadest folk politeness requirements that are apparent on national holidays. On the most important national holidays we expect first of all that our fellow citizens will display a Sabbath idleness[105] relative to normal working tasks. Going to a job or making money is a dispreferred (and disapproved) way of spending the day for anyone who can avoid it, and this point is made broadly in fact and fiction items that function to police the boundaries. For example, one anecdote printed at the turn of the last century described an Irish New Yorker enraged to see builders working on the new Customs House on the holiday:

> The sight of this labor on the Nation's birthday irritated a convivial son of Erin, who had evidently begun his celebration early, and he proceeded to express his sentiments to a few idlers. "Fellow-citizens," he exclaimed, adopting a stump speaker's attitude, "it is a burnin' and a cryin' shame on this glorious day uv fraydom, to see our fellow-citizens a-toilin' and a-sweatin' in the service uv th' Government –"
>
> "Gwan!" shouted the ubiquitous urchin. "It's yer throat as is burnin'."
>
> "Give them liberty," continued the patriot, ignoring the interruption.
>
> "An' let 'em all go to Coney," again interrupted the urchin.

American newsreaders have been raised since the early days of broadcast and many of the 'bloopers' and footing changes analyzed in *Forms of Talk* (1981) are no longer heard. Goffman was aware of these shortcomings and periodically delimited his observations as based chiefly on his contemporary Anglo-American milieu. However, the point bears re-emphasis.

[105] Obviously those who start wars on holidays, such as the Yom Kippur War, are exploiting this presumption in addition to the ideal of a holiday peace. The additional presumption that bad things (unrelated to the celebrations) should not happen on holidays is also part of holiday discourse, as in 'How could such a thing happen on *Christmas?*' Local news outlets provide numerous examples of the disappointment of this expectation and the standard reaction to it.

"It makes me heart bleed," resumed the orator, "to see free-born Amerycans ground down by toil whin they be rights should be rejoicin' on this glorious day uv fraydom."

"Come off, Pat. They're only Dagos," said a friend.

"Thin, begorra, let thim worrk, thin," said the champion of freedom, angrily, and his friend piloted him to the neighborhood of a glass of beer. ("Pat, Champion of Freedom," July 5, 1901, p. 14)

The lesson readers are expected to draw from this (likely fictional) sketch is that expecting to have a holiday on the Nation's (in deferential upper case) birthday is a mark of the assimilated (or assimilating) immigrant which he feels can be withheld from the less assimilated; the calendar is cultural capital. A similar scene, without the ethnic rivalry, is reported several decades later in a story about construction workers being forced to labor on the construction of the swimming pool on a holiday:

About 150 workers on the Highbridge Pool project, which is scheduled to open July 14, were ordered to forego their holiday plans and report for duty at 8 A.M. They did, but to so little purpose that the supervisor sent them home at 2:30, two hours before their normal quitting time.

Some time later two of the workers were found by a reporter, drinking beer at a near-by bar.

"It's getting so that there is no place in this country for a patriotic American," one mourned.

"We're good Americans – war veterans, lots of us – and we're taught to respect what the Fourth stands for," put in the other. "But when it comes to working or getting a pink slip – well, we work."

"Yeah, our timekeeper told us to come in today and tomorrow or out we go on Monday. It goes against us to work, but we hate to get a pink slip." ("150 WPA Men Forced To Work On the Fourth; Do So Little That They Are Sent Home Early," *New York Times*, July 5, 1936, p. 1)

Authorities contacted by the reporter denied having ordered the men to work, but the men are quoted at length using the vernacular that confers

credibility in the newspaper (as does their status as "war veterans"), and the overall impression of the wrongness of holiday work is underlined. The story may have derived some additional irony from the fact that the men were employed by the Works Progress Administration, a federal program designed to alleviate unemployment by putting people to work on federally funded projects for the common good. This story is ambiguous at the highest level; it could be read (and probably was by most) as a morality tale about how the workers should not have had to work on the holiday and were standing up for their rights, and incidentally, were being good citizens by not working; or on the other hand it could be read that they were doing the public a disservice by not working happily when ordered to. It is clearly more than just a report.

These two stories are among the 15 'meta' stories identified in the profile of the text collection in Chapter III: short items used for discussions of what is proper or allowed on the holiday, and didactic examples of good and bad holiday behavior with explicit judgment either in the journalistic voice or in the voice of one of the 'characters.' A slightly different point is made in a section of the main holiday story in 1996:

> Naturally, not everyone had their freedom on Independence Day.
>
> "It's not healthy," groaned Ray McCaskill, 37, a bus driver. "We're taking people to meet their loved ones while we have to work."
>
> But some saw it as exercising a different kind of liberty, the right to earn time and a half.
>
> "If it was Christmas, I'd be upset," said Officer Ed Kehoe, Jr., of the postal inspection service, who got up at 5 A.M. to watch for drunks and firecracker fiends on the steps of the main post office. "I'd be miserable because I'd miss opening presents. But Fourth of July, you can be home by 5 and still make the barbecue." ("Celebrating July 4 Spirit, Undaunted But Damp," July 5, 1996, p. B3)

Here the final emphasis is on compromise between the needs of society and the individual's right to perform citizenship and community membership, claiming his own cultural capital and (not incidentally) leisure. Thus we see that the stricture against working does not apply to

those whose work is connected with the celebration of the holiday, such as politicians, fireworks artists, flag and hot dog sellers, nor to bus drivers, policemen, and others whose work is essential to the running of the city. As Goffman noted, while Sabbath work generally is seen as disrespectful to the community, certain kinds of Sabbath work are seen as "an expression of regard for the community, and a gesture of respect, not of alienation" (1963a: 220) – but those who perform those jobs are entitled to act out their holiday participation by complaining elsewhere about having to work, and by collecting extra compensation. The general consensus on staying away from work helps create the quiet and expectant vacuum that is valued by people who celebrate the holiday, and into which their celebration expands.

The second level of expected politeness on holidays after abstaining from work is co-presence, in the sense that we are normatively expected to pay attention to at least some of our citizens and to the public or social celebrations of the holiday. It is possible to celebrate in a solitary mode, like Thoreau building his house on Independence Day. In a short story published in the *New York Times* in 1896, Sarah Orne Jewett demonstrated this mode of celebration through the character of Abel Thorndike, an elderly carpenter in a small New England town who spends the day sitting on his porch reading the *Life of Washington* (most likely the hagiography by Mason Locke Weems that is deconstructed in Boorstin 1965: 337-355):

> "Here 'tis Fourth o' July again, and how few folks thinks what it all means," said Abel. "I don't want to waste as good a day as there is in the year. I always feel as if I ought to go to meetin' part o' the day, and sit and think about my country and them that give it to me." ("A Village Patriot," July 4, 1896, p. 1)

However, the prototypical behavior modelled and praised on the newspaper pages is social. In many communities, ignoring the holiday can be considered anti-social or even traitorous. As with Grice's maxims, this does not mean that people do not ignore the holiday without repercussions, and there are even mass boycotts, organized and unorganized; the 1976 coverage reports boycotts by Native American

groups and by some African-American New Yorkers. However, white small town residents with roots in their community and friends and family who expect to see them on the holiday – the kind of people who are upheld in many newspaper stories as 'typically American' – are likely to count it as impolite when their neighbors disappear. Absence from work and co-presence with other celebrants are minimal requirements that count as Watts' politic behaviour; it is only at the third and fourth levels of holiday politeness that actively polite behaviour in his terms can be read in.

The third level of expected politeness is congruousness, in the sense that subsequent to co-presence, there is an accompanying demand to adjust one's behavior to the others who are co-present. Behavioral changes may be negotiated in the direction of formality, especially if there is a public spectacle or ceremony that focuses attention, and/or in the direction of expansive exuberance and carnival. As noted at the beginning of the chapter, a kind of average is reached; although in one sense, large groups define social appropriateness (as they go along), in another, a crowd can certainly make a collective decision behave in a socially inappropriate way, as when a mass of football fans trashes a town their team is visiting. Protest is also a form of co-presence and acknowledgement, although not an approved form, and it tends to be glossed over and marginalized in the main discourse, as we will see. The approved behavior pattern involves accommodation to the wishes of others and to the implied wishes of the nation, shown for example by attending to events. But various degrees of disattendance-in-presence are common; in Goffman's words, "Resistance to the spirit of an occasion, as expressed in a refusal to sustain occasioned mutual-involvements, is apparently so useful a device for conveying so many things that someone in a gathering can usually be counted on to employ it"; his example was of middle-class couples in Shetland who attended the working-class dances but tried to demonstrate their superiority to the occasion by dancing in half time and talking over the music (1963a: 171).

Finally there is deliberate, intentional performance, in Hymes's sense of performance as "an attribute of any behavior where the doer accepts or

has imputed to him responsibility for being evaluated in regard to it" (Goffman 1974: 124). We can further speak of performativity both in the Austinian sense of intentionally producing and reproducing the world by 'doing things,' as well as in the theatrical sense in which social scientists and literary theorists characterize daily life as a skilled performance in which some sort of audience is always felt. In Jewett's story, Abel Thorndike also exemplifies this kind of observance, since he ends his contemplative day by staging a grand fireworks display for the people of the town:

> "You see they always expect something from me," said old Abel, apologetically. "This year I'm goin' to surprise 'em. Some say it's foolish to burn up money so, but folks about here don't have the interests they do in Boston, an' 'tis one way to enjoy themselves. I used to think when I was a boy and my folks were pinched an' poor, some day I'd get ahead an' then nobody should forget the Fourth where I was. 'Tain't no common day, an' I ain't goin' to behave as if I thought so."

Two main kinds of performance are involved on national days: those of government authorities, affiliative groups, and leading individuals in organizing activities such as speeches and parades (which can then be evaluated by citizens); and those of citizens in responding to the organized activities (which can then be evaluated by other citizens and those in authority). In Jewett's story the report of Abel Thorndike's fireworks display is completed by one of the younger builders calling it the "best Fourth I ever had." Thus both the performance of the organizers and the performance of the audience can be evaluated by the media, as we have seen; the evaluative stance as a footing will be examined in more detail in a later section. When participation reaches the level of performance, active politeness in Watts' terms is certainly felt. Evaluation of the performance of an event, in terms of impressiveness, appropriateness, etc. has been shown earlier in this study to be a normal element of news reporting, and the verb 'passed off,' used in several early reports, is particularly indicative of the treatment of the celebration as a performance:

> ALBANY, Tuesday, July 6
> The public celebration and that by the Young Men's Association, yesterday, *passed off* gloriously. Not an accident occurred. The streets were thronged with visitors in anticipation of the obsequies of HENRY CLAY, but owing to the late hour at which the remains arrived, many were compelled to return home. ("The Celebration at Albany," July 7, 1852, p. 1)

Performances are often also evaluated from the point of view of an organizer, as passing off smoothly, for example, and that quality is often mentioned in the form of absence of disruption or accidents, as here. The performance here is treated as a joint production of the public and the Young Men's Association, and the success of it, in particular the assembly of maximum crowds with minimum accidents, was dependent on each individual's behavior. The "edged quality" of social occasions and live broadcasting in particular described by Scannell (1996: 54) – the constant awareness of the possibility of accident, flooding out or chaos – is immanent in any mass event and adds to its excitement.

Public events with heterogeneous participation must maintain a certain flexibility, and even noncitizens are generally welcome to participate in national holiday celebrations to the degree they wish. Foreign tourists and residents cannot generally enact their own national customs or fly their own flags on the host country's holiday, but one convenience of the distribution of the world's holidays across 365 days is that it probably would not occur to people to dissociate their national holiday behavior from its appointed day.[106] Thus noncitizens may be found watching public events, attending parties, exchanging greetings, standing to salute flags and even singing anthems and other national songs if they are

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[106] A special case is presented by countries whose national days fall on or near each other, and which have historical ties, such as the United States and the Philippines (July 4) and Canada and the United States (July 1 and 4). In these cases a hybrid celebration mode is expected and planned for, as in Filipino communities in the US and towns along the US-Canada border. A complicated etiquette attends to simultaneous display of national flags.

comfortable doing so.[107] They may also be free to beg off participation, for example if they work for a multinational organization with a different holiday calendar. Their behavior may thus comply with norms of idleness, co-presence and congruousness as necessary, but it is much less likely to involve emotional performance or an organizing role in the events.

In addition to the performance aspect, the behaviors and customs of holidays can obviously be analyzed as a site of subjectivity and identity that may conflict with performance expectations. Which holidays one chooses to celebrate and how are indicators of identity, to self and others, as we have seen in the story about the Irish and Italian immigrants. Many holiday observances derive part of their function as in-group signs precisely from the fact that the date and the rites have a different meaning or no meaning for other cultures; Zerubavel (1981: 70ff), gives cases where this separation is a matter of design in order to preserve a distinct group identity, and compare with Douglas (1970: 40) on in-group dietary restrictions. Thus the degree of compliance with specific community expectations for time-zoned holiday behavior is an important identity marker and the knowledge of these expectations is cultural capital. It is also taken to be indicative of deeper attitudes and ideological commitments.

7.2   Politeness as performance

Like celebration, politeness toward the nation can be seen as a configuration of the pre-existing objects (the nation and the occasion), and associated behaviors and emotions. The minimal performance of citizenship by ordinary citizens is generally felt to be symbolized inside the country by voting and participating in the citizen jury system, if any; as well as, most importantly for males, participating in any military draft

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[107] There are, of course, other situations in which (representatives of different) national groups are obliged to behave toward each other according to highly codified rules of social appropriateness; international sporting events and diplomatic receptions are but two of them.

system; and outside it by displaying one's passport on request, as well as by compliance with taxation, registration and licensing systems (many also applying to resident noncitizens). Failing to enact this level of performance may result in legal sanction.

If we observe Watts' distinction between the politic and the actively polite, then politic citizen behavior in the area of citizenship also includes submitting to the authority of the current regime, i.e. refraining from attempting to overthrow the government; behaving well in foreign countries where one is apt to be treated as a representative of the nation; treating national symbols as powerful or at least nondefaceable; and of course observing national holidays. In addition to this there may be actively polite behaviour which counts as paying homage, involving displayed emotion, such as military posture or alternatively struggling to contain tears when the symbols of the nation (flag, anthem) are displayed, or in extreme cases, sacrificing oneself for the nation – although this goes so far beyond the usual sense of politeness as to render the term meaningless. And one can easily live one's entire life as a citizen without doing any behavior beyond the politic. However, in contrast to the scripted construction of celebration as a lexical concept (as discussed in Chapter IV),[108] where celebratory behavior is tacitly conceived as the overflow effect of strong emotion, when celebration or anything else is considered in terms of (theoretical) politeness, the emphasis is on behavior. While lack of sincerity may be blamed for unsuccessful attempts at politeness ('I couldn't accept his apology because I knew he didn't mean it') in the main it is or ought to be recognized that other people's emotions are unknowable. Thus the ordinary level of politic behavior is more tightly conventionalized and focused on surface forms than is the general idea of celebration, and actual emotion is less important – although displays of emotion are

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[108] Recall that in Chapter IV I introduced the following script for celebration: Stage 1: Event X happens; Stage 2: Person/s Y perceive/s Event X; Stage 3: Person/s Y has/ve an emotional change of state; *and/or* Stage 4: Person/s Y resolve/s to have a behavioral change in state; Stage 5: Person/s Y change/s behavior. One could imagine a similar script for politeness behaviors which would leave out the triggering emotion.

certainly valued, and any act may be explained *a posteriori* by presence or absence of an underlying emotion, for example love or an affectively suffused face construction such as pride or honor.

The construction of community through polite acts on occasions that reify the community is analogous to the construction of family membership as requiring certain behaviors, such as gathering for members' rites of passage. Such behaviors are taken as tokens or correlations of feelings such as love and loyalty; but given a choice between getting proper attendance and demeanor (without sincere emotion) or sincere emotion (without the mandated demonstrative behavior) from another family member, most people choose the behavior, which tends to preserve their own face. (*King Lear* is one of the best-known fables about the consequences of this preference for form over feeling.) In practice, of course, in both families and nations, individual affect is largely inaccessible to observers, though close relatives may develop a reliable indexing system, and the behavioral components of social appropriateness carry an obvious element of performance in the Goffmanian sense; that is, they imply awareness of a frame[109] that invites and encodes differing levels of subjective involvement: a jointly constructed situation that can be evaluated, responded to, disattended from, faked, and colluded in, to employ the terms Goffman used in his discussion of shifting of frames, which he later came to call 'keyings.' As Goffman acknowledged (1974: 45), the idea of frames and keyings came from early work on cybernetic systems by Bateson (1955), who suggested threat, deceit, histrionic behavior, ritual and play as obvious metabehavioral orientations. Fakery and collusion are mostly irrelevant to non-covert actions but evaluation, response and disattention are highly relevant.

The general dimensions of evaluation in the news reports have already been covered in detail in Chapter V, but here I want to note again the

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[109] Goffman's use of 'frame' is obviously different from the Fillmorean use of 'frame' to mean a complex situation recalled and activated by individual words, and which I earlier invoked to help explain the meaning of 'celebrate' and related words.

somewhat surprising recurrence of negative evaluation, and in particular in the way the journalists sometimes directly evaluate the regularly scheduled events as dull, with words like "canned," "banal," and "claptrap," as well as "hoopla," which acknowledge the vacuity and playfulness of the situation. As noted in Chapter V, the interpretation is available that the newspaper is saying that national holiday celebrations are in fact rather trivial and not worth taking so seriously – citizens would be forgiven for making fun of them or disattending. And given that it cannot force them to attend, this is the position that ensures its face is saved in the end. Moving beyond the linguistic evidence for a moment, we can relate this evidence of disattendance to Schudson's claims in his recent work on the media and the public sphere that nostalgia for a more participatory political culture is misplaced:

> If there is nostalgia for the Lincoln-Douglas debates (not that they left any words, phrases or ideas anyone can recall), there is no hankering for dramatic readings of Edward Everett's hours-long address at Gettysburg. Instead, it is Abraham Lincoln's sound-bite-length address that has left a lasting impression. (As it happens, not long ago, people did listen to literally hours of political address, interspersed with music, at antiwar rallies in the 1960s. If it is any measure, I can say from personal experience that there is a big difference between attending a rally and actually listening to the speeches.) (1996: 146)

As Goffman says of more formal rituals, "the engrossment and awe generated by [ceremonials] varies greatly among participants, more so, perhaps, than is true in general for nonceremonial activity" where each participant's contribution is more important (1974: 58). And obviously as more people follow events through broadcast rather than attending in person where all can observe them, the opportunities for disattention grow (Scannell 1996: 80). However, all evidence points to the fact that despite the general norms of involvement described in the previous section, disattendance has regularly been expected and allowed for in Fourth of July celebrations, by all involved. We have seen this in news language that occasionally explicitly reports the dissatisfaction of the public with activity restrictions on the holiday (foci of emotion have been rendered in italics):

> With the Mayor threatening jail time for anyone caught with an illegal incendiary device, many managed their merrymaking without sparklers and bottle rockets. Some weren't too happy about it, though.
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> "It's illegal to use fireworks, so *I'm bored*," said Wilkin Garcia, 15, one of only 26 people shivering the cold, wet afternoon away at the Astoria Pool in Queens, the city's largest, usually drawing 2,000 to 3,000 people on the Fourth. Temperatures reached a high of 71° in Central Park. ("Celebrating July 4 Spirit, Undaunted But Damp," July 5, 1996, p. B3)

Here studied noninvolvement is ratified as a reasonable position in the newspaper of record – as it also is in stories about the President relaxing at his summer house far from crowds in 1946 and 1961. However, while disattendance is allowed for, overattendance to events is rarely reported on an individual as opposed to collective basis. Journalists frequently mention cheering crowds, and occasionally quote personal statements of emotion, but no accounts of true delirium or ecstasy could be found in the data, and a person who overflowed to the point of losing control on the holiday might well be classified by observers as mad and recorded in the accidents column, if at all. The constraints on emotional behavior on the Fourth of July arise from its nature as the bureaucratically mandated anniversary of a centuries-past speech act, celebrated with summer concerts and barbecues; on the other hand, if we were examining a national memorial anniversary, someone who "flooded out" might be assumed to be doing normal grieving for friends or relatives lost in battle. It should also be noted that if the holiday itself is conceived as a flooding-out, as in the safety-valve metaphor discussed in the last chapter, a flooding-out from a flooding-out may seem extreme or impossible. Thus individual emotion on seeing a parade or flag is occasionally reported, but most often at some level of abstraction:

> The woman's *eyes get watery* and *her nose turns red*. "My country," she says to herself, "right or wrong." ("The Parade," editorial, July 4, 1981, p. 18)
>
> All of this is a kind of déjà vu for people like Mrs. Sautter, who *gets misty-eyed* at the thought of the Stars and Stripes and has a vague, all-purpose definition of patriotism. "It's doing the right thing, following the rules and doing a little sacrifice for your country," the 65-year-old Mrs. Sautter said. "My heart *goes*

> *pitty-pat* and I *get tears in my eyes* when the flag goes by. It means that much to me." ("After War, Patriotism Unfurls for Fourth of July," July 4, 1991, p. A8)

Such intense emotional reactions to patriotic symbols are rarely directly observed, and if they are, they may be attributed to the crowd en masse (which is after all another kind of abstraction), as examination of the over-the-top 1896 coverage in the last chapter shows:

> The *pent-up enthusiasm* of the natives *broke forth* the moment Old Sol showed his face above the horizon. Then *every bell in town* was rung, and *enough* powder was burned *to kill a large-sized army*. ("Patriotism at Asbury Park," July 5, 1896, p. 20)

Note that the emotion is reported as externalized in bell-ringing and fireworks detonation, and elsewhere in the coverage in the more direct forms of cheering, "heartiness" and "cordiality." Reporting of tears only seems to occur in connection with accidents and with citizenship ceremonies:

> A young woman next to Mr. Yaniv *started to weep*. He asked her if she was American, and she said yes, she was from Mississippi. Mr. Yaniv found himself *beginning to break down*, too, and he tried to *hold back the tears*.

> But the woman from Mississippi put a *consoling* arm on his shoulder, and he *let go* and they *cried* together. ("For a Vietnamese Refugee, a Heartfelt Celebration of Liberty," report on naturalization ceremony, July 5, 1986, p. 31)

> Last year they became United States citizens together, and Mrs. Sharfstein *cried* for all the usual reasons. ("Our Town: Russians Becoming Americans in Fair Lawn," July 6, 1986, p. 18)

In the last example, the tears on naturalization are even treated as conventional, anchoring the interpretation of it as an identity-reforming rite of passage similar to being reborn (ben-Aaron 1999). In general, however, maintaining an appropriate level of involvement in an ongoing situation is not supposed to require any obvious attention (Goffman 1974: 345). This is a consequence of the naturalization of events; and it should also be noted that although natural holidays are obviously highly constructed and (at least covertly) ritualistic occasions, the fact of this

convention and ritual is rarely alluded to directly, and words neutrally indicating the formulas (without the praise of 'tradition' or the criticism of 'canned speeches') are nearly absent. Just as it is ineffective to say "I manipulate you" (while effectively manipulating, cf. Fried and Östman 2003), in a 'rational' modern civic context saying, 'We now enter into a ritual' would seem to artificialize and undermine the occasion. At the most, ceremonial leaders will simply refer to the particular action re-presented by the ritual, as in this proclamation, itself highly formal and conventionalized:

> NOW, THEREFORE, I, Gerald R. Ford, president of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim that the two hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence be observed by the simultaneous ringing of bells throughout the United States at the hour of two o'clock, Eastern Daylight time, on the afternoon of the Fourth of July, 1976, our Bicentennial Independence Day, for a period of two minutes, signifying our two centuries of independence. ("President's Proclamation," July 4, 1976, p. 25)

While the evaluation and attendance/disattendance elements of Goffman's frame model are present, the aspect of response appears to be absent. Even assuming the participants manage to maintain the right level of involvement and monitor the situation carefully, there is likely to be no identifiable direct response from the nation, here conceived as a theoretical construct independent of its citizens, and it would be presumptuous for any local official to offer it. In fact, the passivity of the nation constitutes acceptance of the homage – and perhaps the most satisfactory acceptance, since the homage is conventional (that is, it largely corresponds to Watts' idea of politic behavior) and expressed from an inferior point of view. In such cases, as Fillmore notes (1997: 22), it feels obnoxious if the superior then confirms the status difference with a full response rather than simply moving to the next step of the interaction (in his example, "May we come in?" is better answered with something like "Please do," or "Sure," than "Yes, you may"). For all of these reasons, the government is not likely to respond either, although the media do react in the form of reports and evaluation, and we will examine a little further on how these count as responses from the national/local community. Having a twofold source of responses,

immediate and abstract, is not unusual; even an everyday act of politeness can be conceived as having two audiences: the person it is urgently directed at, and the community as a whole, who may comment on it in hearsay later. In the same way, nations are conceived of in terms of one's lifeworld community of known individuals, including some whom one would not want to offend, as well as the entire nation which has a greater status than any individual; and acts of politeness by citizens are aimed at both audiences. Like nation-as-person metaphors, this is a way in which the group and the individual become fungible with each other.

Being part of a satisfactory joint performance is enjoyable, and even the most diehard iconoclast must recognize that there are pleasures to such conformity. In addition to the approving responses from one's peers and the burnishing of one's self-image as a 'good citizen,' there is an aesthetic satisfaction to congruity that is often exploited by politicians, news outlets and advertisers: a click of recognition and pleasure at seeing how subtly other frames can be blended with those of a particular celebratory occasion: how many eggs and chicks can be worked into advertisements at Easter, how many locations can be decked with Hannukah and Christmas lighting systems at the winter solstice, how many different news stories can be rephrased as struggles for personal independence on the Fourth of July, how even the Google logo observes major holidays for each language community and sometimes across language communities.[110] Stories like the following appear around every

[110] It is instructive to note which national days have been commemorated in the logo in the main English-language site of Google.com: the Fourth of July (always), Canada Day (usually), Bastille Day (usually), Chinese New Year (usually), St. Patrick's Day (usually), St. George's Day (once), Korean Liberation Day (once), Swiss National Day (once). Bastille Day probably gets the recognition because it is thought of as a proto-national holiday signaling the beginning of the modern liberal state, and is enthusiastically promoted by Francophone communities abroad, and Chinese New Year because of the visible celebrations in North American cities, which are among the most widely covered ethnic celebrations in the media (it is common for non-Chinese city news hosts to attempt to pronounce the Cantonese New Year greeting of *gong1 xi3 fa1 cai2* when signing off, for instance). (Google 2005)

holiday, using the occasion to appear timely or relevant although they are not particularly 'about' it:

> Holiday Lull to Bring Corporate *Fireworks*
>
> NEW YORK - Expect some corporate *fireworks* in the days after the July 4 Independence Day holiday as companies seize the last chance to push out some bad news before the second-quarter earnings season begins in earnest next week.
>
> *Companies have already issued more than 688 warnings about second-quarter results. Still, traders expect more in the next few days as the dragging economy has slammed profits more than expected and the holiday lull offers the opportunity to bloodlet when many are at the beach … (Reuters, 2001)*

Similarly, on Finnish television news (MTV3, 2002), the meteorological reporter gives the weather on Independence Day evening in an evening gown with a champagne flute in her hand, wishing the audience a "happy Independence Day evening." Most likely the first time something like this was done, it counted as an event, but now it is politic behavior and it is the absence of acknowledgement that would be noteworthy. In much the same way that the concept of celebration becomes 'fractally' applied to all kinds of events in different domains of life, a holiday, once declared, gradually permeates a variety of domains through adjustments in the visual landscape and in language made by individual speakers. By making these adjustments – wearing the costume, performing the greeting, being present or absent – speakers perform their membership in the community. As we have seen, they are permitted to ignore the holiday instead of helping enact it, but there is usually no gain to be had in that, and there may be a loss. By demonstrating knowledge of the calendar and preparedness to keep up with it we show ourselves to be acculturated beings, we demonstrate our cultural competence, we conspicuously exhibit our cultural capital and attempt to acquire more.

7.3   The face of the nation

When we turn away from the situated occasion to its reflection in the newspaper, we begin to look for models of treatments of politeness specifically in written texts. These are rare, and treatments of politeness in general journalism appear to be nonexistent, but Myers (1989) has usefully analyzed politeness in scientific and semipopular science articles. His main conclusion was that the statement of a new research finding is a face-threatening act, since it implies the falsification of some previous findings. To mitigate the face threat, scientists writing articles strategically shift their points of view (or more precisely their footings, to be discussed in the next section), aligning sometimes only with the small group of readers who are engaged in the same kind of research as they are (and who are most likely to be threatened), and sometimes with the entire scientific community, which they can then characterize as naturally fallible in order to reject findings by others without criticizing them personally. A consistent demeanor is maintained by also leaving room for disagreement with the findings at hand. Similarly, in the case of national holiday discourse, journalists and public speakers use inclusive 'we' to align with the implied audience in different ways – most frequently with the nation as a whole, but sometimes with subsets of it, such as 'we the concerned citizens.' And just as Myers' scientist-as-writer speaks sometimes as a researcher of a specific problem and sometimes as a scientist or writer in general, so in the next section we will see that the newspaper sometimes aligns itself with the government, sometimes with (various parts of) the citizenry, and sometimes opposes them both.

The idea of the nation having a face is built on the metaphorical analysis in the previous chapter; namely that nations can be metaphorically constructed as people (G. Lakoff 1991, Rohrer 1995): having heads, circulatory systems, wishes, birthdays. The personification of the nation can be detailed further, following a suggestion by Civ'jan that the three basic types of social relations that are expressed in etiquette are those of sex, age, and social status (1977: 103). In European society and its descendants, preference in politeness is given to women, to people who

are older, and to those with higher social status, meaning a centuries-old powerful 'motherland' (or 'fatherland') should have quite a bit of respect paid to it. As R. Lakoff observes, women are not just the recipients of social deference but are also treated as guardians of etiquette, morality and social appropriateness in general, which she suggests may be a consolation prize for relative lack of economic and political power (1975). The equation of nation with person also recalls Myers' analysis of the community of scientists as an entity with greater status in the politeness scheme than any actual individual (1989: 4). Although the equation of a nation with a spirit or person can be documented back to the most ancient religions, it is likely that contemporary face practices evolved directly from deference to monarchs. From the late Renaissance onward, royal rites of passage (in particular coronations, weddings, funerals) were increasingly occasions of public observance, and by the time of the establishment of the British empire, royal tours and jubilees were added as well. Cannadine describes these as "shared imperial occasions, with a common style, involving banners and flags, speeches and street parties, military processions and religious services, the unveiling of statues or the opening of memorial halls" (2001: 206).[111] It is likely that John Adams had these kinds of celebrations in mind when he wrote:

> The second day of July, 1776 [which he believed would become the national holiday] will be the most memorable epocha *[sic]* in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as a great anniversary Festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires and illuminations, from one end of this continent to another, from this time forward, forevermore. (Letter from John Adams to his wife Abigail, July 3, 1776, collected in Adams 1963)

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[111] Relevantly for this study, Cannadine also attributes to Prince Charles the opinion that the American colonies could have been kept under the British flag if George III had been willing to visit them personally. Although the British royal tours of overseas colonies did not begin until the Victorian era, other royal families with more contiguous territories undertook them earlier; cf. Catherine the Great and her Potemkin villages.

The face of the monarch, therefore, was effectively transmuted into the face of the nation as the modern nation-state system arose. Before proceeding to use the idea of the nation's face we need to say more precisely what is meant by it. Face is an intuitively understandable concept having to do with public honor and shame, and borrowed from Asian languages where it is specifically encoded using that word; it is entwined with concepts like social role, negotiation of relative status, competency and consistency of behavior. Brown and Levinson split face into two sides, which they called positive and negative face: positive face is defined as "the want of every adult member that his wants be desirable to at least some others," which is clearly entwined with the need to preserve a certain status; while negative face is the right not to be bothered, defined more closely as "the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others" (1987: 64). These definitions are problematic from several angles: it is not clear why either of these desires should be restricted to "competent adult members" nor why face wants in precisely this form should be accorded such power to regulate the politeness system; moreover, there are many delicate situations where interfering with someone in trouble is impolite in the short term but polite in the long term, and many competitive situations where the participants know their wants are undesirable to others but nevertheless employ something we categorize as politeness. Meier (1995: 384-5) further points out that the wish to be left alone can be simply a want of the speaker, and thus the two kinds of face can be fused into one.

Despite the reasonable misgivings about Brown and Levinson's concepts of face and politeness advanced by Eelen and Watts, a two-sided notion of face is useful to the present study: the journalists claim for the nation a certain self-image that must be maintained through a consistent presentation of history, present actions and future plans; meanwhile the nation, or rather the government in the name of the nation, is assumed by the journalists to want to act and to have the right to act with minimum interference and resistance from the people – theories of international relations that emphasize sovereignty are based on these face assumptions. However, while wants for reassurance seem to be a cultural universal and wants for autonomy seem to be fairly widespread,

it is not clear that the analytical coding of these needs should always be equivalent to Brown and Levinson's positive and negative face. Earlier, Goffman introduced a unified definition of face as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact (Goffman 1967: 5). This idea of face is more jointly constructed and negotiated than Brown and Levinson's, and allows for the fact that members of the community may want to improve their own face (self-image, social value) at the expense of others. It also allows for the fact that one's self-image may be idiosyncratic and may not correspond to other people's values, whereas Brown and Levinson assume that face wants are more normativized and the norms are interpersonally shared (Eelen 2001: 256). Face itself is what is shared, immediately, in Goffman's conceptualization; as in the personal stock indexes that are continuously apparent to participants in an interaction or "as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself" (1967: 5). Thus in many celebrative situations the occasion and the participants reinforce one another's prestige (Goffman 1981: 168, Boorstin 1961: 9) with the consequence that the image maintenance of each party through the national holiday performance is to the advantage of all. Watts employs Goffman's unified concept of face to advance his theory of politeness as social capital and means of exchange.

Goffman deals with negative face primarily in terms of the right to disattention and withdrawal from social interaction. He also makes a distinction similar to Brown and Levinson's positive and negative face when he discusses (1967: 73) deference in terms inspired by Durkheim, as implemented by

> presentation rituals through which the actor concretely demonstrates his appreciation of the recipient; and avoidance rituals, taking the form of proscriptions, interdictions, and taboos, which imply acts the actor must refrain from doing lest he violate the right of the recipient to keep him at a distance.

In addition to positive and negative face, and deference and avoidance rituals, the phenomena we are exploring can also be conceived in terms

of Leech's Maxim of Tact, namely that one should maximize the expression of beliefs implying benefit to the other and minimize the expression of beliefs implying cost to the other (1983: 109). All of these pairs of abstractions are metaphors for the same ideas of reassurance and autonomy, but Leech's tact is most closely allied to written language. Thus the praise usually heaped on nations on holidays is a way of obeying the maxim of (positive) tact, or of paying respect to positive face through positive politeness in Brown and Levinson's terms, or exercising deference through a presentation ritual (and also building up face) in Goffman's terms. Nuclei of praise and therefore positive politeness are italicized in the following example:

> Mr. EVERETT commenced as follows:
>
> "… The eighty fifth anniversary of the *great* Declaration finds the *loyal* people of the union engaged in a tremendous conflict, to maintain and defend the *grand nationality*, which was asserted by our Fathers, and to prevent their fair Creation from crumbling into dishonorable Chaos. A *great people*, *gallantly* struggling to keep a *noble* framework of government from falling into wretched fragments, needs no justification at the tribunal of the public opinion of mankind …" ("The Oration of Mr. Everett," July 6, 1861, p. 2)

Here the structuring of the national collective as a brave combatant is not just a rhetorical flourish on a peaceful holiday, since the Civil War had begun on April 12 with the bombing of Fort Sumter. The speaker, a retired Senator and Secretary of State who had recently been a candidate for the vice presidency, gave the main oration on the holiday to a packed house at the Academy of Music. The event was held for the benefit of families of Union soldiers and introduced by veterans of the War of 1812. Everett was doing exactly what the government needed by rallying support, and his speech directly and explicitly supported the wants of the Union. But there is no shortage of praise on more peaceful holidays either.

Another strategy of positive tact or facework is identifying with the nation, often using 'we,' particularly in editorials and speeches, ambiguous between the nation, the government, the people, and the editors. The typical 'we' in the news story data is more a collective 'we'

than a royal 'we,' but still the pompous editorial 'we' can be discerned:

> *We* should only be rehearsing what every child has heard a thousand times, were we here to speak in detail of the achievements by which American Progress has been signalized during the three-quarters of a century which limit our national existence. ("The Day and Its Lessons," editorial, July 5, 1852)

In this extract the writer is consciously writing as a writer, referring to 'rehearsing' and 'speaking' and to stories chosen and discarded. The following example employs the more positively polite national 'we':

> Independence Day is ceasing to be so much a point from which *we* are to look back upon a long series of trials and achievements, as a point from which *we* should look forward with wise consideration at what *we* may by our own acts become or in what by our own shortcomings *we* may fail. The great central idea associated with the day is that of the defense and preservation of the Union. Every flag that waves to-day is an emblem of that Union and its greatness; every cannon that thunders forth its salute to that flag bids *us* beware how *we* permit it to be stained by factious dissensions. The unity that *we* have fought for must be perfected. ("The National Anniversary," editorial, July 5, 1866, p. 4)

Written soon after the Civil War, the editorial tiptoes around the fact that it was only the Union side that had been fighting for unity by pointing out that "*we* may fail … *we* [may] permit [the flag] to be stained by factious dissensions." At that point, however, the *Times* was not a national newspaper and most of its readers would have been reading from a northern viewpoint. The following example, coming from a speech on the 100th anniversary of the Statue of Liberty, uses a more clearly national "we":

> "*We* are the keepers of the flame of liberty; *we* hold it high tonight for the world to see," President Reagan said, addressing a crowd of 4,000 celebrities and officials, some of them shivering on the windswept island. ("Nation Rekindles Statue of Liberty As A Beacon of Hope," July 4, 1986, p. 1)

Here, "we" could have been interpreted as including President François Mitterand of France, who was present with Reagan, and who himself referred to "our common values" and said, "May the children of our

children meet again in another hundred years to celebrate still together the festival of free men in a world of peace" – but the more tactful inference is that it referred to all listeners or all Americans.

In addition to solidarity markers that implicitly include the reading audience in building a positive face for the nation, the face of the nation is also honored by promising to act in its interests, and consistently with the presented record of the past, as in this report on occupation forces in Japan:

> "The officers who trained and led [his Eighth Army] numbered only 200 regulars; the great majority of our officers were former enlisted men," said General Eichelberger. "It was inevitable that in such an expansion many failures appeared in all ranks. Look to the past with open minds; see the mistakes that were made and who made them. Look to the future and *pledge yourselves* to keep our country strong and establish a state of lasting peace in the world." ("Our Men In Japan Spurred to Tasks," July 5, 1946, p. 5)

Performativity in the Austinian sense is here asked of the audience, who as soldiers are in fact already pledged to defend the nation and its interests. Civilians as well can be asked to take the nation's interests as their interests – here, with a religious metaphor, as a matter of unquestioning faith that nevertheless requires reaffirmation:

> The faith of the fathers is the growing, familiar fact of the children. Everywhere our eyes see not only the bond of invincible, indissoluble union, but the *pledge* of extending, deepening, and widening justice and equality … In this hour of exaltation we will not, as American patriots, forget the voices of warning and censure which are wont to arise … And as *we swear this oath of patriotism* -- as we *swear fidelity to the faith of our fathers*, may we not believe that even in this hushed air of noon, the spirits of these fathers are present -- and present with benediction. ("Staten Island Festivities. Address by George William Curtis – Fraud and Corruption Denounced," July 5, 1876, p. 16)

It should be noted that the nation and its leaders and intermediaries can often make citizens do things rather easily by hinting or suggesting (directly or through media and other intermediaries), but citizens must employ considerable machinery to get the nation and its leaders to do things. We thus informally say that the nation thus has power over the

citizen but in most of the holiday cases examined here it is unclear whether this is power in the sense of force that affects someone in a way contrary to their initially perceived interests of the citizen (as the exercise of power is defined in Watts 2003: 214). It is more like hegemony: the exercise of power over a consenting and colluding population.

The negative face of the nation is respected (or avoidance is practiced or negative tact is exercised) by avoiding conflict with it – subordinating individual face to national face – and by paying more attention to duties citizens owe the nation than to duties the nation owes its citizens; foregrounding citizen responsibilities over citizen rights. This may be done quite baldly:

> Mr. Ford told the naturalized Americans of their rights as Americans and reminded them of their new *responsibilities.*
>
> "Remember," he said, "that none of us are more than caretakers of this great country. Remember that the more freedom you give to others, the more you will have for yourself. Remember, that without law, there can be no liberty." ("Ford Warns New Citizens of Conformity, Says Diversity Has Made Nation Great," July 6, 1976, p. 14)

"Reminded" here implies that the new citizens are already more conscious of their responsibilities than their rights, but nevertheless admonishes them to respect others' rights and uphold the law. Calling attention to duty may also be done by negative example:

> "We fail to make each boy, as he grows to manhood, and each man, during early prime, understand through practice that with the civil *obligation*, and equally fundamental, goes the *obligation* of military service … We fail to bring home to each man in the Republic his *personal individual obligation* to preserve and apply the ideals, to protect the institutions, to perpetuate the liberties of America by the service of his hands, *as the price of his free citizenship*." ("Mayor Urges Army Training," July 5, 1916, p. 12)

A cost-benefit model of citizenship is clearly being invoked here. The negative face of the audience is also respected in allowing space for disattendance. When the newspaper avoids ordering citizens to do things, and avoids marked, 'loaded' lexical choices, it is displaying

negative politeness (as well as increasing citizens' freedom in a real sense). As we have seen, it also respects disattendance when it reports on disattention and protest in neutral terms, and it may even explicitly concede that reasonable citizens may choose to avoid events:

> By the time America turns 220 years old on Thursday, *you may have had your fill* of patriotism, politics, and maybe even apple pie. The World Wide Web, however, is bursting out with flags, history and firecrackers. ("Taking in the Sites: Fourth of July Celebrations Go On the Net," July 1, 1996, p. D6)

Although this room for disattention exists, refusal to pay attention in the conventional way runs the risk of amplification into a face threat, or, to use Watts' model, being simply construed as impolite. Protests and civil disobedience in particular can be considered to threaten the nation's face because they involve setting up a counteractivity competing with the sanctioned celebratory events and opposing their sponsor. The Fourth of July has long been used for protests; before the Civil War, black citizens held rallies to campaign for the vote, and Frederick Douglass gave his speech "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?" to the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society on that day.[112] It was also used for women's suffrage events, which were often reported on respectfully and in detail, and even supported through the publicization of 'mobilizing information' (Lemert 1984) beforehand:

> SUFFRAGETTES CELEBRATE.
> Ask Believers in "Equal Justice" to Join Their Oratorical Tour
>
> The plans of the Woman Suffrage Party to celebrate the Fourth in the "spirit of 1776" have been completed. Invitations have been issued to all who believe in "equal justice" to join them. Every one will be welcome.
>
> The speakers and committee will leave Madison Avenue and Twenty-fourth Street at 11 o'clock this morning in historic vehicles, old-time stage coaches and a prairie schooner, the drivers in Continental costume. The procession will proceed to Thirteenth Street and Fifth Avenue, where speeches will be made. The party will move on to Bleecker Street and West Broadway, and after more

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[112] 1852 was one of the years in the study data, and the *New York Times* does not appear to have reported on the speech.

speeches will go to Murray Street and Broadway for still more.

Monuments to patriots in Union and Washington Square and City Hall Park will be decorated. In their invitation the women say:

Returning from Albany on June 30, still burning with indignation from the contemptuous and unworthy attitude assumed toward women by one of our representatives on the floor of the Senate, when by vote women were denied the privilege of voting at the polls, (a service which many women have acceptably performed in a spirit of patriotism). The letter is signed by the following: E.J.N. Penfield, Martha W. Suffren, Harriet B. Laidlaw, Bertha Elder, Edith M. Whitmore, Mary D. Fisk, Helen K. Griffith, Ida A. Craft, Augusta C. Hughston, Jeanette Rankin, and Katharine Santl.

The expenses of the celebration will be paid by voluntary contributions, which may be sent to Mrs. W.W. Penfield at the headquarters of the Woman Suffrage Party, 1 Madison Avenue. (July 4, 1911, p. 16)

In this story, meeting points and logistical details are given as well as names of the organizers and an address for donations. Agency is a great deal clearer here than it is in many stories about 'official' events, and the invitation to the reader to contribute is clear. Suffragettes and civil rights activists, however, tacitly support the nation by their wish to contribute to its political life as voters and full citizens; despite some harassment, their plans cannot be automatically read as threatening to the government or the regime. In this case, the suffragettes further position themselves as supporters of the state by invoking its iconography and keywords ("spirit of 1776," "patriotism" and float drivers in the uniform of "Continental" Revolutionary War soldiers). They are thus also a fairly typical representative of an affiliative group trying to get the right to redefine the nation, as described by Marvin and Ingle (1999).

In the Vietnam War era, the Fourth of July was also used for protests against foreign wars.[113] Those protests were more directly threatening to the system, and any newspaper that reported favourably on these events

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[113] I do not, of course, mean to suggest that every minority or non-mainstream group, or any member of those groups, naturally falls into a position of protest; Laakso and Östman 2004 makes important points about 'non-confrontational minorities' and non-confrontational minority members.

was indirectly criticizing the government. At the same time, the protests were not as threatening as they might have been, since (with a few exceptions) they were movements for reform within the current constitutional framework, not proposals to disacknowledge or replace the nation; and replacing the United States would be a difficult project to promote considering the two main alternative visions for its territory have been its prior status as British colonies and separation into two nations, one of them with slaves. Few overtly adversarial speeches are described in the reports in the text collection, and dissent is only occasionally acknowledged in official speeches – a typical acknowledgement is the following, from Gerald Ford during the US Bicentennial celebrations, which are taken by historians such as Bodnar (1992) to mark the end of a period of dissent. Ford's speech provides a splendid example of Leech's "Pollyanna Principle" (1983: 147):

> We are a happy people because we are a free people and while we have our faults and our failures, tonight is not the time to parade them. Rather, let's look to our third century as the century when freedom finds fulfillment in even greater creativity and individuality. ("Ford Says the 'American Adventure' Remains an Example to the World," July 4, 1976, p. 25)

Few of the stories in the text collection concern demonstrations; out of 68 stories about various forms of disorder, only five concerned protests in the United States and eight concerned protests abroad. Five more concerned improper use of the flag and similar problems of decorum that did not threaten physical order. Most of the actual protest stories ran during the Vietnam War, when antiwar marches and sit-ins linked to the holiday, particularly abroad, were front page news. They were reported in the usual format of demonstration news, not particularly as holiday news, and shared all the prejudices commonly exhibited in news reporting on demonstrations, for example:

> A Fourth of July demonstration against the war in Vietnam *got out of the hands* of its American pacifist organizers for a while this afternoon.

> A young woman *who said she was from* New York burned an American flag in the Place de la Concorde. And a mob of French youths tried to march on the United States Embassy, but were driven back by policemen.

> The protest began with a silent march of several hundred Americans and a group of Vietnamese from the Church of the Madeleine. A police cordon directed the group to the side of the square opposite the Embassy where the crowd grew to 1,000.
>
> Leaders of the march disclaimed responsibility for pro-Vietcong banners, and a spokesman expressed regret for the flag-burning.
>
> A delegation of Americans was permitted to deliver to the Embassy petitions said to bear 500 names. A French group presented 5,000 more. ("Paris Protest Gets Out Of Hand," July 5, 1966, p. 1)

Here the protest, which objectively seems rather well organized with 5,500 names collected in advance, is portrayed as badly organized, and the credibility of the demonstrators is further impugned by noting that the flag-burner "said she was from New York," implying the reporter did not believe her. In 1976, protests on the Bicentennial of Independence received a fair amount of coverage, but in a way that seemed to trivialize them by denigrating the sites they had chosen:

> The main counterdemonstration *filled a golf driving range* in Fairmount Park with an assortment of Puerto Rican nationalists, blacks, Indians, women's rights activists, various leftist organizations and homosexual groups. In another part of town, a smaller group called Rich Off Our Backs, marched perhaps 3,000 people to *a scruffy square*, Norris Park. ("2 Counterrallies in Philadelphia," July 5, 1976, p. 2)

The rallies, at which the president of the National Organization for Women spoke and Vietnam veterans marched, were further trivialized through allusions to "the protest days of the 1960s," implying that the protesters' issues were not relevant to the 1970s. In other stories, it was noted that some Indian groups boycotted the Bicentennial festivities, and "a handful of Indians sat in front of the White House and chanted and thumped their drums under a banner reading 'Trail of Self-Determination'" – but they were not quoted in the article. A 1976 story with the self-explanatory headline of "Few Blacks Inspired By Bicentennial" (which was not about protest per se, but about disattendance) did not run until July 8, deeply buried inside the

newspaper. The only exception to the marginalization of opposition and minority viewpoints was the People's Bicentennial Commission, a well-funded anti-corporate campaign led by the activist Jeremy Rifkin, whose march was covered in the planning stages and got a prominent mention in one of the main stories. In general, the scant material about protests was reported in a highly factual way, similar to the 1946 coverage, with only implicit evaluations that tended to discredit the protesters, and no emotion reporting that would 'grab' the readers – unlike the stories about the main events, which did their best to suggest enthusiasm with headlines like "O Say, It Was A Glorious Patchwork Quilt of a Fourth," an allusion to the opening of the national anthem.

Thus it seems that protest on the national holiday is not specifically excluded from the coverage, but it is clearly covered in a way that tends to minimize its impact while preserving a heteroglossic surface. The newspaper's priorities lie primarily in preserving its own face as an efficient professional example of its kind (which also requires that it not ignore obvious protest that may be covered by its competitors), as well as a 'good citizen' and promoter of the nation, and secondarily in the want to preserve the face of the nation; these two face wants mutually reinforce each other. Because nations with hundreds of millions of people are inherently difficult to conceptualize, people tend to apply the same kinds of politeness rules to interactions with them that they have learned in personal interactions; in addition to this structuring of behavior, a historical transfer of practices from greeting a monarch to hailing the nation on its 'birthday' can also be seen. Consequences follow in the form of attributed face wants and attempts to satisfy them through language. It should be stressed that all of these findings are specifically based on research on the United States and secondarily on Finland and other countries around the Baltic where I have observed the conduct of holidays in recent years; an obviously coercive or totalitarian regime would obviously have a quite different relationship to protest, and obviously the current relationship between the European royal families and their local tabloid presses is of another order altogether.

7.4   Footings in the newspaper

The term 'footing' is usually attributed to Goffman, who used it to mean a participant's alignment, or set, or stance, or posture, or projected self (1981: 128). In speech, footings may be communicated through paralinguistic as well as linguistic means, and in functional approaches to language different footings are often associated with different functions of communication; for example, code switching is a change in footing that generally involves a change in function. Although Goffman does not explicitly relate footing to frame, they can be seen as two sides of the same coin: footing represents the individual's contribution to the frame through his role in it and alignment to it, and when the footing changes the keying of the frame usually does also; for example, by shifting to a joking footing, a participant can change the keying from serious to joking. Footing is integrated with role, and in his early work on the concept, Goffman came up the simple example of the act of passing on a message for someone in ordinary conversation, which demonstrates a separation between the roles of the 'principal' whose position is expressed, and the 'animator' who voices it physically (1974: 517). When the animator goes to pass on the message, his or her footing changes from that of a private person to that of a spokesperson for the principal.

In later studies of broadcast journalism, Goffman identified other roles that influence footings, for example the 'author' who generates the form in which the content is encoded, without being responsible for either the ideas or the physical voicing; in considering the paths of highly intertextual, multiply authored and edited documents, even more roles may be involved (1981: 145ff and 238ff, see also Bell 1991: 36-7 and Jucker 9ff). Thus a radio host may sometimes read announcements written by himself or another author on a principal's behalf, but in other parts of the program may step out of the reading role and speak as himself for one purpose or another – for example, repairing a mistake, joking with another announcer, or transmitting a political opinion deniably with a 'hmmph' – transmitting a change in role at the same time as he changes his footing. Although it is possible to change footings within the same role, in many cases changes in footing can be identified

as stepping out of the role one was inhabiting, as when the announcer shifts footing (and "breaks frame") to insert a personal comment, or when a participant in a political debate among international students suddenly begins to speak as a citizen of his or her country. Footing is also clearly related to face through Goffman's concept of line, "the pattern of nonverbal acts through which [the participant] expresses his view of the situation and the participants, especially himself" (1967: 5) – in other words, the acts that construct a footing also build up face.

Because of the corporate authorship of the news discourse being studied here, and the diversity of the audience, the dynamic and negotiable concepts of frame and footing seem to give more insight into politeness phenomena than essentialist concepts of role and identity (gender, age, ethnicity, occupation) commonly used in sociolinguistic studies of politeness. In the discussion to follow, I shall be using 'footing' in the sense of both role and action, combining the ideas of who is being represented and what they seem to be doing. The idea of what the newspaper is doing in and with its footings also necessarily entails a broader idea of the function of the newspaper in society – not only in the narrow Parsonian sense, but in the sense of role emerging from action and action emerging from role. The footings here are ordinarily taken in orientation to two different entities: the government (meaning the nation-state and/or the local authorities who arrange holiday events – since these two are so rarely in opposition in these data[114], they can be treated as a single entity), and the public, which is sometimes treated as a relatively unified body, and sometimes as a heterogloss in which various positions may be singled out for alignment for and against. We may thus think of the footings in terms of alignment or lack of alignment between the newspaper, the government, and various parts of the public:

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[114] There are cases of communities refusing to celebrate the Fourth; for example, Vicksburg, Mississippi, which fell to Union forces on July 4, 1863, did not celebrate the holiday "for the next 100 years" according to legend, although actually just until World War II. Some religious communities, notably in Utah, have cancelled or moved celebrations that fall on a Sunday. But the religious cases, which are matters of conflicting loyalties rather than simple refusal of compliance, are noted only a few times in the data, and Vicksburg not at all.

Figure 7-1: Entities involved in footing

Nation (Government)

Newspaper

P e o p l e
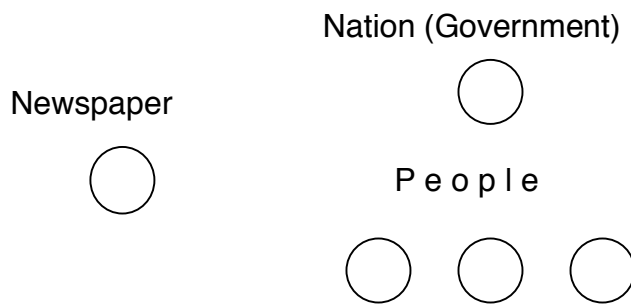
We will begin with what the newspaper seems to be doing when it publishes advance stories about what will happen on the holiday, and continue through the kinds of stories discussed in the chapter on evaluation before proceeding to some other kinds of stories, including some of the minor, 'pragmatic' classes of stories identified in section 3.4.5.

7.4.1   *The newspaper as public relations organ*

The newspaper typically acts as a public relations organ for the government in advance stories about holidays. The federal government rarely communicates directly with citizens about small practical matters, using the media as its intermediary instead. Even local governments that can easily reach citizens through mailings, wall posters, and public information booths will employ the media as a supplementary channel, and in small American towns the local newspaper has often been the only channel for school bus schedules, cafeteria menus, public event programmes and other important data. Information about holiday events and closings is given in the newspaper in a neutral to positive light, with the implication that this is news worth having and that at least some people will be taking up the suggestions to attend events:

> Fourth of July celebrations will be staged all over the metropolitan region this weekend. If anything, the festivities seem to have become more widespread and ingenious every year since the Bicentennial five years ago gave everybody the idea for citywide jubilation on a grand scale. The air over Coney Island will be filled this weekend with acrobatic jets and fireworks. Ships and even a few

stagestruck animals will take to the water from the Battery to the Bronx Zoo and out to Queens. The streets of the city will be alive with singers, dancers, musicians, arts and crafts. Spectacular fireworks will illuminate the sky over the Upper Bay between the Statue of Liberty and Governors Island. Most of the events are free. And most are suitable for every member of the family. ("From Fireworks to Parades: A July Fourth Guide," July 3, 1981, p. A3)

It may not be fireworks, but it's festive. The Fourth of July Flowerworks concert at the New York Botanical Garden in the Bronx.

At 3 P.M. on Independence Day, the concert features Irish folk rock with Tom Lenahan and the opening act of Tir na Nog, an Irish instrumentalist duo. ("Bedford Park: Flower Power for the Fourth," June 30, 1996, p. 14)

The first example is a lead-in for listings packaged as a long news story – bylined, artfully written, serious – while the second example is part of the fragmented listings sections that are more hastily assembled and obviously printed as a favor to local organizations, a distinction most newspaper readers are probably at least subliminally aware of. The news story format is obviously more desirable to the event sponsors because it carries a greater degree of implicit endorsement and has room for more detail, and the newspaper is often willing to use it when resources permit, as a matter of good community relations. Both kinds of stories are usually assembled from press releases.

Occasionally the newspaper helps transmit even more direct appeals for involvement, like this one from 1916:

In addition to the decorations provided by the Mayor's Committee and private organizations, citizens have used flags and bunting on their houses.

A final call for the participation of every one in the decorations was issued last night by Charles R. Lamb, Chairman of the Decoration Committee of the Mayor's Committee. Mr. Lamb said:

In former years we have asked that the city colors be used with the national colors, but this year there is but one issue before the country, and it is the national issue. It is not a matter of cities, but a matter of the united nation -- America to the front, America first. ("City To Celebrate Its Fourth Quietly," July 4, 1916, p. 1)

Here the newspaper merges with Mr. Lamb and the city authorities in 'asking' the citizens to decorate all the buildings, first noting that an unspecified number of "citizens" have already done so.[115] The modality here is deontic – equivalent to 'should' – but stops short of imposing a requirement or demand. The fusion of roles is also helped by the lack of quotation marks, which only began to be used regularly in the newspaper after World War I, for Mr. Lamb's call to the colors. The urgency in having the face of the nation take precedence over the face of the city stems from the impending involvement in wars in Mexico and Europe; but the shift from local to national symbolism was permanent, with the result that the blue, white and orange city flag (to which "colors" refers) is mostly unknown to New Yorkers today. Requests for decorations are still made occasionally, as in this notice on an official website for a Dutch royal wedding:

> Flags out!
>
> If all goes well Amsterdam will be a sea of flags on 2 February. We're asking every household in Amsterdam to put out the flags!

We can single out some linguistic features that seem to be associated with each footing, for possible statistical investigation later. Markers of the public relations footing, as the examples show, include future tense

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[115] It should be noted that flag display is not obligatory on U.S. holidays. Flags are required to be displayed daily in front of federal, state, and local government buildings (including schools and post offices, which they help to identify), and they are also flown daily or on holidays by some private homeowners, particularly those in the military. However, it is never true that there is a flag on every building, even on holidays, although this may appear to be true in some places in extraordinary circumstances such as a highly organized national holiday celebration, or the aftermath of the September 11 attacks. Thus the flag is a marker of official or politicized space. In Finland, by contrast, the flag is not generally flown apart from calendar holidays (*lippupäivät* – 'flag days,' which are not necessarily days off and include, for example, birthdays of great Finnish writers, Lutheran church holidays, and Mother's Day), but on those holidays it is ubiquitous and all apartment and office buildings must display it. Being the default it therefore communicates no political function or values, but rather serves as a marker of coordinated public time.

("will"), modals ("should"), and request forms ("we ask"). The lexis is intensified and hyperbole is often used ("a sea of flags," "the streets will be alive"). As in all public relations writing, words with negative senses are avoided, particularly when referring to the event promoted. The expected and preferred emotions may be mentioned, as in "citywide jubilation on a grand scale" in the first example. This footing is an overt attempt to get people to actually participate directly in the community celebration.

7.4.2   *The newspaper as evaluator*

A different footing is typically taken in report stories after holidays, when the newspaper reports on events. In this footing, the press takes an independent, judgmental role in describing the success of the celebration. The following extract demonstrates the linguistic signals of this footing, namely explicit evaluations including adjectives, adverbs and intensified lexis; implicit evaluations (including reports of scale and comparisons such as "more than usual"), and redundancy which works as intensification:

> PHILADELPHIA, July 4 -- With its famous bells ringing, bands blaring, choirs singing and fireworks exploding, this city today staged a joyous cacophonous commemoration of that day two centuries ago when the representatives of the 13 English colonies met here to renounce their allegiance to the British Crown.
>
> At least one million people were in Philadelphia for the centerpiece of the Bicentennial observances. ("President Talks: Philadelphia Throngs Told U.S. Is Leader," July 5, 1976, p. 1)

This is the official record describing an unqualified success, and the footing here is similar to the first footing in that it probably also represents the government's official perception as disseminated through its immediate public relations organs such as the Office of the President. Elsewhere, however, the newspaper reports that actually many fewer out-of-towners than expected visited Philadelphia for the Bicentennial celebration. The Bicentennial was acknowledged as a mixed success in some later official reports but it seems reasonable to consider that the

newspaper's perception and the government's would be aligned in at least some stories at this next-day stage of review, and the example above is one of them. There are certainly many other kinds of stories where newspaper's rendition may be more even sanguine than the government's, for example those where a large advertiser stands to benefit from the promotion.

As we saw in Chapter V, the newspaper does occasionally run more critical evaluations in its next-day story. For example, in 1871, the newspaper wrote that "although the observance was general, it by no means equalled the unanimity and magnitude of some former years":

> The procession yesterday seemed of quite meagre proportions and no very extensive or enthusiastic society or other celebration took place. The display of flags, bunting and fireworks was exceedingly magnificent, and with the exception of the great daily morning newspaper establishments, all the large business houses in the lower portion of the City were closed. The municipal, national and foreign Government offices were only open for a brief time in the morning ... The preceding night had been unusually quiet for such an occasion. ("The Glorious Fourth: A Fine Day and an Enthusiastic Celebration," July 5, 1871, p. 1)

And in 1971, the newspaper reported that the city was so quiet it "seemed to be taking a holiday from itself," redefining the 1871 celebration described above as having been "noisy and highly patriotic" by comparison. In the 1996 story that was treated at length in the evaluation chapter, the evaluation was ambivalent:

> Some Fourth of July.
>
> A spasmodic sun, narcissistic gray clouds and a thoughtlessly headstrong wind teased and tormented people's holiday plans. Rain flashed its own independent streak, spitting, dousing, drying up, then drenching again.
>
> But throughout the New York region yesterday, plenty of people refused to succumb to the meteorological neurosis.
>
> "If we ignore it, maybe it will go away," said Judy Woodhall, who drove up from Maryland for a rain-sopped family reunion in Prospect Park.

> The somber skies and intermittent sprinkles didn't deter people from their backyard celebrations, of course. Nor did they prevent tens of thousands of New Yorkers and tourists from staking out space along the East Side of Manhattan last night to view the annual fireworks display. ("Celebrating July 4 Spirit, Undaunted But Damp," July 5, 1996, p. B3)

In this story line, the weather failed to cooperate, but according to the newspaper the people rallied and celebrated anyway. The important thing is that the newspaper did not abandon its position as upholder of standards and the evaluator of the people's response. The promotional footing discussed in the preceding section aligns the newspaper with the interests of the nation and pays tribute to its positive face. In the evaluator footing, the newspaper can align either with the nation and with the citizens whose response has been enthusiastic, or with the nation against the citizens whose response has been insufficient. (Only rank and file citizens seem to be criticized by the newspaper for lack of presence or involvement, however; the performances of elite actors are not judged.) The main thing is that the newspaper foregrounds its own role as the judge of the proceedings, similar to the "film reviewer" and moral judgment positions found in the retellings of the pear story film in Tannen (1979).

7.4.3   *The newspaper as neutral data collector*

There is also a footing in which the newspaper attempts to appear as 'objective' or 'neutral' as possible. The main linguistic signals of this footing are quotes and other realia which overwhelm material written in the journalistic voice; where the journalistic voice occurs, evaluation is so inexplicit as to be derivable only through complicated implicatures. One example is the coverage from 1946 discussed in section 5.3.3, which consists largely of crowd figures (whose status as evaluations depends on readers' inference that large numbers are good) and excerpts from speeches (whose force derives from readers' inference that the speakers' claims are believed by the newspaper). A more extreme example is stories in which the newspaper elicits different views from citizens and reprints the quotations with little or no framing material or comment, sometimes under rubrics such as Reporter's Notebook, Inquiring

Reporter, Man on the Street, Opinion Roundup, and so on. Here the newspaper resists aligning with the nation or with any one group of citizens. This story format emerged in the late 20th century as the result of a complex of factors: a feeling on the part of editors that reporters were not properly representing readers or making emotional connections with them, the wish to imitate the apparently unmediated effect of television actuality, and as a result of these, the increasing importance of *vox populi* quotations, here delivered in apparently unvarnished form.

The few stories of this type in this collection – one example of quote transcription in 1981, and two very lightly framed small-town roundups in 1991 and 1996 – were coded in the database as "Meta" (along with the parables about working on the holiday discussed in section 7.2, see section 3.4.5 for an explanation of the topic codings) because they all involved discussion of the holiday with judgments, although the judgments were not in the reporter's voice. Ordinary citizens were entitled not just to their feelings but to their opinions and moral judgments, a privilege that in broadcast media is normally reserved for elite news actors, according to Scannell (1996: 94); we have seen that this frequently obtains in the newspaper as well, but not always. In 1981, the story consisted of transcribed remarks from nine famous New Yorkers, five of whom were at least lightly critical of the holiday celebration or the government. The 1991 story, running shortly after the Gulf War and reported from a small town in Nebraska, was grounded in one running character, a sentimental old lady who embodied flag-and-anthem patriotism (she supplied the quotation about her "heart going pitty-pat" when she saw the flag); she appeared at the beginning, middle and end of the story, and others' quotes were positioned so as to construct a dialogue with her. The 1996 patriotism story, described in more detail in section 5.3.4, was reported in a small town in Illinois and talked about patriotism mainly in terms of national policies (immigration, environment, military service) rather than emotions and behaviors.

These stories are vulnerable to all the usual deconstructions of 'objectivity' in terms of the selection of viewpoints projected and the visual packaging. The choice and editing do express the newspaper's

footing, but mainly as a 'neutral professional'; other stances are much more deniable than in stories in which much of the language is attributable to the newswriters themselves, and the newspaper is clearly trying to project a kind of 'balance' by including a range of opinions. The following extracts from the 1981 roundup, located after the Vietnam War, Watergate and the officially disappointing Bicentennial, but before the Reagan Presidency got into full swing, represent a sort of general nadir of patriotic sentiment over the 150 years represented in the text collection:

> E.L. Doctorow / Author
>
> I like to be on or near a beach on July 4. I don't know why, maybe to feel washed and hopeful, to eat corn and clams and drink beer and be with friends. To feel secretly patriotic – angry at what's going on in the name of our country and wanting to raise hell about it, shoot off some fireworks.
>
> Amiri Baraka / Poet
>
> My relationship to the Fourth of July would be similar to Frederick Douglass's when he said in his famous speech that Americans have one relationship to the Fourth of July because it represents Independence. But just as when Douglas said it, when black people were slaves, I think that as long as we lack self-determination, the right to control our own political lives, the right to be economically self-sufficient, the Fourth of July has no meaning to me.
>
> Theodore S. White / Author
>
> The older I get, the more I take the Fourth of July seriously. I don't like the hokum of the Fourth of July, the fireworks, the flags. It's a very reverential day, the celebration of the longest-lived revolution in the whole world, and the most successful. ("Personal Views On Observation Of the 4th of July," July 4, 1981, p. 21)

The Baraka quote was as oppositional as any quote about the Fourth of July that has ever appeared in the newspaper, similar to some of those in the 1976 story about African-American New Yorkers' indifference to the Bicentennial, and none of the other quotes in the assemblage was actively enthusiastic about the public celebrations, but nevertheless a range of reactions was represented. At the same time, by putting the

critical citizens' voices in the neutral footing, unframed by the journalistic voice, they are disclaimed. These apparently unmediated ensembles of opinion nevertheless serve as a way of naturalizing different practices and attitudes to patriotism, and including more citizens in the constructed community. The neutral or invisible-reporter footing gains credibility from the fact it is also the footing for respectful reporting on official speeches, though occasionally a speech story is clearly written from another point of view, for example the negative reports on Tammany speeches in the 1870s. The citizens in these stories are generally presented as voicing unprompted, spontaneous opinions about what the day means, how it should be celebrated, what one should feel, what the nation is; often they appear to be reacting to offstage contentions:

> General Aloe declared: "Our patriotism today compares favorably with that of our patriotic forefathers. ("Fourth Observed At Eternal Light," July 5, 1956, p. 16)

> "You don't have to have served in the military to be patriotic." ("Amid Flags and Fireworks, New Meanings of Patriotism," July 4, 1996, p. 1)

> "Patriotism is the love of the land, the country, the people." ("After War, Patriotism Unfurls for Fourth of July," July 4, 1991, p. A8)

> "My heart goes pitty-pat and I get tears in my eyes when the flag goes by. It means that much to me." ("After War, Patriotism Unfurls for Fourth of July," July 4, 1991, p. A8)

> Mr. Monachello … added that he flies a flag outside his farmhouse, but not out of patriotism. "I do it for esthetic reasons, it just looks good on an old farmhouse. ("Amid Flags and Fireworks, New Meanings of Patriotism," July 4, 1996, p. 1)

It should also be noted that although the Fourth of July is not generally thought of as having scripted utterances like 'Merry Christmas,' some of the utterances elicited by reporters, in these stories and others, are in fact highly predictable, such as the mention of emotion on seeing the flag, and may have been formed in the heads of their speakers through reading prior news interviews.

7.4.4   The newspaper as enthusiastic participant or 'hot patriot'

Sometimes the newspaper seems to be going beyond what is required of it in performing citizenship, displaying extreme enthusiasm and urgency that cannot be explained by short-term promotion because it occurs after the events are over and will not happen for another year. This footing, which I will call *hot patriotism*[116]*,* appears frequently in headlines, particularly those in the nineteenth century evoking toasts to "the Glorious Fourth," "the Day We Celebrate," and also in captions for box pictures intended to sum up the holiday in a single image. The hot patriot voice anticipates a reader position that is ready to be uncritically enthusiastic about the holiday. In addition to photographs and mentions of emotion, this footing is linguistically signalled by exclamations, allusions, overlexicalized and hyperbolic descriptions, metaphor, clichés, and repetition. Since praising the holiday is praising the nation, this footing overlaps with the evaluative footing in some cases, as in the first example from section 7.4.2 ("With its famous bells ringing, bands blaring, choirs singing and fireworks exploding, this city today staged a joyous cacophonous commemoration …"), but the evaluative footing uses clearer tokens of evaluation, such as "joyous, cacophonous commemoration" where the predicative structure clearly evinces an act of evaluation. In the hot patriot footing the newspaper tries to out-patriot the citizens by channelling their thoughts or speaking as one of them, for example in this caption, which ran under a nearly full-page color photo of a flag-bedecked house in a populist tabloid newspaper:

> Patriotic Cambridge residents George and Josephine Vendetti dress up their Charles Street home with Old Glory and other appropriate touches as the region gears up to celebrate Independence Day. Full coverage of holiday festivities, Page 8. ("Everybody's All American," *Boston Herald*, July 4, 2001, p. 1)

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[116] This term was inspired by Billig's 'hot nationalism' (1995: 43ff), which he opposes to 'banal nationalism' or everyday nationalism, whereas my 'hot nationalism' is opposed to 'cool nationalism' or critical nationalism.

The attributive "patriotic" is more presupposed than a predicative evaluation, and the use of "dress up" (rather than 'decorate') subtly intensifies the covert judgment. The high level of embedding is also apparent when "they dressed up their house with appropriate touches" is contrasted with the alternatives "the touches were appropriate" or "there were appropriate touches to be seen." It is significant that this picture ran on July 4 itself, giving readers a few hours to put up their own decorations if they wanted to follow the Vendettis' lead. However, unlike the examples in the public relations footing, it also functions as a report, and it is not openly directive, but relies on implicature. The front page report photo on July 5, when the possibility for action was past, showed crowds at the traditional Boston Pops Orchestra concert. In the *New York Times*, the voice of the idealized traditional citizen whose emotions are easily aroused by national symbols appears most consistently in editorials, such as this one from 1981, already cited above as an example of abstracted emotion:

> There is a small New England town that held its first Fourth of July parade in 1785 ...
>
> A woman we know was raised in that town. In fact, wearing her Girl Scout uniform and carrying the troop flag, she used to march in that parade. Now, every year, she travels 217 miles by bus, train and bus to be a spectator ...
>
> [When the high school band goes by carrying the flag] the woman's eyes get watery and her nose turns red. "*My country,*" she says to herself, "*right or wrong.*" ("The Parade," July 4, 1981, p. 18)

New immigrants who have become citizens are very often cast as the voices of hot patriotism, as are their descendants; the 1981 roundup story discussed in the last section began with college president (and later Secretary of Health and Human Services) Donna Shalala thanking her Lebanese grandmother for coming to the United States. A frequent locus of hot patriotism in the newspaper has for the last 30 years been the naturalization story, in which immigrants who are 'appropriately' being naturalized on the nation's birthday are used to show positive politeness toward their new country. The quotations from the new citizens almost always consist of unqualified enthusiasm, often in nonstandard English;

that is, they are constructed as overcompensating with their thanks for the stigma of being new. They describe the United States as "the best country in the world" ("In Surge to Be Americans, Thousands Take Oath," July 5, 1997, p. 1) and promise to make their children appreciate their opportunities. They describe themselves as speechless with reverent emotion ("It's really something you can't describe sometimes – the word doesn't come so fast," one new citizen told the *Boston Herald*, July 5, 2001, p. 4) and speak of their naturalization as a rite of passage, like a religious conversion:

> "It's a great day for the United States and for me. America got her independence today and I've been born again as an American citizen." ("In Surge to Be Americans, Thousands Take Oath," July 5, 1997, p. 1)

> [The husband of a new citizen said that taking the oath of citizenship on the historic warship USS Constitution is] "like, if you're Catholic, being baptized by the pope at Vatican." ("On decks of the USS Constitution, a proud start for new citizens," *Boston Globe*, July 5, 2001, p. B4)

And yet, as governments are becoming more tolerant of dual citizenship, many new citizens are not converting but adding a citizenship, a detail that is never mentioned.

7.4.5   *The newspaper as detached, ironic citizen or 'cool patriot'*

When a reading position that is indifferent to or critical of the holiday is anticipated in writing in the newspaper, the footing is what I will call *cool patriotism*. Cool patriotism differs both from the general evaluative footing and from hot patriotism in that the newspaper is not taking the position of the government or expecting the public to be enthusiastic about the holiday, or, indeed, about the nation. Readers are well prepared to see this footing, having been taught in school[117] that

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[117] Typical texts that support this position are Henry David Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience* and *Walden*, Harper Lee's *To Kill A Mockingbird*, and Abolitionist works such as Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. They are, of course, 'balanced' in the curriculum by books about self-sacrificing young soldiers such as Esther Forbes' *Johnny Tremaine* and Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage* (the latter can also be

sometimes one strengthens the nation by criticizing it from within, with love. In forming their own identities as citizens, young citizens thus have (at least) dominant, negotiated and resistant role models available to them – although the range of resistant roles stops short of suggesting an overthrow the system of government symbolized by the Constitution.

As with the hot patriot footing, this footing can overlap with the evaluative footing where the celebration is being judged, and in this case, negatively evaluated. We have surveyed the words that signal it in section 5.4, for example references to speeches as "canned," "banal," "claptrap," "rhetoric," "the customary harangues of the Fourth" (1861), "the bunkum speeches of 'set' orators" (1866) and reporting that fireworks were "a fizzle as usual" (1866), as well as the word "hoopla" used in the Bicentennial classroom story for "sneakers and hydrants painted red, white and blue" – signifying that the displays are inauthentic and not to be taken very seriously. We can as well see the touch of the cool patriot in any noncritical or sympathetic reports of citizen disattendance and protest and in some of the opinions that are framed within the neutral journalistic footing. In addition to words that dissociate the newspaper from the festivities or make fun of them, the linguistic signals of this footing are generally lavish use of adjectives, adverbs, and the kind of clearly appraising words that are normally discouraged in newswriting; and latterly, clichés with irony markers such as quotation marks to signal distance. Usually multiple signals are used to make sure the effect is not lost on the reader. In contrast to the neutral footing, cool patriotism requires the active involvement of the journalistic voice. Occasionally cool patriotism even appears on the editorial page. During the Bicentennial of Independence in 1976, an event treated by many in the capital as the nation's best chance to regain face lost during Watergate, the editorial suggested that the republic was not perfect and there was work to be done:

> Still the world's most powerful nation but no longer the world's arbiter, the
> United States is entering a new and different age from all that have gone

---

read as an antiwar novel with some work). In light of recent writings about cultural divides in the United States I should perhaps specify that this observation is based on my own education which took place in the Northeast.

before. The social, economic, racial and political problems – involving a possible restructuring of large segments of government and society – will demand a kind of innovative thinking and unfettered creativity reminiscent of our revolutionary forebears. ("Third Century," editorial, July 4, 1976, p. D10)

On the news pages, cool patriotism is sometimes expressed using the voices of foreign visitors, who can be expected to take a more distanced view. "You only have 200 years of history, but you make so much of it," was the quote from an English tourist used as a "kicker" (large type lead-in) for the headline "History and Hoopla for Boston" in the *Boston Globe* (July 5, 2001, p. A1). Elsewhere in the same edition, a French student says, "It was funny to see people put their hands [on their hearts]. People in France aren't so patriotic." This quotation illustrates a general principle: because one's own nationalistic practices are naturalized, those of other countries seem more marked. In 1971, the *New York Times* took the unusual step of running a holiday travel piece about Revolutionary War sites in Boston humorously written by a British journalist from the viewpoint of the losers (main evaluative nuclei are shown in italics):

> Mind you, I am no admirer of those *insurgent* leaders you have elevated to fame – what with their Puritan morals and *longwinded* speeches, that *silly* Tea Party, that *show-off* midnight ride and their altogether *appalling* lack of any sense of civilized pessimism as to the human condition. Personally, I would rather have my house struck by lightning that read the maxims of that *philandering philanthropist* Ben Franklin. In my book, Sam Adams was an *incompetent brewer*, Patrick Henry a *failed shopkeeper*, Benedict Arnold a *splendid fellow* …

> Follow the red line of bricks up Washington Street now and go into the Old South Meeting House on the corner of Milk Street, a handsome church where the Boston Tea Party began. Tea is all the average Englishman knows about the American Revolution, specifically George III's *innocent little* Tea Act of 1773, which was intended to stamp out smuggling by giving the East India Company a monopoly on all tea sold in the Colonies. Even with King George's tax on top, it was cheaper than smuggled Dutch tea and much tastier, but the Americans were outraged. If tea could be made an English monopoly, what would happen to private enterprise? ("How We Lost the War – A Fourth of July Tour of George III's Boston," July 4, 1971, Section 10, p. 1)

This article is also a manifestation of detachment: sacred cows of history are defiled, though gently, and traditional villains of U.S. history labelled as "splendid chaps" in their picture captions. This story ran during the irreverent period of the 1960s and the late Vietnam War, when such jabs could be seen as play rather than a serious threat to face (as they would have been, say, when the War of 1812 was still in living memory). Another way in which a newspaper can signal a footing of cool patriotism, obviously, is to include outsider voices from within the republic: not foreigners, but minorities who might be disengaged from the day, or using it to ask for better treatment. These native representatives of the *vox pop* may voice judicious, qualified criticisms of the current government and of 'hot patriotism' (as some did in the 1981, 1991 and 1996 reporter's notebooks), but they do not, even in times that are considered ideologically relaxed, wax truly sarcastic about national symbols as foreigners can – and if they did, the reporter would probably think twice about letting them speak on the record.

Most of the time, however, the newspaper reserves the privilege of making fun of the festivities for itself, using the strategies that we have already seen. Certain lightly critical topics are also employed, such as the unsingability of the national anthem and children's ignorance of history. As we have seen, these critical keyings are quite common in 19th century reports, though absent during the First World War, Second World War, and early Cold War periods. From the Vietnam War on, the 'cool' critical stance appears to be regularly accessible, even leading to discussion of dissent during wartime. But actual war conditions do appear to inhibit the newspaper's temptation to clever irreverence.

In a more subtle and politically driven example, the newspaper's 1991 coverage of then-President George H.W. Bush's celebration of Independence Day was by famously sarcastic reporter Maureen Dowd. Her deliberate distance from her subject is clear in the leads of her stories, the second of which we have already seen in sections 5.1.3 and 5.4:

> MOUNT RUSHMORE, S.D., July 3 – President Bush came to this mountain of Presidents today to begin a two-day celebration of what he called "an extraordinary Independence Day." ("For Bush, A Special Day At Rushmore," July 4, 1991, p. A8)
>
> GRAND RAPIDS, Mich., July 4 – President Bush wanted today to be a special celebration for the Persian Gulf troops. It was to be a day filled with the "good, old-fashioned kind of patriotism," with teen-age drum majorettes and middle-age Shriners, with flag-bedecked babies and yellow-beribboned grandmothers, with horses and cows and antique cars and red wagons, with unicycling clowns and hoop-jumping dogs and beauty queens in convertibles and Rotary Club members atop lawn mowers. ("An Old-Fashioned Day of Patriotism," July 5, 1991, p. A8)

These stories clearly set up a position for the writer that is extremely distant from the president. "What he called" in the first story signals that Dowd would not call it that, and "it was to be" (indicating an imaginary event space in the President's head) is also distancing. As noted, the list of features, particularly the hoop-jumping dogs and Rotary Club members atop lawnmowers, was almost certainly read as satirical by readers who consider themselves sophisticated coastal urbanites, and the piling-on of detail increases the sense of ridicule. The implied readers build their own face by joining in the denigration of the small-town celebrants and their means of celebration.

In earlier versions of the analysis in this chapter, I identified a subfooting in which the newspaper functions specifically as a critic of the government's arrangements. This subfooting, in which the arrangements are criticized from an independent viewpoint that is clearly opposed to the nation, but without reference to ordinary people's opinions, is fairly rare and follows major disappointments or changes. For example the newspaper spoke of low attendance at the 1976 Bicentennial celebrations in Philadelphia (elsewhere reported as high attendance, see above) as the apparent result of "the predictions of large crowds themselves and the expectations of violence." It implies that these predictions and expectations had originated with the government, although the newspaper itself most likely played a role in them as well. On the rare occasions when the government criticism subfooting appears, it often occurs in editorials, and its language is that of editorials

in general – formal, hypotactic, nominalized, stereotypically statesmanlike, and perhaps with an extra edge of caution or understatement because of its critical content. The following editorial from 1876 gives 'constructive criticism' of the celebration:

> Now that the great anniversary is past, and the people of the whole country have succeeded in celebrating it in a manner on the whole very satisfactory, it is worth while to call attention to a few points at which, without much trouble or expense, it might have been made a better model for future occasions of like kind. We ought every year to have a general celebration of the Fourth of July. For this purpose we should have material always at hand for decorative purposes. It would certainly be better to have a good supply of durable dyed cloth, like bunting ... ("Our Centennial Edition," editorial, July 5, 1876, p. 4)

The editorial goes on to make specific suggestions about displays of Chinese lanterns and limitations on fireworks. Along similar lines, the Finnish business newspaper *Kauppalehti* wrote in 1952, in indirect criticism of a mysterious decision to cancel the President's ball for that year (extract reprinted in the digest of other newspapers in Helsingin Sanomat, December 6, 1952):

> *Hyvin tärkeätä oli, että itsenäisyyspäivän juhliminen tapahtuisi vakiintuvien tapojen mukaan. Siten syntyisi tässäkin suhteessa perinteitä, jotka säilyisivät kunniassa sukupolvesta toiseen. Käytäntöön vakiintuneesta tavasta tai juhlatilaisuudesta ei pitäisi luopua, mikäli siihen ei olisi aivan pakottavia syitä. Ja jos viimeeksimainittuja joskus olisi, niiden laadusta olisi saatava sellainen tieto, ettei niiden suhteen syntyisi turhan tähden erheellisiä käsityksiä.*

> It is very important that the celebration of Independence Day happen according to established customs. Thus traditions would develop that would be respectfully preserved from one generation to the next. The practice of established customs or celebrations should not be abandoned unless there are truly compelling circumstances. And if there are such circumstances, then information should be given about them so that mistaken impressions are not formed to no purpose.

The reasoning of asking for information in order to dispel rumor could almost be read as a threat of what will happen if information is withheld.

7.4.6 Shifts in footings

To reprise, the five footings I have identified are the public relations footing, the evaluator footing, the neutral footing, the hot (enthusiastic) patriot footing and the cool (detached) patriot footing. The case for the public relations footing being different from the hot patriot footing is based on the timing and origin of the texts (press release or promotional suggestion vs. reported observation) and the point of view represented, as well as the *vox pop* and heteroglossic elements in the hot patriot stories. The case for criticisms of the nation expressed through the neutral footing being different from the cool patriot footing is based on the newspaper's evident identification with critical or disattentive others in the cool patriot footing, whereas when it is acting in neutral or evaluative footing, it constructs a position of its own separate from everyone else. The evaluative footing overlaps with the hot and cool patriot footings when the celebrations are being evaluated. Thus the newspaper can align with the nation (promotional footing):
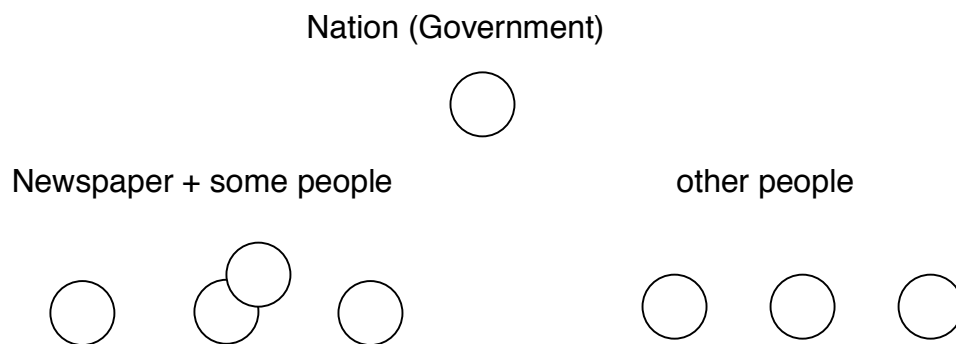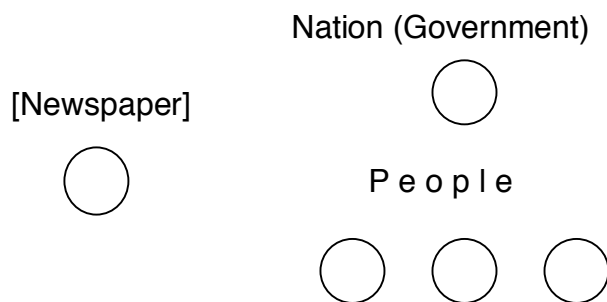
Newspaper + Nation (Government)

P e o p l e
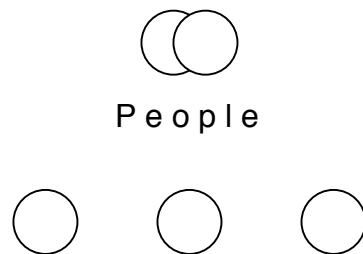
or with its own interests as an external evaluator (evaluative footing):

Newspaper

P e o p l e   Nation (Government)
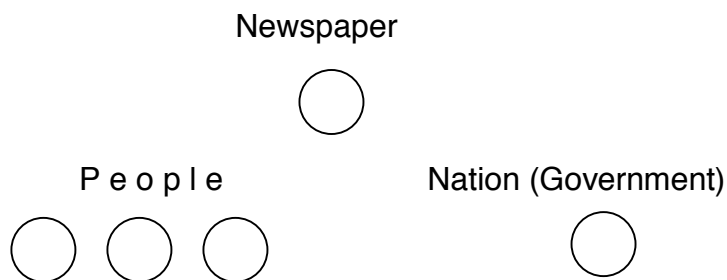
with hot patriots or cool patriots:

Nation (Government)

◯

Newspaper + some people   other people

◯   ◯◯   ◯   ◯   ◯   ◯

or it can pretend to align with nobody by trying to be invisible (neutral footing):

Nation (Government)

[Newspaper]   ◯

◯   P e o p l e

◯   ◯   ◯

In the United States, broadsheet publications aimed at middle-class readers are more likely to invoke cool patriotism, though not around or during wartime, while the hot version is more commonly seen in tabloids, as in the Boston headline examples under the hot and cool patriotism sections above.

The hot and cool positions are only stereotypes or prototypes, however; they are not always distinct; and there are intermediate positions created through combinations of features; for example, the ambivalence of Mr. Monachello who said he was flying a flag on his farmhouse, but only "for esthetic reasons." A hybrid position is also apparent in this photo caption, running under a photo of a dog in a stars-and-stripes print bonnet:

> PROUD HOUND. Apollo, a basset hound from Fall River, uses appropriate hatwear to express his love for his country. (*Boston Herald*, July 5, 2001, p. 5)

"Hatwear" is clearly a signal of humor, but the rest of the text seems deadpan given the very similar statements about humans in the same newspaper (for example, the patriotic Cambridge residents dressing up their house with "appropriate touches"). The proposition of the caption is absurd since dogs are perforce oblivious to the existence of nations and birthdays, though they may be capable of catching the spirit of a festive occasion. Similar photos of humans in the more upscale *Globe* simply refer to "students waiting for fireworks," "friends participating in a water fight," a child "viewing the start of Duxbury's annual parade" – noun phrases that are not elaborated for intention or emotion (although in other ages they might have been). With the dog picture, the *Herald* dismisses the holiday as trivial at the same time as it is engaging with it, similar to the mode of irony shown by British tabloids in dealing with the Royal Family (Hoggart 1957, Nairn 1994).

While black and Native American citizens can occasionally form a sort of loyal opposition of cool patriots in the newspaper, newer minorities continue to have the role of hot patriots; after the September 11 attacks, stories were printed in which Arab and Muslim Americans were shown declaring their love for the United States, and the inferred purpose of these stories was to counteract negative stereotypes and violence against these groups in the wake of the attacks, and to give them a chance to atone for the stigma of their common ethnos or religion with the bombers. It also served much the same kind of symbolism as the magazine cover of the black soldier saluting the French flag discussed by Barthes (1973: 116ff) – which signified to majority readers 'see, even *they* support the national project – and if they do, how can you not?' Other groups who are typically cast in the role of enthusiastic patriot include politicians (for whom it is an occupational duty), the very old (whose lives are assumed to be entwined with history and state-enabled progress), parents (on their children's behalf), the children themselves, military veterans, people in small towns, and – in international contests – athletes, who perform ground-kissing ceremonies that would be embarrassing in other circumstances. Some voices are missing in modern stories: among them, prisoners, the unemployed (for whom all days are days off), the very poor, the very radical. Occupationally, the dominant voices of both hot and cool patriotism are junior civil servants,

small business owners, and professional elites; all sectors can be implied by showing the middle class. Intellectuals in particular are enlisted to voice of cool patriotism shown through the neutral footing, perhaps on the theory that when successful people who are hailed as competent thinkers complain, it cannot be just sour grapes.

The news stories shift footing frequently, and, significantly, the discernible shifts in footing do not necessarily correspond to shifts in story boundaries. Strips of different footings may be adjoined in a single story, and pictures may demonstrate still other footings.[118] For example, this excerpt from a preview of a nineteenth-century political club event:

> Thomas F. Gilroy will preside as Grand Sachem for the first time, and will wear his silk hat. The Declaration of Independence will be read to the multitude – some of whom will partially understand it – by Thomas W. Pittman, and then the long talks will be given by that curious man, Senator A.H. Colquitt of Georgia, and Congressman Charles F. Crisp of the same State.
>
> The Tammany Glee Club will then sing "Where Would I Be?"
>
> They would all be in office if they could, and there doesn't seem to be any necessity to sing about it. ("The Fourth at Tammany Hall: It Will Be Celebrated As Usual With Talking and Drinking," July 4, 1891, p. 8)

The first line about Thomas F. Gilroy appears to have been written from the promotional footing, which has been sustained throughout the preceding lines of the story (although the comment about the silk hat is obscure). The next sentence about the Declaration of Independence and the long talks is written from the cool patriot footing, cynical about politics (not the evaluative footing, which would be a review of the performance). The sentence about the glee club is promotional in intent, while the next sentence is cynical (cool patriotism). Another example

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[118] This may be a feature of American-style 'balanced' newswriting in particular, since one desideratum is to represent different sources and different points of view. Stories elsewhere may be more likely to be based on a single source and to be footed consistently with respect to that source throughout. For a Finnish example, see ben-Aaron 1996b.

from the same period shows fine-grained changes in footing, between hot patriotism (underlining) and cool patriotism (italics), and the whole overlaid with the evaluative footing:

> The Glorious Fourth, like many another, has come and gone, and with it go into the record of <u>history, the beauty of the day,</u> *the rattle and noise of our industry*, the civic pageant, *the bunkum speeches of "set" orators, the military revival headed by the worthy general who might have changed the fate of Bull Run had he been given the chance,* the nights and shows, *and all the uproarings and collisions inevitably* attendant on <u>the day whose memories all small boys and patriotic men delight to celebrate.</u> ("The Glorious Fourth: General Interest, Turnout, and Participation, July 5, 1866, p. 1)

Since the newspaper is addressing a heterogeneous audience, it cannot assume that any position it takes will please all readers, or even be understood by all readers. Further, the number of people who have a stake in national days and will see national day news stories as applying to them is maximally large, potentially the entire nation. As Richardson points out, in such situations, "one solution is to keep on the move, addressing first one set [of reader/hearers], then another" (1985: 25), and the flexible use of "we," already discussed, provides another mechanism for doing this (cf. Gumperz 1982a, 1982b). In street-level stories with a large *vox pop* component, this is done by quoting first someone representing one footing or point of view, and then another; hot and/or cool patriot voices in narrative and descriptive paragraphs may alternate with a more neutral expository voice.

The evaluations are equally varied. The report begins with a neutral to positive evaluation ("has come and gone," implying it was no more than an average holiday), shading into hot patriotism ("history," "beauty"), and then into the derisiveness and satire of cool patriotism ("bunkum," like "hoopla," showing negative judgment of the substantiveness of events), and then through fairly neutral language ("the nights and shows") through cool ("uproarings and collisions") and back to hot patriotism again. The overall effect is heteroglossic, producing space for criticism and disattention. These examples raise the question of how meaningful story boundaries are to readers, especially in packages and in skimming situations, as well as how local shifts in footing may be

evidence of negotiation leading to cultural change. They also raise the question of when these larger historical shifts in footing occur. The very earliest Fourth of July reports were strongly evaluative, shading to hot patriotism around the time of the Civil War. A period of evaluative coverage shifting between hot and cool patriotism followed, running through the Progressive period until the eve of entrance into World War I, at which point the coverage turned monoglossically neutral with occasional touches of hot patriotism. After the war the mostly neutral and monoglossic coverage continued through the mid-1960s when it was supplanted by cool patriotism during the Vietnam period. Cool patriotism alternating with neutral roundups and some basic evaluation continued through the last year of the study in 2001, with the exception that hot patriotism returned for most of the Bicentennial coverage and the 1986 Statue of Liberty centennial coverage. At the time of the data collection and analysis, it could be said that American newspaper readers had gotten used to seeing more diverse voices in their news coverage than 40 years earlier, probably partly because of the changes of the 1960s and partly because of the proliferation of cable television and alternative news outlets.

Further perspective on the findings on footing can be gained by relating them to two frameworks, one from systemic-functional linguistics and one from communications. In his major study that examined a base of mostly hard news stories with the aid of Appraisal terms and techniques, White (1998) found three "voices" for the newspaper, which he termed *reporter*, *commentator*, and *correspondent*. In the reporter voice, all instances of Judgment (see section 5.1.3) were attributed to sources outside the newspaper; in the correspondent voice, Judgments of social sanction (legal, moral) were attributed but those of social esteem (proper, good) did not need to be; and in the commentator voice, Judgement could be applied freely without attribution. (Appreciation and Affect were not so important in the stories White examined.) We can see that the cool patriotism footing, which freely applies words like "bunkum" and "hoopla," largely corresponds to the commentator voice, while the neutral footing corresponds to the reporter voice. The correspondent voice is not found, since social esteem (and the aesthetics and affect that give rise to it) and social sanction are intertwined in these stories, as

discussed in Chapter V. This finding dovetails with Scannell's observation that ordinary people have a communicative entitlement to their experiences but not to their opinions in broadcast media (1996: 94) – in both cases, it is the right of evaluation that is safeguarded.

The second framework is the debate about the function of the newspaper that has been going on in various fora, including newspapers themselves, for the last 150 years. Three main functions are usually identified: *informational*, *entertainment*, and *advocacy*. In these public debates there is apparently no objection to the newspaper providing information, but when it is perceived to drift too far toward either entertainment or advocacy, protests are heard. (Broadcast media, especially private media, do not imagine their role in such serious terms and can happily turn into entertainment or advocacy channels.) Lately, the role of the newspaper has been conceived in a fourth way: as a forum for the community, a public sphere in the Habermasian sense. The neutral footing in which stories are mainly made up of citizen quotes observably serves this role. It is often assumed that the informational and forum functions are naturally unbiased compared to the entertainment and advocacy functions. We will re-examine the functions of news in the next chapter which is the last major analysis chapter.

7.5   Play and fighting

At the beginning of this study it was suggested that national holidays, with their fireworks and toy soldiers, often stand in a similar relation to war as play stands to serious fighting among animals. In his early work on cybernetics, Bateson raised the problem of how sparring animals signal that what they are doing is play rather than serious fighting. This question leads to the immediately relevant issue of how organisms are able "to recognize that the other individual's and its own signals are only signals, which can be trusted, distrusted, falsified, denied, amplified, corrected, and so forth" (1955: 178), and to the notion of frames that was developed further by Goffman. While the animal signals of frame shift may be olfactory as well as auditory and visual, the

human signals in most situations are linguistic and visual. In the material at hand, we can point to various features as anchoring a sense of irony and play. Goffman, in his effort to extend Bateson's theory to conversation, tried to identify some characteristics of play that function as the meta signals that it is play; these included exaggeration, repetition, starting and stopping, extending the interaction beyond the length it would have if it were not play, and clear beginning and ending signals (1974: 41ff). Analogously, in the national holiday texts we can see some clear cues for play, or for suspended evaluation ending in play, including lightly derisory words like "hoopla," unusual partial quotations, and negative evaluations paired with positive evaluations: a piling up of details each of which might be a slip to be repaired in a more serious frame, but all together unmistakably adding up to ridicule.

The material in the Fourth of July news story collection ranges from dry and neutral reporting of events that are not immediately threatening to most readers (as in the "objective" 1946 coverage) to obvious satire and relish of the clearly trivial. Now, however, we should look for comparison at the way these footings are implemented at a time when the country feels itself to be genuinely under attack; when news in its most serious sense is being made. The terrorist attacks on New York and Washington of September 11, 2001 were described as war during the first 24 hours, not only by corporate media such as television, wire services and newspaper websites, but also by ordinary people on Internet message boards who were exchanging news with eyewitnesses and near eyewitnesses as well as monitoring the corporate media to a greater or lesser degree. By the time the first print reports appeared, comparisons were made to body counts from Pearl Harbor, the Civil War, and the War of 1812. Within this framework the newspaper again transmitted information from the government to the people (public relations footing), reproducing messages from President Bush, Mayor Giuliani and others, and it evaluated the people's response (evaluation footing) to the attacks and to the calls for solidarity, calm and tolerance. This story evaluates the emotions of workers engaged in cleaning up the World Trade Center site:

> The mood among the truckers is a surly one. The adrenaline has given way to

fatigue. Though there is little chance that anyone in the wreckage is still alive, the drivers are still holding out for the chance of a miracle.

"I've heard stories of people living 11 or 12 days under collapsed buildings," Mr. Gartland said. When asked when and where these miracles occurred, Mr. Gartland said he could not remember. Still, he has heard about miracles and he believes in them. "It's ironic, though," he said. "We're taking the whole mess to a place called Fresh Kills." ("After the Attacks: The Disposal: Hauling the Debris And Darker Burdens," September 17, 2001, p. A1)

The judgment of the truckers' mood as "surly" indicates that they are probably not counted by the newspaper among its readers; and the last line is as close to levity as could be found in this coverage. During the post-trauma period the newspaper also evaluated the government's response to the attacks (through the independent critic footing), noting at once the sinister overtones of the name of new Office of Homeland Security, for instance. The bulk of the coverage, however, focused on people who were taking the role of the patriotic citizen (hot patriotism footing):

Jonesboro, Ga., Sept. 27 – Until two weeks ago, the theme for Friday's homecoming is celebration at Jonesboro High was "Old School," and each class had been asked to construct a float representing a different decade ... After the events of Sept. 11, the student council changed the theme to "Pride and Patriotism," and students have cleaned local stores out of red, white and blue crepe paper.

At Batesville Middle School in Batesville, Ark., on Monday, fifth and sixth graders waved tiny American flags and sang the country song "God Bless the U.S.A.," as a Veterans of Foreign Wars honor guard raised a new American flag outside the school.

"The last two weeks are something we will never forget," the superintendent, Ted Hall, told the children, "and I want to tell you students that it's O.K. to love your country and love your flag. Sometimes it takes something like this to make us appreciate that." ("A Nation Challenged: The Students: School Colors Become Red, White and Blue," September 28, 2001, p. B1)

There is a change of the social role of the citizen in a state of war – citizenship becomes even more foregrounded, and this affects possible footings on all sides. The nation's status relative to the citizen is

increased to the point where there is a taboo on joking about it, and jokes may be seen as a threat to "national security." Self-censorship increases. There are important differences between maintaining cynical distance from state-worship, threatening the face of the nation in fun, civil disobedience and treason, but these lines are blurred in times of threat and citizens find they must act considerably more delicately to avoid possible face threats. The Civil War and World War I were both accompanied by a decrease in cool patriotism footings and an increase hot patriotism and (particularly) neutral footings, which in the latter case continued through World War II and the Korean War until the Vietnam War. When critical statements in the stories after the September 11 attacks are examined, mitigators are commonly found:

> Darin Peters, a 33 year old business analyst for Qwest Communications in Denver said: "If I saw something was messed up, I'd say something. I fully support the President though." ("A Nation Challenged: Speech and Expression: In Patriotic Time, Dissent Is Muted," September 28, 2001, p. A1)

Like the shifts in footing in the holiday stories, quotations like this show that the newspaper does not speak from a consistent viewpoint at all times, and that it observes certain taboos against apparent sedition. As Billig observed, there are similarities between the regular flaggings of holidays and the sudden flaggings of times of war (as there are similarities between routine daily flaggings and occasional flaggings on holidays, see 1995: 93ff), which we can say are analogous to the differences between play and fighting. The hot patriot and cool patriot positions are discernible on both occasions, showing two different standards for politeness toward the nation, which may appear balanced in peacetime, but are distinctly tilted toward the hot patriot position when the nation is under attack.

Although some critical comments were reproduced in the news pages during the weeks after the September 11 attacks, one thing the newspaper did not do was take the ironic, distanced cool patriot role by using words and distancing devices like scare quotes that could be interpreted as dismissive of hot patriots. In the serious, wartime version of nationalism, this kind of flippancy is not available. The newspaper turned reflexive with an article that described cases of people who had

been criticized for expressing dissent, but mainly in terms of the backlash against them:

> The surge of national pride that has swept the country after the terrorist attacks on Sept. 11 has sparked the beginnings of a new, more difficult debate over the balance among national security, freedom and patriotism.
>
> In the most highly publicized case, a nationally televised talk show host was shunned by many of his advertisers and criticized by the White House spokesman for making what some considered an unpatriotic remark about American soldiers. ("A Nation Challenged: Speech and Expression: In Patriotic Time, Dissent Is Muted," September 28, 2001, p. A1)

"New, more difficult debate" is a signpost that this discussion has moved past chronicling and analysis to the stage of metadiscourse (cf. Coffin 1997, 2003), which is further signalled by the double embedding in the second paragraph. Another difference in roles and footings between holiday news and war news has to do with characterizations of enemies but there are also patterns conspicuously missing from it, notably the us-them opposition taken by many scholars, particularly those influenced by social psychology, to be a crucial component of nationalist discourse. 'Us' is constructed, but 'Them' is missing, with a very few exceptions such as the humorous references to the Redcoats in the 1970s. The absence of a clear enemy is an important signal that this particular type of practical nationalism both differs from and functions as play for war.

Performance of citizenship roles was particularly closely contested during the post-attack period in the fall of 2001. There were extensive debates, public and private, over whether Americans ought to feel obligated to fly flags from their houses, for example. Many felt that this was a necessary show of solidarity with the nation and respect for the victims; that not making such a display would damage the face of the community. For people who normally considered flag display part of 'good citizenship' on holidays, it was a simple decision to put the flag up for this occasion. For those who were not accustomed to flying flags it was more difficult; some of them decided to get or make a flag in that time of exceptional panic; others concluded that no matter how much

peer pressure was brought to bear, home flag display would never be part of their repertoire of citizenship.[119] Immigrants especially felt constrained to display the flag on their businesses to show that they were united with the rest of the country and to deter possible violence. Like the Finnish Independence Day demonstration example at the beginning of the chapter, the matter of flying flags after a terrorist attack involves an encounter between 'society' or 'the culture' and individual members who flout majority norms, which in this case are only emerging as practice at the time. In what we think of as 'modern,' 'democratic' countries, maintenance of these rules is a matter of hegemony, not coercive control,[120] and this hegemony is of course achieved partly through the media.

In the United States, it has become common for newspapers to run articles illustrating the 'proper' forms of patriotism through descriptions of the behavior of ordinary citizens. Such didactic functions were served before World War I by editorials and by fiction, poetry and anecdotes that clearly provided models of good and bad behavior. In the interwar and early Cold War years, evaluations were given indirectly through more sophisticated pragmatic means in 'objective' news reports, such as the story about WPA workers on the Fourth of July discussed earlier. After the Bicentennial of Independence in 1976, features about relatively model citizens began to appear on national political holidays and at times of national crisis, under headlines such as "After War, Patriotism Unfurls for Fourth of July" (July 4, 1991, p. A8) and "School Colors

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[119] For a historical discussion of debates about flag practices in the United States, see O'Leary 1999 and Marvin and Ingle 1999.

[120] It is important to remember that in other times and places such rules have been a matter of coercive control. Antin (1911 : 18-19) noted in a memoir of the Pale of Settlement that on the Czar's birthday and other flag days, "the flag must show from every house, or the owner will be dragged to the police station, to pay a fine of twenty-five rubles." Alternatively, the police might confiscate anything they owned. Therefore the poor would pawn their household goods in advance to raise money for flags. This obviously a time when power is being exercised in Watts' (2003:214) sense: people are being affected in a manner that is contrary to their interests.

Become Red, White and Blue," quoted earlier in this section. The emergence of this story form can be seen as the result of a confluence of ideology and technology, as we will see in the next chapter. What we need to note here is that newspaper feature stories on patriotism generally provide a restatement of patriotic themes in terms of loyalty and teamwork versus individualism and principled dissent, as well as any other axes of multivocalism that seem relevant at the time.

The *New York Times* did run some articles about dissenters following September 11, 2001, for example reports of peace marches and a feature on pacifist Quakers. In articles that were not explicitly about dissent or debate, however, there was little variation in opinion to be seen; the only controversy mentioned in the schoolchildren article is over whether to include 'God' in expressions of patriotism. Criticism and sarcasm may be isolated once a public crisis is in progress; but these modalities do not disappear. Comic strips routinely run war-themed panels: *Punch* ran blackout and bomb cartoons during most of World War II, and after a respectful pause of a week or so, an online humor magazine took up the satirical aspects of September 11, with stories like "Not Knowing What Else To Do, Woman Bakes American-Flag Cake":

> TOPEKA, KS – Feeling helpless in the wake of the horrible Sept. 11 terrorist attacks that killed thousands, Christine Pearson baked a cake and decorated it like an American flag Monday ...
>
> Pearson, who had never before expressed feelings of patriotism in cake form, attributed the baking project to a loss of direction. Having already donated blood, mailed a check to the Red Cross, and sent a letter of thanks to the New York Fire Department, Pearson was aimlessly wandering from room to room in her apartment when the idea of creating the confectionary stars and stripes came to her. (*The Onion*, September 26, 2001)

Since the mainstream media had run many stories about suddenly-triggered patriotic displays and efforts to assert emotional control through action by people far from the actual sites of the attacks, such as the schoolchildren quoted above, the source of the satire was clear. Thus topical play emerges even during wartime, albeit not in the mainstream media who take their responsibilities most seriously, and not in terms of dismissing the entire situation as meaningless. It is, incidentally, quite

unclear how a theory of interpersonal value like Appraisal would account for humor at this scale of allegory.

Having shown how the opposition of play and fighting works in the national holiday stories, I will now move on to the question of what the national day stories do in the newspaper in general. This chapter has broadly examined the workings of special occasion etiquette on the largest scale, between a readership of as many as a million people and their national government, moderated by a large newspaper. In particular, we have looked at ways in which the newspaper indicates deference to the nation's positive image needs and avoidance needs, and described the newspaper's footings that enact different degrees of involvement with the government, with its own professional standing as an evaluator, and with the two main styles of patriotic attitude in the population at large. We have further illuminated the study of politeness by extending it from individuals in real situations to groups in real situations, and to textual usages, an area with applications to diplomacy. So far the study has taken as a tacit assumption the Parsonian idea that every action has a function of its own, and every text serves a purpose, and in the chapter that follows I will propose that some of the purposes of the national day texts in fact have nothing to do with their propositional content, but are purely interpersonal or textual. At the same time I will examine the way that these stories do and do not embody the values of prototypical news, and investigate how the points of pragmatic interest in the stories seem to interact with the reader's attention.

VIII NEW AND NEWS

8.1   What's news

News is a word that has taken on a life of its own in modern European languages, with a scope far wider than its original meaning of 'things that are new,' which was subsequently abstracted into 'the new' or 'the previously unknown.'[121] This chapter will explore the complex senses of news as a professional production, and the applicability of the ideas of news and the new to the national holiday material. Since reports of

[121] The earliest sense of 'news' in the OED is 'new things.' The earliest cite comes from Wycliffe's Bible of 1382, and appears to be a mistranslation of a Latin sense of *novorum* meaning 'new fruits' (Matti Kilpiö, personal communication). This sense of 'news' appears to have died out in the Early Modern English period, while the regular use of 'news' to mean "tidings, reports or accounts of recent events or occurrences, brought or coming to one as new information," with plural concord, is supported by citations from the 15th century to the 20th.

    The OED characterizes 'news' with singular concord as a more recent sense with a slightly different definition: "newly received (now esp. published or broadcast) information about recent events or matters of topical, local or personal interest." I see no difference from the earlier plural sense except for the embellishment of the latter definition to account for changes in technology. Other senses of 'news' accounted for in the OED include "a person, thing or place regarded as worthy of discussion or of reporting by the media" (first cite of 'he is news' from Rudyard Kipling in 1912) and "a piece or item of news" (count noun, surviving mainly in Indian English, as does the use of 'news' with plural concord).

    Dr. Johnson's dictionary (1755) does not deviate from this picture, giving solid definitions of news as "1. Fresh account of anything; something not heard before; 2. Papers which give an account of the transactions of the present times" – indicating the early reification of the media as a primary news source.

national holidays are obviously predictable and well anticipated, they present a problem for our folk understanding of news, and some explanation is required of how these reports fit into the news flow and what functions they might have.

The very first American newspaper, *Publick Occurrences, Both Forreign and Domestick*, which appeared only once, in Boston on September 25, 1690, before being shut down by Crown representatives, declared its mission as furnishing the country "once a month (or if any Glut of Occurrences happen, oftener), with an Account of such considerable things as have arrived unto our Notice." These things were expected to be first, "Memorable Occurents of Divine Providence," probably meaning accidents, weather conditions and other turns in luck; and second "that people everywhere may better understand the Circumstances of Publique Affairs, both abroad and at home; which may not dwell their Thoughts at all times, but at some times also to assist their Businesses and Negotiations." The editor, Benjamin Harris, pledged himself to "take what pains he can to obtain a Faithful Relation of all such things," relying on "diligent Observers" and "the best fountains for our information," correcting any errors immediately and actively replacing rumors and other misinformation with a reliable record; interestingly, in all this explanation, he did not use the word 'news' but rather "occurrences." The occurrence that he found most immediately worthy of report was a celebration: a day of thanksgiving declared by the Plymouth Indians for a good harvest, followed by accounts of the French and Indian War and recent epidemics (Mott 1950: 11ff).

Harris's manifesto, written in the information-poor conditions of a seventeenth-century colony, would be a perfectly reasonable mission statement for a media organization today: to deliver fresh information on events of notable magnitude, unexpected and expected, personal and institutional; to tell people what they do not know they need to know and to remedy their misapprehensions. In thinking of what people need to know, however, it is important not to naively accept the journalistic profession's 'objective' view of news as information whose presentation is of interest to all readers of all degrees of power and personal investment in the events reported. Rather, we must acknowledge that

reproduction of the social structure is a prime function of newspapers, and that promotional discourse has always been integrated with news. Furthermore, the nature of news depends on what information is already known and accessible to readers. This leads us to questions of contextualization, of how individual stories unfold from headlines and leads, how news stories are skimmed in the context of their surroundings, and how stories are seen in relation to each other over the individual's long-term and short-term reading history – questions which cannot be settled within the scope of this study, but we can make a start.

With his focus on prosodic patterns of meaning, Halliday (1994) called attention to large-scale rhythms in language. News helps furnish a long-term rhythm for our daily dialogue, involving the interplay of events that cannot be predicted or affected by most people, such as death and national politics, with those that can be predicted and affected. The juxtaposition of events also leads people to associate them with each other, and contributes to forming the spirit of the age; in these ways and others the media are writing time, that is, constructing the public perception of time and of lifetimes (Scannell 1996, Hannerz 2004: 208). At the same time a spiral of reflexivity is established as the public record is built up; as Schudson (1987) has observed, successive wars, in particular, force a greater awareness of historical forces which is reflected over the long term in more analytical reporting.

Unlike the other chapters, this chapter does not present concrete findings about the discourse of national days, but explores different ways of theorizing news and new information. Throughout the study I have been struggling against some tacit assumptions in the mainstream study of news by linguists. First, the assumption that news is (what is) negative and unexpected. Second, the assumption that news is new (whatever that means). Third, the assumption that news is read carefully and thoroughly, and that when researchers analyze news they are reproducing the ways actual readers approach it. I want to lay the beginnings of a theoretical foundation for working against these assumptions in future studies of news. I will start with the well-known social scientific model of news values and the problems with it.

In 1961, the historian Daniel Boorstin published *The Image,* a popular book denouncing the increasingly visual orientation of public discourse, stimulated by the suddenly hegemonic medium of television and the intensified celebrity culture arising from it – "famous for being famous" is perhaps the most quoted line from the work. There Boorstin coined the analytical category of "pseudo-events" (1961: 9): items of news that are unnecessary and wholly socially constructed, that exist to be reported on and to increase the fame of their sponsors. His stereotypical example of a pseudo-event was an anniversary celebration (for a hotel). The pseudo-event concept is periodically revived by columnists and press critics, and has gained resonance from the dichotomies between authenticity and fakeness in the ideas of Bakhtin (1952-53) and Baudrillard (1981), among others; it has entered folk social science as a way to dismiss any but the most sober hard news and events as trivial and self-promotional. Many media researchers (among them Carey, Dayan and Katz, Scannell, and Couldry) explicitly disclaim such authenticity/fakeness divides, seeing social communion as a function of media at least as important as information transmission, and therefore have no problem with the staged and performed nature of many news events. However, hard news retains a prestige which means among other things it is generally positioned most prominently in the news channel, and receives the best resources for follow-up stories. At the same time, as we can see from any newspaper edition, now that we have trained ourselves to see that significant resources are also deployed on routine news stories like anniversary reports – and not only reports of national days – and this requires a theoretical accounting.

8.2   News values

As we saw from the familarity of the mission statement for *Publick Occurrences* in 1690, journalists tend to describe their goals of practice in consistent terms. However, news in the sense of what kind of events actually count as news is a relative and historically contingent concept. What is news in a small town or during a slow week is not the same as what is news in a world capital or during a revolution; and as the findings in Chapter III made clear, earlier newspapers contain a different

selection of facts and topics than we see today. Nevertheless, some things are consistently more newsworthy than others, and there is a core of things that are always news because they shake the social order, for example election results, presidential assassinations, declarations of war, and stock market crashes.

The often-used term "news value"[122] implies both that news is a form of capital, and that there is a shared scale on which its value can be judged. News values can be conceived either as values of news professionals, which the public are conditioned to share to some extent, or as values common to all members of society, which the professionals apply as gatekeepers of news. The former view is popular among journalists themselves, who have operated largely without benefit of explicit guidelines, believing news to be a natural kind which they could recognize by superior instinct when they saw it. From the point of view of the *New York Times* editors at mid-century, news was conceived as "*significant* current events that you did not know and should know"(Talese 1969: 94, emphasis his), implying a highly paternalistic view of knowledge flow. A popular journalism textbook likewise places its discussion of news values under the editorial function and sums up news as "information about a break from the normal flow of events, an interruption in the expected" and "information people need to make sound decisions about their lives" (Mencher 1991: 57). These top-down views are unequivocal in their characterization of news as necessary and important.

The first major writer to identify any kind of socially constructed, shared system of news selection criteria, the columnist Walter Lippmann (1922), apparently did not use the terms news value or newsworthiness, but he clearly had the idea in mind. In arguing that news is not an evenhanded

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[122] The term "news value" was coined by Julian Ralph (1852-1903), a reporter for the *New York Sun* and the London *Daily Mail*, in a lecture at Columbia University in 1892 (Mott 1950: 323, 580). Its uptake was gradual; the American magazine writer Thomas Beer wrote in a collection of sketches on public life, "Newspapers neglected Mr. Grant's discovery and printed very little [material about] Landon Cabell Garland. He had no 'news value' — Julian Ralph invented the phrase in 1892 although it would be long before it became sacred" (1926).

reflection of life, but rather is highly selective, he asserted (215-216) that the news is characterized by events that have a reportable shape:

> There must be a manifestation. The course of events must assume a certain definable shape, and until it is in a phase where some aspect is an accomplished fact, news does not separate itself from the ocean of possible truth … Usually it is the stereotyped shape assumed by an event at an obvious place that uncovers the run of the news. The most obvious place is where people's affairs touch public authority … In the first instance, therefore, the news is not a mirror of social conditions, but the report of an aspect that has obtruded itself.

In addition to encapsulation as an event at the private/public interface, other important factors according to Lippmann are unusualness and unexpectedness (214, 218); rules for naming, scoring and recording (216), a factor that is clearly related to evaluative function in news; the human interest factor (223-224); and the selection of events that are consistent with the "stereotypes" held by editors and readers (221-222).

Lippmann's interpretation of news in terms of reportable events and stereotypes continued to be the most popular social scientific analysis of newsworthiness until the publication of Galtung and Ruge's study of international news in Norwegian newspapers (1965, reprinted 1973). This study, which was based on information theory as formulated by Shannon and Weaver (1949) for the telecommunications industry and on subsequent work in cybernetics, relied on the metaphor of a listener scanning the frequencies of a radio receiver in a search for information. Naturally the strong, clear, unusual – in brief, easily distinguished – signals would receive the most attention, and this was Galtung and Ruge's point. However, thinking about the problem now, it seems that depending on the equipment and the user's level of enterprise, considerable time might also be spent scanning the noise between stations and attempting to disambiguate faint signals. This curious behavior may not be common, however, and Galtung and Ruge's ideal information user appears from their news values (as we will see) to be as a channel surfer, who finds strong, clear signals and hops between them, trying to see many things at once. The authors treated newsworthiness as a kind of natural quality, eschewing any kind of

social constructivism, and explicitly shifted during the article between the point of view of the news 'speaker' and that of the 'hearers,' on the principle that news is transmitted through chains of journalists who function as both hearers of incoming news stimuli and speakers to the next link in the chain.

Galtung and Ruge began with an analysis of eight factors: Events with a similar timespan to the news cycle were more likely to be reported (they called this the *frequency effect*); thus an isolated murder was more likely to register as news than an extended conflict or long-term trend. Events that were bigger, more extreme, and accelerating were likely to be reported (*amplitude effect*). Events with clear and obvious interpretations were more likely to be reported (*signal-to-noise effect*). Event-scanners were thought to pay more attention to the culturally familiar (*meaningfulness effect*[123]); this point is rather similar to Lippmann's "stereotyping." *Relevance* to the reader's world is another factor; culturally distant places become relevant through connections and conflicts with the reader's "home" group. *Consonance* with mental images of what should happen is important, and the authors note that "in the sense mentioned here 'news' are actually 'olds' because they correspond to what one expects to happen – and if they are too far away from the expectation they will not be registered, according to the hypothesis." Balancing this, the *unexpected and rare* is noticed: "what is rare and institutionalized, continuing and repetitive at regular and short intervals" does not attract as much attention as the commonplace. (National holidays, of course, are regular and expected, but each annual occurrence is comparatively rare compared to the daily news cycle.) Once something has been defined as news, it will continue to be news because it is relatively easy to report and absorb the next increment of known information compared to something completely new (*continuity effect*). And news items that are dissimilar from those already received have a *compositional* advantage.

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[123] *Meaningfulness effect* was an especially badly chosen term for cultural familiarity since cybernetic studies of meaning generally emphasize difference ('a difference that makes a difference').

These eight factors, taken as universals because they were felt to be logical consequences of cybernetic principles, were supplemented by four that the authors thought might not be universal, but were observable in the contemporary Norwegian press: Events concerning what Galtung and Ruge called *elite nations* (that is, nations that are rich, militarily powerful and/or culturally influential) were more likely to become news. Events concerning *elite actors* were more likely to become news, both because the actions of elite actors affect more people, and because "the elite can be used in a sense to tell about everybody," so (in their example) a story about the king's birthday may be used to stand for a general birthday story or an idealized birthday story. Events that are *personalized* and seen as arising from individuals' actions were more likely to become news, serving the requirements of liberal humanist ideology, personal identification, the frequency factor and production requirements. Finally, events with *negative* consequences were more likely to become news, particularly if they are rare, unambiguous, unexpected, and satisfy people's pessimistic preconceptions (which may not be universal). It is clear that the twelve factors overlap, reinforce each other (particularly meaningfulness, relevance and consonance), and sometimes contradict each other (cultural familiarity and unexpected-ness) and the authors further point out that the newsworthy features of an event tend to be exaggerated, and the non-newsworthy events played down.

Galtung and Ruge devised their system of news values was devised in support of a study of the presentation of three Cold War-era international crises (the Congo and Cuba crises of 1960 and the Cyprus crisis of 1964) in Norwegian newspapers; in other words, to analyze news that was already known to be negative and unexpected, with a widening scope of conflict that soon came to include elite nations and multilateral institutions such as the UN. It is therefore a little surprising that these twelve values should have proved so durable and so generally applicable to other kinds of news (as we will see in relation to the national holiday stories), and in fact my main criticism of the system as a whole is its event-centeredness, which is set forth in the very first value of frequency, and which also underlies Lippmann's theory. This is belied by the existence of feature formats which, although less time-

dependent and more interpersonal, surely still count as 'news,' and by the fact that so much 'soft news,' though nominally event centered, is obviously hung on the thinnest of event pegs.

Bell (1991), incorporating the work of a number of others, has expanded on Galtung and Ruge's list of news values, which he also calls *news factors*. He divides them into three groups, relating to the nature of actors and actions in news stories; news production; and the quality of the news text. The influence of Halliday's three metafunctions may be detected in the division into a group of factors having to do with the news itself (the experiential metafunction), a group of factors having to do with production (the interpersonal metafunction, although somewhat removed from the final reader in the chain), and a group of factors relating to the text (the textual metafunction). Bell's system also involves a more principled separation of strictly production considerations from consumption factors which affect both producers in the chain who consume and evaluate news in the process of acting as gatekeepers and end consumers.

In Bell's system, the values characteristic of actors and actions are *negativity, recency* (related to Galtung and Ruge's frequency)*, proximity* (related to Galtung and Ruge's cultural meaningfulness)*, consonance* (related to stereotyping and cultural scripts)*, unambiguity, unexpectedness* (and the subsidiary factor of *novelty*)*, superlativeness* (related to Galtung and Ruge's amplitude or threshold)*, relevance, personalization, eliteness, attribution* (which Bell means as eliteness of the story's sources, but could also mean simply its sourcedness), and *facticity.* Values in the news process are *continuity, competition* (matching other news outlets is a motivation for covering a story)*, co-option* (degree of relatability to high-profile continuing stories, or in my terms, potential for *topic bleed*)*, composition* (in Galtung and Ruge's sense of contribution to balance across the news outlet as a whole)*, predictability* and *prefabrication* (for example, availability of press releases as sources). Values in the news text are *clarity, brevity* and *color*; the ability to be summed up in a headline, lead and/or "nut graph." No single one of these news values is necessary or sufficient for a successful news story, but all successful news stories seem to contain some constellation of them; indeed, since a

number of the values are opposed to each other, such as consonance and unexpectedness, it is difficult to think of any narratable event that would not perforce contain several of these parameters.

Despite the formal acknowledgement of the entire range of news values, those involving negativity, unexpectedness and superlativeness are widely taken to be the most important. Hall (1973: 184) identified *violence* as the most salient news value in political news because it is "'unusual' – though it regularly happens – because it signifies the world of politics *as it ought not to be*." White (1998: 266) tacitly reinforces this idea since he looks mainly at news of competitive politics and disasters, coming to the following picture of news values:

> To be deemed 'newsworthy', the subject matter typically needs to be assessed as actually or potentially damaging, aberrant or transformative of social roles and power relations (and hence often involves conflict) in ways that are significant to society as a whole – hence the primary focus of news on politics (power-relational transformation), crime (aberration and/or damage) and misadventure (damage, aberration in cases of human negligence). These themes are operational in a modelling of the social order in that they locate its boundaries, the points at which it is deemed to be at risk or undergoing transformation. Thus news coverage doesn't model by describing the everyday operation of social roles, relationships and practices but by identifying the points at which those roles, relationships and practices are seen to be at risk … At the explicit level, [the subject matter of news] is concerned with material which is construed as challenging, damaging or transforming the social, power-relational and moral status quo. At the implicit level it is concerned with rehearsing, reinforcing or redrafting the presumed norms with reference to which events, developments, decisions, proposals etc acquire the status of actual or potential 'aberration,' 'transgression,' 'damage,' or 'transformation.'

I have quoted this at length because White's analyses are extremely convincing and have expanded the understanding of news greatly, but as I have argued throughout this study, any analysis based only on hard news that is essentially negative and surprising should not be taken to stand for an analysis of all news genres. As a matter of fact, White acknowledges other kinds of news in his use of "typical" and his reference to "rehearsing" the presumed norms (as holiday stories do in a

sense), but readers may well take it that the most prototypical kind of news is the only kind of news.

White and Bell essentially uphold Galtung and Ruge's idea of a core set of fixed and essential news values, but there are other points of view. Van Dijk (1988b: 119ff) argued for a more nuanced, multidimensional view of news values as influenced by cognitive, economic and social factors, which vary with the contexts of production and reading. In his view the most important (and perhaps transcendent) news values were *novelty*, *recency*, *consonance*, *relevance*, *deviance and negativity* (which he grouped together), and *local and ideological proximity;* this selection was clearly influenced by his focus on news of international affairs and racial and ethnic minorities. In his study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, *Newsweek* and *Time* magazines (but not newspapers), Gans (1979) derived a set of specifically American "values in the news," or values held by journalists, which is a more parochial concept than news values. Gans' work was notable for the way it took class in the newsroom into account, which is rare in studies of news, and he concluded that journalists mainly came from middle-class backgrounds and took their own values to stand for their audience's values. Some of these journalists' values are clearly expressed in the national holiday stories, such as *commitment to altruistic democracy*, *commitment to responsible capitalism*, *small-town pastoralism*, *freedom of the individual*, *moderation*, and *emphasis on order*; values identified by Gans but missing from the stories are *ethnocentrism* and, surprisingly, *commitment to visionary leadership*. Gans' work had some of the flavor of content analysis, since it concentrated on actual themes found in the news rather than on theoretical criteria for selecting some things rather than others to include in the news, and it is rarely referenced by linguists.

Views of dialogism from cultural studies and philosophy have also informed some investigations of news values. Tuchman (1980) sees news values, which she terms "newsworthiness," as negotiated between newsworkers and the public, giving evidence from a sociological study of newsrooms and examples from news treatments of the women's movement (1978: 182-4). She also notes (139) a general bias toward events rather than "issues" in the news; as noted above, this assumption

is problematic for dealing with feature-heavy areas of news as well as for dealing with periods when introspection is in fashion. A consequence of viewing news values as negotiated is a closer concern with the question of who implements them and how. Gans (1979: 78ff) identifies three families of theories: *event-centered theory*, which argues that the events themselves dictate their placement in the media (equivalent to the now-discredited model of the media reflecting society); *journalist-centered theory*, which argues that news is shaped by the professionalized news judgment of journalists; and *organization-centered theory*, which argues that story selection is influenced by institutional factors that are mostly beyond individual control. (These may be viewed as succinct reformulations of the theories of the media reflecting society, dictating society, and simply being part of society discussed in Chapter II.) Most researchers who have sat in newsrooms, including Gans, Tuchman, and Bell, subscribe to some version of organization-centered theory; and the truth is probably that any prevailing news values are applied through negotiation between journalists and organizations (including government and corporate public relations as well as the news companies), a dialogue in which the organizations have the upper hand. Despite the attention given to public journalism movements, the effect of organizational initiatives in creating promotional news and in censoring the news should not be underestimated (useful investigations of these phenomena can be found in Anthonissen 2003 and Erjavec 2004).

Since most of the work that has been done to apply the theory of news values has concentrated on competitive politics or wars and disasters, it is not surprising that hard news values such as negativity, surprise and unambiguity have gotten most of the attention and have come to be thought of as the most salient news values. However, as has been suggested, there are many news stories even in the category of event-driven, time-dependent hard news that conspicuously lack these values. The national day news stories – always predictable, never necessary, always positive, clearly reinforcing the social order – are just one example of overlooked categories of news. There is obviously a great deal of other news that is not overtly political or economic or related to public order, even though it appears on the news pages or time slots for hard news, and on a slow news day this news can dominate some

outlets. Much of it is practical and local, such as public event announcements, routine traffic and weather reports, and administrative news such as school schedules and tax deadlines. This news is, as the top editors would have it, both important and necessary to citizens – more so, in the short term, than most international news. There are also reports of regular seasonal changes and customs, religious and other nonpolitical holidays, anniversary celebrations and prizegivings, and milestones in long-term public works projects; as well as topical news in areas like sports, arts, fashion and trends – none of which threatens the social order and much of which maintains it. Small-town newspapers, intended to supplement major metropolitan dailies, may consist almost entirely of this kind of news. News of national days, though not always so 'relevant,' thus falls into a broad category of obligatory, calendar-driven public information, which accounts for a large fraction of news in a local newspaper and a smaller fraction in a newspaper of historical record like the *New York Times*.

We shall now consider Galtung and Ruge's and Bell's systems of news values in relation to the national day stories, or indeed to any of the myriad of reports on any kind of milestone or celebration that share the same profile. News stories are supposed to document change and progress in human history as opposing forces struggle for control, enabling people to choose sides and plan their actions, but stories about national holidays tend instead to present a static view of the universe. No other entity is competing with the nation-state, no one is racing the clock, and, officially, nothing is being contested; as Bodnar says in his study of historical commemoration (1992: 142), "in the form presented to the public, the political system met needs precisely: no need ever existed to alter it." This staticity means that articles about national holidays often focus on recurrent or historical aspects of celebrations that are much the same from year to year. With respect to the actions represented in news stories, values of *recency*, *proximity*, *consonance*, and *facticity* are easily found in stories about national days: they concern recent, verifiable events that happen locally, and the stories are buttressed by dense conglomerations of facts, particularly after the lead paragraphs. News production is integrated with the calendar and the nation, and national holidays, which are typically one day long like the

newspaper cycle, fit into this system very well, suiting Galtung and Ruge's original news value of *frequency* (see also Jucker 1995 on *periodicity*). And as noted in the discussion of dissent in the last chapter, these highly *predictable,* repeatable stories are designed to resonate with readers' existing mental structures, including stereotypes and ideologies, rather than breaking expectations. There are exceptions to this pattern. Historical retrospectives sometimes have no recent element, reports from foreign embassies are not proximate, and some reports remain vague and impressionistic all the way through; but in general recency, proximity, consonance and facticity are central to any given year's coverage, as we have seen from the way evaluations of national holidays constantly revolve around the highly predictable axes of impressiveness, enthusiasm, and restraint. Furthermore, if unexpectedness and superlativeness are taken together as forming the value of *rarity* or *uniqueness* (lumped in with unexpectedness by Galtung and Ruge), national holidays are far from unique, but like other annual events they are rare enough to be forgotten in between their occurrences.

The values of *continuity, personalization, eliteness (attribution),* and *superlativeness* can also sometimes be found in these stories. National day stories may be linked to ongoing stories (for example, the fear of terrorist strikes now associated with any public event); they may be centered on news actors or alternatively on institutions and settings; they may feature either elite or non-elite actors as we saw in Chapter V; and the current celebration may be deemed somehow extraordinary or business as usual. Facts may be attributed to reputable sources, or may simply be based on the reporter's interactions with ordinary people and personal experience as a member of the community. The patterns are less clear for these news values.

The values of *negativity, unambiguity, unexpectedness,* and *relevance* are not generally present; holiday reports are almost always neutral to positive in tone, they are highly ambiguous as we have seen, extremely predictable, and the reports after the holiday contain little information that is likely to change readers' plans or affect their security, though announcements (including advances and reports-that-announce in time for people to change their plans, like the "Everybody's All-American"

item discussed in section 7.4.4), closing notices and traffic forecasts are somewhat relevant. These missing news values, together with facticity, are the ones usually thought to be central to 'hard' news and therefore to news in general.

As for Bell's production values, the prototypical hard news value of *competition* is only somewhat significant for these stories – every general news outlet has national day stories, and their absence would cast shadows on the new organization's competence and political bona fides – and Bell's values of *composition* (the balance of the total package), *co-option* (available synergy with developing stories and other long-term trends), *predictability*, and *prefabrication* are extremely relevant for holiday stories. Not only can holiday stories often be practically written in advance, and not only do they help to balance hard news which must be covered, but there is time to bleed the topic and work gratuitous holiday references into nominally unrelated stories as well. Furthermore, because government offices and businesses are closed on major holidays, other kinds of news are likely to be scarcer, leaving a larger news hole to be filled by holiday reporting and by stories from wire services and correspondents abroad.

It is important to note that any story or story genre exhibits only a subset of the amalgamated list of values: a story that is unexpected (a positive value for the actions in the story) cannot by definition be very predictable or prefabricated. Nevertheless, the national day stories (and other milestone and celebration news) exhibit a large number of the classic news values quite easily; they have all the production news values, and at least as many of the other values as most prototypical hard news stories (see Figure 8-2 below) – with the caveat that all news values probably are not equal in status:

Figure 8-2: News values appearing in national day news stories

Galtung and Ruge	Bell production values marked with (P)	van Dijk	presence in national day stories; comments
		novelty	

frequency effect (news cycle)	recency		+ ; also, being the same "size" as the news cycle is important: one matched day or less
amplitude effect (size)	superlativeness		+ / − ; some celebrations are superlative
signal-to-noise (unambiguity)	unambiguity		− ; significance varies
meaningfulness (familiarity)	proximity	local and ideological proximity	+
relevance	relevance	relevance	− ; limited immediate usefulness exc. for advances
consonance (mental scripts)	consonance	consonance	+
unexpectedness	unexpectedness + novelty	deviance	−
rarity			+ / − ; happens every year but a year is a long period
continuity (with past events)	continuity (P)		+ / − ; continuous mainly with past years and historic events
composition (balance)	composition (P)		+
elite nations			+ / − ; typically the nation at hand
elite actors	attribution		+
personalization	personalization		+/ −
Negativity	negativity	(deviance and) negativity	−
	facticity		+
	competition (P)		+
	co-option (P)		+
	predictability (P)		+
	prefabrication (P)		+

To review, in their original formulation, Galtung and Ruge seem to have allowed for stories that were not hard news by identifying some values that apparently contradicted each other: unexpectedness and expectedness, difference from what came earlier, and consonance with it. Considering that the values were drawn from a study of international crises in the news, it is remarkable that they are so flexible. Similar oppositions can be seen in Bell's expanded list. If we accept the Galtung and Ruge model to begin with – namely, that all of these values are important in getting stories transmitted and attended to as news – contradictions between the values can be resolved analytically in two ways. First, the divergent values may be located in different stories, thus subsuming the whole pattern under the goal of balance (the *composition* news value). Holiday stories thus act as a counterweight to more disruptive stories, ensuring that the whole media picture is not alarmingly unstable. The second way divergent values coexist is as counterpoint within the same story, producing what Galtung and Ruge call "the unexpected and meaningful within the consonant." Here we find the ambivalent stories that seem to break the expected patterns for the holiday subgenres, like the 1936 story about construction workers staging a small strike on the holiday, as well as particularly ironic or gruesome accident stories. The deviance of these stories makes them the most noticeable and probably the most interesting stories pragmatically, and for them the prototypical system of hard news values is partially restored.

Thus, prototypical national holiday stories have a particular news value profile, which is approximately opposite to the one for prototypical hard news scoops, encoding the milder news values of continuity and predictability, as well as a rotating selection of others such as personalization and superlativeness. The news values can be seen to be integrated with the evaluations of impressiveness, appropriateness (tradition), and enthusiasm, as detailed in previous chapters; for example, impressiveness is superlative, appropriateness is consonant and often elite, and enthusiasm can be personalized, but is otherwise difficult to assign to a news value. In fact the entire news value system does a poor job of accounting for affect, as it is easy to imagine news

stories that have a dozen sterling news values and no emotional appeal. The only researcher who seems to have addressed this problem is Ungerer (1997), who drew on Osgood's experiments in evaluation as well as work on the language of emotions and the studies of news values cited above to propose a system of news values involving new principles of *proximity, animacy, rank and number, emotional evaluation, intensity of presentation* and *emotional content.* Though the work was developed in only one small study, the fusion it suggests is provocative. Perhaps a dimension of *interest* is needed as well. In his work on Given and New, Chafe (1994: 34) recognizes this and equates interestingness with unexpectedness:

> People tend to talk about things that are interesting to them and ideally about things they judge to be interesting to others. The question of what makes something interesting deserves much more attention than it will receive here, but interestingness seems to reside above all in conflict with mundane expectations. There is a general tendency to talk of or write about the unexpected. On the other hand, interest can also be sustained when language confirms expectations already held. A satisfactory mental life depends on a balance between the expected and the unexpected.

But again, the concept of interest as unexpectedness hardly accounts for the substance of what people think is interesting in conversation, which tends to be information that bears on their economic conditions, reproductive prospects, and possible death – in other words, money, sex and crime or disaster, as well as any puzzling phenomena they haven't figured out yet but think might bear on one of the above. A psychoanalytic theory of gossip might be needed to account for these priorities in news uptake by editors and readers. Nor indeed does the idea of unexpectedness capture the fascination with affect during a predictable event, as demonstrated by the way the emotional details pop out of the Fourth of July news stories – unless these too are a kind of danger, a manifestation of Scannell's "edged quality of public events." We now turn to the second major assumption I want to debunk, which is that people read news for new information.

8.3   Functions of news

In the Parsonian view that has wide currency in social science, all social activities have functions, and therefore news must have functions as well. Functional approaches to power have recently come under justified criticism (for example in Couldry 2003) as working to conceal the mechanisms of power, from hegemony to deliberate decisionmaking on the part of elites, but I nevertheless feel it is worth spending some time on function in order to glean further insights into audience behavior. The basic functions of news in society briefly proposed on the basis of the news criticism and theories presented as background throughout this study, were information, entertainment, and advocacy, as well as the public forum function of mediating communications between citizens. These are the functions as news producers informally see them. Functions from the point of view of news consumers are different. Researchers in mass communication research and theory (Katz et al. 1973, Fiske and Hartley 1978: 72-74, Dayan and Katz 1992: 227ff) have identified a number of psychological needs, including the need to understand one's world and to enlarge one's understanding, the need to affiliate with others, the need to see beautiful things, the need to affirm one's identity, and the need to escape periodically from daily life. Most work on this "needs and gratifications" theory has been based on surveys rather than fieldwork, and has been inspired by the obvious emotional power of television. Newspapers were covered in the broad-ranging survey of the media landscape in Israel by Katz et al. (1973), which found that newspapers contribute to "self-confidence and stability" as well as "confidence in the state." In particular, readers who rate state and society as important to them find reassurance in the availability of current information on those topics in newspapers, and it makes sense that, especially in a fairly new country, they would be reassured by the regular and concrete appearance of daily newspapers. Since written journalism is considered a difficult and high-prestige form of text which cannot be handled by beginning readers, newspaper consumption also contributes to self-image in ways that television, radio, magazines and books do not. Newspapers were rated low on the factors of overcoming loneliness and releasing tension.

An ethnographic investigation of how *New York Times* readers actually use their newspaper would be a massive undertaking comparable to Labov's study of the social structure of English, and is clearly beyond the scope of the current work. However, some useful data is provided by Heath (1983), who conducted perhaps the most detailed ethnography of general reading practices among Americans, and in particular looked at how reading is integrated into lifeworlds and social situations. Heath studied the socialization of children into literacy in three demographically different communities (white working-class, black working-class, and middle-class "townspeople") in a metropolitan area in the southeastern United States. On the basis of her observations, she identified different types and functions of reading done in each group. I have concatenated her lists (198, 218, 258) into a single list of reading functions.

- instrumental – reading in the service of practical goals of daily life (typically numbers and words attached to objects as labels or instructions, as well as calendars and schedules in some cases)

- news-related – reading to gain information about third parties or distant events (newspapers, magazines, brochures, newsletters, memos)

- critical/educational – reading to increase one's ability to consider and/or discuss political, social, aesthetic or religious knowledge (newsmagazines and out of town newspapers, novels, nonfiction books, reviews); practiced mainly by the middle class townspeople

- social-interactional – reading to gain information pertinent to social relationships (letters and cards, newspaper features, church and alumni publications); mostly the province of women and children in the white working class community; in the case of the black working class community, this included reading aloud to maintain social relationships and introduce topics for discussion and storytelling

- recreational – reading during leisure time or in planning for recreational events (comics, fiction, travel brochures, advertisements, sports information); also reading aloud as a group activity

- confirmational – reading to confirm or gain support for attitudes or beliefs (typically religious texts); or to check facts (contracts, sales information and, in the case of the middle-class townspeople, stored archives such as income tax forms and wills, retrieved only on special occasions)

This list is deliberately ordered so as to map the types of reading to the producer-centered functions mentioned earlier: instrumental, news-related, and critical/educational uses are associated mainly with informational functions; social-interactional and recreational uses mainly with the entertainment function; and confirmational uses mainly with the advocacy function or with strengthening information structures. In other words, readers are not constantly oriented to taking in new information; quite often, they want to play, or to be told again what they already know or believe. The needs for comprehension, affiliation, affirmation, beauty, and escape identified by uses and gratifications research in mass communications theory are well supported by these ground-level findings.

Newspapers as a genre were not studied by Heath in more depth than indicated above, but still several interesting points emerge from the list. If we map the uses of reading to the familiar Jakobsonian and Hallidayan functions of language, we see two functions that are not well accounted for by those lists of linguistic (meta)functions, namely reading to exercise the brain and increase the knowledge store as a good in itself (critical-educational reading) and reading to sustain one's prior beliefs (confirmational reading), although new identity/representational and identity/phatic functions might be proposed for these.

News theorists committed to a transmission model would consider Heath's news-related uses ("to gain information about third parties and distant events") to be the primary function of reading news, and the

other uses to be peripheral, but reading for news was a thin category in all three communities studied, and the information referred to in the study as "news" consisted mostly of local facts needed for long-term planning, such as reports of road-building and factory closings. National and international news were categorized as part of self-improvement projects or entertainment functions. Newspapers did not appear in the instrumental category; the idea of 'news you can use' in accomplishing the chores of daily life seemed to be absent. This may be an oversight or a by-product of the particular communities studied; in most towns in the United States at the time of Heath's fieldwork, people did look to local daily and weekly newspapers for information about school lunches and school bus schedules, extended weather forecasts, movie times, public events listings, and advertisements of sales, among other immediately usable news. This kind of information has increasingly become available through other channels, both broad channels such as television and the World Wide Web, and narrow channels like touch-tone telephone menu systems, text TV, and mobile device messaging.

The social uses of news are of two types. First, there is news about people one knows (social-interactional reading), including hatched-matched-dispatched announcements as well as graduations, local elections and appointments, and school sports results, all of which are more likely to be available in small town newspapers than in national newspapers. Then there is news as a conversational topic with others and means of entertainment (social-interactional and recreational reading), which is a primary use of many feature stories, sports stories, and science stories.

Heath does not identify news as a category that is used for confirmational reading, but probably any news that fits stereotypes would count as confirmational, functioning as support and warrants for their shared values – as what I call *comfort news*. News outlets that stress advocacy are particularly strong on comfort news; they generally address a more narrowly conceived implied reader who is mostly in agreement with them, and this audience design is matched by audience self-selection. Despite this general tendency toward matching, some

people will deliberately cross-read news from advocacy news outlets they are not sympathetic to, in order to know what others are thinking, but for most the general news outlets suffice to bring them into contact with discomforting as well as comforting information.

The genres that are adjunct to hard news, such as opinion columns and editorials, can also be significant tools for confirmation of beliefs and values. Their language is notably different, with less attribution of facts, more reliance on personal testimony, more markers of argumentation (such as causative conjunctions), and more use of pronouns (particularly 'we') in interpersonally significant ways. The use of metaphors, puns, and inside jokes on the editorial and op-ed pages, particularly in headlines and cartoons, also has a strong interpersonal aspect in the Hallidayan/Faircloughian sense of affirming the boundaries of the community as those who understand the joke. The telling of stories with an implicit moral also affirms the extent and beliefs of the community.

A final important point from Heath's work is that the middle-class townspeople related to the newspaper through writing as well as reading; they saw themselves as citizens influencing the flow of events through letters to the editor (257-259) (and probably as officials and citizens to be interviewed by reporters, although this role was not mentioned). These citizen-interactant roles are consistent with Heath's observation of the townspeople as situated in a web of well-organized professional and voluntary groups, in contrast to the working-class citizens who were more passive, family-oriented consumers and occasional appropriators of mass culture.

The readers studied by Heath were far from New York in some ways, but the ways in which they used newspapers differed more in proportion than in kind from those of *New York Times* readers such as myself and my neighbors when I lived there. Contemporary readers of national middle-class broadsheets also read (and consume broadcast media) for information affecting their economic lives (primarily the business pages and public policy news), for conversational topics, for entertainment and self-improvement, as well as to get information about elite news actors and (other) people they know personally, and to get

short-term and long-term planning information for their daily rounds[124] such as sale advertisements and highway closing announcements. And like all consumers of news, *New York Times* readers also read because newsreading is considered to be prestigious and good in itself, to get confirmation of their world model, and for completeness – to get the next installment of stories already begun. Carey's (1992, 1998) model of news as ritual, opposed to the model of news as transmission, is obviously relevant to these kinds of ideas.

In sum, it needs to be borne in mind that newsreaders do not always think of themselves as the receiving end of an efficient transmission model. From our own experience we can observe that sometimes they read in the attentive and retentive manner that is assumed in studies of news reception, but they also graze for bits of news to help create their communities, paying attention to mainly news actors and evaluations that can be referred to in gossip with others. They also read to confirm their beliefs, skimming half-attentively in order to glean the newest and most unusual information while at the same time reassuring themselves that the rest of the world still looks the same as always.

8.4   What's new about news

8.4.1   Local Given and New

If we return to news values for a moment, it seems that newness (however that is conceived, and 'newness' is probably at least as flexible a signifier as 'interest' and 'importance' in newsroom discourse) is taken for granted in theories of news values; it appears only as a subsidiary value to unexpectedness ("novelty") in Bell's formulation and not at all in Galtung and Ruge's. It could be argued that recency plus

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[124] In addition to newspapers, in walkable metropolises a great deal of information about subway service changes, building construction, store openings and closings, and cultural events is still communicated quite efficiently through wall posters and signs, and New Yorkers experience palpable culture shock when they travel to less readable cities (to borrow a term from Henkin 1998).

unexpectedness equals newness, but not all new things are unexpected. A new baby or a new book is very much expected, although it is new in the senses of being freshly produced and new to its public environment. We can perhaps informally take new as meaning 'new to the readers.' In this sense, Van Dijk ranks novelty first on his list of news values, and argues that "the requirement that news should in principle be about new events is fundamental. Readers should not get information they already know, which is a general requirement of any speech act of assertion" (1988b: 121). Similarly, the dictionaries referenced at the beginning of the chapter gloss 'news' as freshly communicated information that was not previously known to the recipient, and this definition ought to have some basis in intuitive truth. Rather than proposing newness as one news value among others, I suggest that, in addition to and interacting with the system of news values, there is a system of newness that needs to be investigated in linguistic and information theoretic terms, in the original spirit of Galtung and Ruge.

The information structure of texts is traditionally conceived at least partly in terms of Given and New elements; the fact that some elements of discourse carry more new information (difference from what is known before that makes a difference) than others is incontrovertible, but because of the rigidity of 'given' (which implies a giver) and the relativeness of 'new,' the terms are unfortunate. Work in linguistics going back to the Prague School, reviewed and substantially extended by Chafe (1994) and recently developed by Du Bois (summarized in 2003), indicates that Newness is a rhythmically occurring property of texts and utterances, which interacts with information in the reader's or listener's consciousness that has been activated by co-text or is for some other reason easily retrievable.

It has often been noted that Given and New are slippery and even circular concepts (Dahl 1976). Certainly they are only meaningful when utterances are considered in context, with particular (or at least explicitly idealized) interlocutors. Appeals to artificial question tests get us no further in *a priori* identification of the New, especially since the speaker sometimes does not know what is New until after the utterance has been completed – it may be one entity referred to, or

more than one entity, or the juxtaposition of entities. Based on her study of languages such as Cayuga and Coos (American) and Ngandi (Australian), Mithun (1992) identified 'newsworthiness' as a dimension in which information is marked by fronting it – which can be a circular definition as well – and notes that sometimes multiple elements of an utterance are equally newsworthy. Chafe (1970: 210) earlier defined New concepts as those which the speaker assumes he is introducing into the listener's mind (consciousness, attention), and later (1994: 72) defined New simply as "newly activated at this point in the conversation." It seems that newness has more than one flavor and a more delicate approach is needed. One such is Prince's taxonomy of Given-New information as assumed familiarity (1981), which was devised to account pragmatically for the amount of phatic and predictable information in conversation. Prince points out that Given has been used to refer to information that is predictable or recoverable, information that is salient in consciousness, and information that is shared by speaker and hearer; each of these may also have a dimension of newness when it is reactivated. Accordingly, she distinguishes a spectrum of *New*, *Inferrable*, and *Evoked* and *Given* information; and within New, she distinguishes *Unused* information and *Brand-New* information.

Figure 8-3: Prince's (1981: 237) taxonomy of assumed familiarity
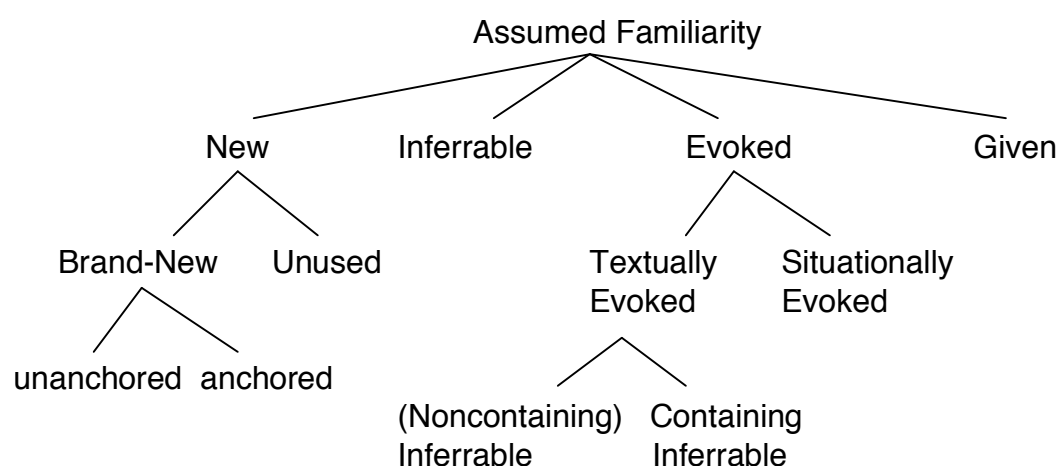
Evoked information is information that has already been mentioned in the discourse or is clearly present in the situational context. Inferrable

information is what the speaker can assume the hearer can infer pragmatically, either as based on membership in a set ("containing inferrable") or as a matter of presupposition or general implicature. Within the category of New information, Unused information is information that the speaker can assume the hearer has acquired elsewhere, and therefore does not need to explain or explicitly "anchor" by relating it to less New information; for example the names of public figures. Brand-New information is information that has to be explained because it is most purely new and there is no antecedent for it; it may be anchored to more accessible structures already introduced in the discourse, or it may be a complete non sequitur. The model suggests that speakers start life with all or most information being Brand-New (some may be Inferrable) and then over a lifetime find there is less and less Brand-New information to surprise them.

Most news stories depend crucially on assumptions of reader knowledge that allow them to recombine elements from the Evoked, Inferrable, and Unused categories with a small number of Brand-New elements or propositions. While the general pattern of holidays and holiday stories may be assumed to be accessible, it can be assumed that the fine details will take some reminding, and effectiveness of the coverage relies on readers and even reporters having forgotten the details of last year's celebration or at least put it out of mind. I will now take a local Fourth of July advance and report (from the front pages on July 4 and 5, 1916, partly discussed in Chapter VI in connection with 'spirit') and attempt to identify what would have been New to contemporary readers, using a simplified version of Prince's taxonomy. Categories will be marked as follows:

- **New** information, which cannot be predicted from the rest of the utterance;
- Evoked information (marked in plaintext), which is encyclopedically known or a common sense inference that can be referred to without information;
- <u>Given</u> information that can be taken for granted as known to all, such as words referring to New York;

- <u>Repeated</u> information that is evoked from within the story (which can originally be from any of the other three categories).

The difference between Evoked and Given is necessary in order for the newspaper to create its deictic center. It also makes a necessary difference between utterances like 'I am tired' and 'The President of Finland is tired.' The category of Evoked information creates the biggest differences in interpretation of Newness between apprentice and experienced readers of a particular genre and species of text, and it also gives the newspaper a way to address its ideal readers as insiders; Prince notes that when speakers package information as Newer than it could have been, rather than taking advantage of a shared knowledge, they may be accused of coyness ("evasive, childish, building suspense as in a mystery novel," 1981: 245).

<u>CITY</u> TO CELEBRATE ITS FOURTH **QUIETLY**
Patriotism, **Without Noise,** <u>to Mark</u> Ceremonies In All Boroughs
<u>DAY</u> TO BE **SAFE AND SANE**
Principal <u>Exercises to be Held</u> at the City Hall
– Buildings Decorated – Illumination at Night

The main new information here for most readers is that the safe and sane campaign is continuing and fireworks are to be discouraged. This information appears three times, at the end of the topmost headline deck ("Quietly"), in the center of the second ("Without Noise") and at the end of the third headline deck ("Safe and Sane"), by which time it is no longer really Brand-New but has been evoked and incremented, and "Safe and Sane" may also be familiar encyclopaedically. As Chafe observes (1994: 290), the end of an intonation unit is the most usual place for New information to appear in spoken language, and these headlines follow that pattern, making them subtly conversational. "Patriotism," the Theme of the second deck, which is presumably to be expected here, is also qualified by "Without Noise." "Ceremonies in All Boroughs" might be new information to readers who were being apprenticed into the ways of life in New York (children, immigrants, visitors) but probably only counted as Evoked from past experiences to experienced readers; the locations of specific ceremonies; likewise the location of the

main ceremony (which has not changed) and the presence of decorations and illuminations are technically New but would also be Evoked information to anyone who could recall the previous year's festivities – that is, they could be counted as part of the national day frame. It is obvious, however, that there are clines of recall, and that this kind of intermediate information, in addition to serving as new for some, seems to be necessary to anchor the New information (of which there is in any case little in this kind of story), as well for the satisfaction of the convention that news stories should tell who, what, when, where, why and how, even if some of these are evokable or inferrable by all competent adult readers. Further, the dominant pattern is a (More)Given followed by a predicative New(er).[125]

> At 5:30 o'clock this morning Mrs. C.L. Morehouse, assisted by the Washington Continental Guards in their uniforms of Revolutionary days, will raise the American flag over the old blockhouse in Central Park, near 110th Street – <u>and New York's Independence Day</u> <u>will be inaugurated</u>. From that hour until late at night <u>celebrations, exercises,</u> speeches, athletic games, <u>and</u> <u>illuminations</u> will follow each other and run simultaneously in commemoration of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. <u>Of</u> firecrackers, skyrockets, cannon and bombs <u>there will be</u> **none.** <u>The day is to be</u> **"safe and sane"** <u>so far as</u> **explosives** go.

The lead is superficially chronological, beginning with the first event of the day, but in fact it is an anecdotal lead that merely delays the summary until the second sentence. Mrs. C.L. Morehouse is placed in the subject/Experiential Theme position that normally marks Given information, which suggests that she is already known to the readership as the widow of the last surviving son of a Revolutionary War soldier in

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[125] Since we are dealing with headlines, and with texts that are clearly structured at an extreme of asymmetry and hierarchality, I feel I should suggest the possibility of some kind of MacroGiven and MacroNew for the text as a whole. However, the existence of multiple audiences makes this an even dodgier concept than even the sometimes-used notions of overall Theme and high-level proposition (Martin and Rose 2003, van Dijk 1988b). We must also note here Martin and Rose's confusing use of HyperNew to mean the "accumulation of new information that is often distilled in a final sentence" (2003: 183), which in fact resembles Labov and Waletzky's concept of evaluation in narrative.

New York; no clues are supplied for those who do not know her. The rest of the description of the flag-raising event is likewise treated as Given through definiteness and lack of explanation. Certainly Central Park and the flag should be known, but the juxtaposition of the elements may be New, and that is impossible to show with the simple notation system used. On the other hand, Mrs. Morehouse may be the new information and the rest may be old. There is no way to tell so I have marked everything with the intermediate category Evoked. The other events that are listed may be either Given or New (that is, the item could be written the same way whether they were known or not), and are probably evoked; and "the signing of the Declaration of Independence" is taken as Given, although in some years there are historical backgrounders elsewhere in the newspaper explaining the event. The various kinds of fireworks are positioned as Given (actually Evoked), and the information that they will be absent is New, and re-emphasized in the next sentence, repeating the New information from the headline.

> Probably **the most spectacular feature** of <u>the city's celebration</u> will be **the illuminations in the evening**. The Mayor's Committee directing, and the New York Edison company co-operating, <u>lights have been placed</u> **all over** <u>the city</u> **from the Statue of Liberty to Yonkers, in most advantageous positions**, and this evening will be **the brightest ever known** in <u>New York</u>. **An informal inspection of** <u>the points to be illuminated</u> **was made last night, and everything was found ready.**

Exceptionality or impressiveness is thematized there and the illuminations (that is, the bright lights to be placed on and around landmarks, some colored and arranged in shapes) are the news. Various official entities are treated as Evoked (although they may be significant New to some readers) and then the exceptionality of the event on the scale of history as well as this particular event is noted. Again we see that juxtaposition of Givens creates New information at their nexus which is difficult to code (obviously the Statue of Liberty is not Brand-New, but where to place the boldface for its involvement in the illuminations?); and new synonyms for known information add detail which makes them count as both Given and somehow, subtly New.

But <u>the lights</u> will **not** be **the only silent symbols** of <u>the day</u>, <u>for the city will be decorated with American flags and the national colors</u> **in practically every street.** In addition to <u>the decorations</u> provided by <u>the Mayor's Committee</u> and private organizations, citizens have used <u>flags and bunting</u> **on their houses**.

The alternation of Given and New around verbs continues as the story proceeds. Decorations are to be expected on national days and the potentially New information in this item is the extent claimed for the decorations ("in practically every street") and the participation by citizens, which could be taken as a hint to those who had not yet gotten with the program. Further paragraphs of the story contain significant Brand New information: the fact that the national colors are to be used without the city colors for the first time (emphasized with the subheading "National Colors Alone"): as well as combinations of Brand New and Evoked information such as the weather report for the day; the exact order of the program at City Hall, which included a play by the Bronx Open Forum about the signing of the Declaration; and a brief listing of other events. The coding system obviously needs further development, but we can see that the bold information is most likely to be new to readers – and also that it speaks to the dimensions of impressiveness and appropriateness discussed in Chapter V.

With the scene thus set, the report on the following day ought by rights to have much less new to tell.

2,000,000 <u>HERE</u> **SALUTE THE FLAG**
   Reverence for <u>Nation's Colors</u> the Feature of All **Civic Celebrations of the Fourth.**
      ILLUMINATION AT NIGHT
      Americanism and Preparedness Keynotes of **Speeches** in Five Boroughs.
         HUGHES ON VILLAGE GREEN
         Colonel Roosevelt at Oyster Bay Assails Call on Married Guardsmen **– Ready to Volunteer**

The very first item in the headline, "2,000,000" is utterly New information that could not have been predicted or evoked in any way.

According to Chafe (1994: 91), such information is not thematized in conversation, unless it is trivial or unless a Given exists in terms of pre-existing knowledge of the national day and its various elaborated frame elements – which is the case here. In writing, Brand-New elements are more likely to appear in subject position, precisely to create an effect of surprise (290). The presupposed knowledge of the celebration and its frame allows the figure of 2,000,000 to be interpreted as referring to people or crowds, which means it is a reduced noun phrase and satisfies both grammatical and discourse preferences for not having full noun phrases in theme position (Du Bois 2003). "Reverence for the Nation's Colors," which repeats the information in "salute the flag," is likewise thematized. As with "quietly … without noise … safe and sane," the repetition in these headlines creates a conversational pace with the safety of redundancy ensuring comfortable processing (cf. Tannen 1989 on the importance of repetition for comprehension and interpersonal involvement).

"Illumination at night," a bare noun phrase, can be interpreted as either Given or New; if the reader remembered the previous day's story (or had seen the lights) it would be Evoked, but it is New within this text. "Americanism and Preparedness" follows the pattern of thematizing the New on the presupposition that readers know the national day involves speeches in which patriotic keywords will be invoked. Both of these keywords are highly contemporary; Americanism refers to the assimilation of recent immigrants and Preparedness to preparations for war with Mexico and perhaps secondarily for entering the war in Europe.

> The spirit of 1916 and the spirit of 1776 met and merged yesterday when <u>New York</u> celebrated the 140th anniversary of American Independence. It was the **biggest** as well as the **"sanest"** <u>Fourth of July celebration this city</u> has ever had. <u>Americanism</u> was its **dominant note** and <u>the flag</u> **almost wholly supplanted the firecracker as the exponent of patriotic fervor**.

The spirit of 1776 is assumed to be familiar from Willard's painting of the same name, and based on this its extension to 1916 is fairly obvious. Both phrases have been marked Evoked although there is a clear movement from New to Given within the coordinate phrase. The

official naming of the occasion, required for facticity and explicitness, is left until the subordinate clause in the second half of the sentence. The next sentence opens in a somewhat conversational way, with "it was the biggest," a cleft which serves to give the reader a short breathing space after the heavy noun phrase and before the significant assertion of exceptionality. There is also more of a tendency to use adjectives attributively, as final judgments. The final sentence once again exhibits newness in juxtaposition rather than in the elements themselves. As in the headlines, the noticeable markers of this particular year's celebration are picked out and put in the Theme position of the sentence even though they ought to fall later as the New(er) information. If one imagines reading this paragraph out loud, the stresses will fall on the information that is offered as New (compare the contrastive difference between 'Jòhn is the project leader' and 'John is the pròject leader' – and it is also possible for both elements in a copula sentence to be equally New), which contributes to the conversational orientation of the text and the feeling that this is just part of an ongoing dialogistic reading experience.

> **History stalked big** through <u>the exercises of the day</u>. Commemorated <u>in the oratory,</u> stirring events of <u>the long ago</u>, when **Uncle Sam began setting up housekeeping for himself in the Western Hemisphere**, to which the **Glorious** <u>Fourth</u> owes its traditions, were visualized and pictured **in pageant and tableau** for the benefit of the **largest open air audiences on record** in <u>New York.</u>

In the first sentence of this paragraph, the ideologically relevant keyword of 'history' is introduced while "the exercises of the day" are taken as at least Evoked from previous knowledge and reading, and probably as synonyms for "civic celebrations in the headlines," which means that as concepts they are Repeated. The significant and memorable New information is here largely stylistic, in the figurative language about Uncle Sam setting up housekeeping and the evocation of tradition (combined with evaluation) with the phrase "the Glorious Fourth," which is difficult to mark in the notation system. There is also the new fact that the largest open air audiences on record witnessed the pageants and tableaus.

The rest of the story contained a great deal of evidently New information, including the new primacy of the national flag in the decorations; the details of the illuminations (huge American flags traced in lights on major buildings, total cost of $12,000) and the fact that they replaced the usual city-sponsored fireworks display; the absence of soldiers in the parades since they were already at the Mexican border; and descriptions of other events which had been publicized in newspaper in the advance, in other stories or not at all, including a schoolchildren's assembly somehow arranged through the public schools which were not in session in July.

The analysis is somewhat clumsy and we still do not know for sure what was new to readers at the time (a point partially elided by allowing Evoked to stand for a broad range of phenomena), but we can nevertheless derive an approximate taxonomy of types of New, or inversely, Given, in the national day stories. As we have seen, these include for a start

- the *Brand-New* or maximally incongruous elements;
- the *new relations* (Jespersen's nexuses) that place elements in relation to each other and form next moves in recognized sequential narratives;
- the modifiers and synonyms (Jespersen's adjuncts) that illustrate *new attributes* of recognized entities;
- the *inferrable*;
- the *encyclopedically evoked*;
- the *co-textually evoked (repeated, synonymized, ellipted)*; and
- the *maximally Given* ("here," "in this city," and other defaults of deixis that help create a center).

Again, inferrability, encyclopedic evocability and co-textual evocability rely on reader competence and experience. Someone reading a football story may already know how many points each goal is worth, or may be able to work it out by inference from the other facts that are given; the processes are different although the achieved understanding (at least in terms of the propositions within the story) is the same. The general shape of routine news stories is familiar to most people by adulthood,

but most of the specific combinations and details are inevitably new, in this case the political themes and special events of each year's celebration, and with experience each reader learns to pick out and assimilate just the new and changed information (just as readers of annual business reports learn to home in on the small amount of information that has changed since the previous year). As the knowledge base grows, the accumulation of details such as names and numbers facilitates increasingly sophisticated cognitive modeling of the world. More specifically, as the reader's base of social acquaintance grows with age, the chance that he or she will personally know or have heard of a news actor also increases, reducing the amount of Brand-New information still further and increasing the personal appeal of news. Actuality of any kind, such as quotations, pictures and sound recordings, supplies additional dimensions of New information: experiences the reader could not have had due to the simple requirement of being in one place at a time.

Details that are recognized from the reader's knowledge base, for example from stories read the previous day or memories of earlier years, which correspond roughly to Prince's Unused category, can be used to anchor Brand-New details of relationships or attributes. This alternation of more Given and more New is one of the ways we make meaning from fragmented news stories. It operates on a larger scale as well for readers with retentive memories; for example the accident count for the Fourth may be read in the context of the "Safe and Sane" campaign and the hopes for a quiet holiday, and the details of the illuminations may similarly be read in the context of the fact they have been advertised as the most impressive thing about the holiday. Additionally, each holiday can be implicitly compared to the one before if that one was particularly memorable.

Footings and evaluations, where these can be discerned, count as New information, particularly if they are read directly as other-voiced evaluations instead of validations of one's own perceptions; what the newspaper thinks about events is somewhat unpredictable, as are the reactions of participants, so evaluations and affectual states attributed to them count as New and, as we have seen, significant information. The

evaluative, hot patriot and cool patriot footings are thus important loci of new information, at least in heteroglossic periods of the newspaper's history when its position cannot be known in advance.

Variation is perceived as a separate, New event when it exceeds a certain threshold, as in the records said to be set by the 1916 celebration, and it can still be presented as somewhat new when it falls below it. As collective memory systems are improved and automated over the life of the news outlet, usuality can increasingly be checked and expectations quantified down to the smallest details. At the same time, the journalists may knowingly or unknowingly collude with the event promoters to present details and figures as exceptional by failing to refer to the fact that they have been equaled or even exceeded before; alert readers may nonetheless notice that what is being presented as a significant unit of linguistic newness is not new in real life. Absence of expected events is an important kind of exceptionality, for example parade cancellations or prohibitions on fireworks. When events are widely scaled back or suspended, the newspaper may be surprised back into its earliest patterns and publish many similar reports, as happened when mourning for James Garfield replaced the celebrations in 1881 and when embassy parties were cut back in 1961. All of these kinds of New act to structure the Given-New rhythm in local perspective.

8.4.2   *Large-scale Given and New*

Over the long term, other kinds of new may occur, which are not signaled in the small-scale clausal alternation of Given and New within any given story. First, changes in reporting create new kinds of information, in the form of observations and connections that were technically impossible to make before, as well as new writing styles and conventions. For example, emotion has long been one of the primary 'news' in national day reports. But it is only relatively recently that it has been presented through the words of the people at the scene, because *vox pop* quotes are a recent introduction in news reporting, and every such quote got an added frisson of newness when they were first introduced, although today the standard elicited quotations have

become clichés. There is no limit on new kinds of information, since modes of communication that have fallen out of fashion can be reintroduced and repackaged as (somewhat) new, for example the periodic reintroduction of black-and-white art photographs in fashion advertisements, and the recent revival of auteur radio in the form of podcasts.

Second, there are truly brand new events, which are new in human experience and must be covered as extreme or hybrid versions of familiar news events; examples include the September 11 attacks (initially conceived as a combination of airplane crash, natural disaster and terrorist strike, and soon by much of the U.S. press as war); the explosion of the first atomic bomb (which combined war news and science news); the first space flight, human satellite orbit, and landing on the moon (which combined aviation technology and exploration); and the birth of the first test tube baby.[126] Such events are the polar opposite of the national holiday coverage, which relies on a high degree of familiarity and presupposition.

Thus Given and New information alternate in a prosody which is seen to operate within the clause as well as in much longer-term cycles. At one extreme, sudden large peaks of newness such as truly Brand New stories occur rarely, probably a few times a decade at most. New kinds of information and new modes of presenting information appear every few years, most recently as genre borrowings from computer-mediated communication. At the other extreme, small peaks in newness such as incremental additions to events already reported, details such as names and numbers, actuality such as sound and pictures, variations from implied norms, and tokens of footing/evaluation occur almost as often as the reader looks at the news. Some readers experience additional peaks of newness; there is information that is Evoked for some readers,

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[126] In a world 24-hour news channels, brand new events are usually not so new by the time they appear in the newspaper. However, exceptions can occur; for example, in August 1991, news of a Soviet coup reached New York late on a Sunday night, after most people had watched the evening news and gone to bed, but in time to appear in the next day's *New York Times* and surprise readers the next morning.

inferred for others, and Brand New for a third group, a contextually-bound aspect of newness that occurs mainly where children and newcomers are being scaffolded into the local literate community and initiated into its ideologies. Children and immigrants may pore in fascination over stories considered trivial by more experienced readers, drawing meaning from them or becoming frustrated in their attempts. But with repeated exposure these stories cease to contain new information, and acquire more interpersonal functions in terms of social cohesion, collective memory, and identity formation. This is one more reason researchers need to take the complexity of audiences into account.

In addition to these dimensions of newness in individual stories, there is a further Given-New relation that extends beyond the individual news story. As noted, the description of stable practices with only a veneer of newness, such as national day and other celebration stories, forms a 'ground' (embodying the familiar values of consonance, easy facticity, continuity, predictability, prefabrication and composition), and low activation cost against which the 'figure' news values of negativity, recency, unexpectedness and superlativeness in the most important and community-threatening news stories can be seen more clearly. Types of 'ground' news change over time; for example, columns about ship arrivals and church services were once regular news, and entertainment industry news has assumed a more important place recently.[127] But if the ground disappeared and media outlets began to report only the negative, unexpected and superlative, the habitus of readers would be disturbed and bad news would lose much of its impact; as Chafe said, a mental balance between the expected and the unexpected is needed. The study of newness as a news value thus has ramifications for the makeup of news in general. We have now problematized concepts of news as the

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[127] Mencher (1991) sees the growth in entertainment news in the United States since the 1960s as an escapist counterweight to the fact that the main themes of traditional political news have become the ways in which people are not physically or economically safe (terrorism, crime, inflation). As noted earlier, moves on the part of news media toward entertainment and advocacy, away from apparently sober and disinterested information distribution, are apt to awaken moral judgments and the search for explanation.

negative and unexpected and concepts of news as being always and unidimensionally new. I will now turn to the problem of how print news is read.

8.5   Newness and skimmability

Since newspapers are packed with information that is new in different ways, an important topic for future research is how readers pick it out. This recurs to the problem of salience in news texts: all along, the study has aimed to concentrate its analysis on the points in the national day news at seemed to leap to the focus of consciousness, either because of prominence or because of atypicality that demanded processing work. As researchers, we know how to study texts that demand processing work, but do not know how to study texts in terms of skimming – and skimming is the process by which readers select texts for further study.

The question of skimming is not unique to studies of print. In televisual studies, there has long been an assumption that in cinema, the viewer 'gazes 'at the screen in a continuous focused manner and sees everything the director wants seen. Films are obviously structured to reward that kind of attention. Television, on the other hand, has been structured for 'noisy' situations, so that the viewer who is doing something else (classically, cooking or eating) and 'glances' at the screen intermittently nevertheless gets most of the meaning (Spigel 1992, Flitterman-Lewis 1992, Caldwell 1995: 25ff). It is now becoming recognized that this division is an oversimplification and the two modes of viewing are merging as many television programs either demand cinematic attention (and equipment) or repeated viewing, while film directors' choices are beginning to be affected by the knowledge that their works have short lives in cinemas but long lives on video. The blending of broadcast and video with daily life is captured instead with the more flexible concept of 'flow' (M. White 1993).

Print news is most often analyzed in terms of (active) gazing, yet it is definitely structured for glancing; in the words of van Dijk (1988b: 142), skimming is "probably the usual way of reading news in the press," a

judgment that seems valid considering that studies from Lippmann (1922: 37) to Green (1979: 30) found that the average readers spends an average of 15 to 45 minutes a day with the newspaper. Van Dijk characterizes skimming as an "effective strategy that consists of a series of partial verbal interpretations, which may be sufficient for global news processing"; the outcome of skimming is a decision to reread more deeply or to keep going. Thus subtleties in the national holiday stories are lost as most readers simply take in something like 'Celebration yesterday … ten thousand people … fireworks … East River … enthusiastic cheers.'

The activity of reading is intimately connected with the problem of attention focus. As with any other cognitive activity, our attention centers on one thing at a time, with a circle of other things near it ready to be shifted to (Chafe 1994). In reading, this is a direct consequence of the visual system, which has a foveal focus of attention and a peripheral area where locations of other objects can be perceived and attention can be shifted to them. (Miller and Johnson-Laird 1976: 133ff). Reading in general is conducted through quick eye movements called saccades which can take in a few words at a time; the eye can also sweep down the page or across columns of text in skimming, an activity that is less well understood, but can be characterized as a search. Searches, according to Miller and Johnson-Laird, can be either algorithmic (moving attention from place to place until the entire space is covered) or heuristic (looking in places where the object of the search is likely to be, on the basis of experience). In searching for new, interesting or important information, the reader does not know exactly what it will look like, and must combine algorithmic searching with quick processing and pattern matching. But heuristics are involved as well, at least for experienced readers, in the form of the knowledge of the organization of different genres, as Hoey notes (2001: 11-34). Newswriters who have an idea how their work is going to look in print (which excludes wire service journalists) may pick out significant details to place at resting spots where eyes are likely to stop and skimmers will see them. These points include leads as well as section breaks (marked by subheadings), which are typically placed every 3-10 paragraphs, as in the 1946 roundup story discussed earlier in this chapter. I have noted in

some of the story analyses the frequent use of a point two thirds to three quarters of the way through the story for details that are incongruent with the rest and anchor a resistant reading. Sometimes significantly new information is even placed in the very last line, subverting the inverted pyramid style (in those stories which otherwise observe it). Further work in constructing peaks is done on the editorial desk where headlines, photo captions, and "pull quotes" in large type are written. It seems likely that there are multiple levels of skimming, employing variable speeds and paths, and susceptible to different prosodic rhythms and sticky points in the text.

In her studies of news story comprehension from the point of view of pragmatics, Green (1979, 1986) characterizes news as writing that is intended and designed to be skimmed, and points out that readers do not expect all news to be equally important, although analysts may act as if that is the case. Similarly, Chafe (1994: 298ff) suggests that newspaper paragraphs are short because newspaper readers have frequent expectations for paragraph marking: "They do not expect to keep a deep stack of information in memory from one paragraph to the next, and they expect a fresh start every time." He notes that this is one of the expectations associated specifically with the newspaper genre, since readers read texts from other genres with longer paragraphs all the time (they also read shorter paragraphs such as directory entries and brief advertisements, though he does not mention this), and suggests that the expectation of skimmable text probably evolved symbiotically with the modern newspaper.

Skimmability is a feature above the story as well, since a newspaper full of stories is an example of what Hoey (2001: 72-92) calls a discourse colony: a collection of texts that are presented together but are formally independent of each other and assume that each reader will trace an individual path through them (other examples include reference books and bulletin boards). The World Wide Web has exacerbated both the hypertextual assumption of individual path finding and the short paragraph constraint, as style recommendations for the online medium emphasize that the Web is a skimming medium and units of text should be kept as short as possible (Nielsen 1995-2004, Price and Price 2002).

The newer, narratively organized stories do not seem to inhibit skimming since people are used to skimming stories when they read for entertainment; Green suggests narratively organized stories are at least as skimmable as inverted pyramid stories and the latter are merely the artefact of a particularly long-lived genre experiment. Hoey (2001: 25) points out that narratives are inherently skimmable because expectations about the next sentence are ruled by the question "What happened next?" – whereas in nonnarrative texts, the next step is far less predictable.

Taking into account the predictability of the main material in both structure and content, it seems very likely that these stories are skimmed for the kind of New information highlighted earlier. The stories in this collection that seem likely to have been read most closely and to have had the greatest pragmatic impact are precisely these Meta stories that seem peripheral, nonformulaic, and difficult to classify, since by being nonprototypical they are unexpected and therefore easily counted as news. For example, the morally didactic story from 1936 about the New York fire chief having an accident with some fireworks:

> M'Elligott Burns Hand Setting Off Firecracker
>
> LONG BEACH, L.I., July 4. – John J. McElligott, Fire Commissioner and Fire Chief of New York, whose department has taken a leading role in the city's campaign to outlaw fireworks, himself was burned late last night when a firecracker exploded in his right hand.
>
> Commissioner McElligott drove to the Long Beach Hospital from his Summer home here at Buffalo and Park Avenues, received treatment and drove home, according to a report received by Police Lieutenant Thomas Mahoney from the hospital.
>
> He had been setting off fireworks with friends at his Summer cottage when a two-inch salute firecracker, the fuse of which he had just ignited, exploded before he had had opportunity to cast it away, he told hospital attachés. (July 5, 1936, p. 20)

Just as Weber defined the state as the entity with a monopoly over legitimate violence in a given territory, so on the Fourth of July the

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(local) state or municipality often has a monopoly on legitimate use of fireworks. In the first line this story, "himself" is a cue to the role conflict in this story, and regular readers may recall that in the edition the day before, McElligott, as an authority of the city, had been warning that fireworks could not be used without a permit and his officers would arrest fireworks sellers. The story could be read as a cautionary tale and an embarrassment to the commissioner (as well as an affirmation of the newspaper's independence by not suppressing it), or, a covert signal that even the high and mighty mess around with fireworks on holidays and it is a natural thing to do, despite all the explicit campaigns for a "safe and sane" holiday elsewhere in the paper. (The technical point that the incident took place in Long Beach, a town far outside the city limits whose firework regulations are not known, is made in the dateline and the mention of "his Summer house.")

These stories are internally cohesive enough, but expect the reader to rely on past reading or general knowledge to figure out why they are significant – why they are news. This kind of deliberate gap needs to be distinguished from real gaps in news stories, places in which they fail to supply information many readers will want (as in the advance that failed to give a clue who Mrs. Morehouse was, or the cryptic 1871 story about existence of a silver salver engraved with the Declaration of Independence that gave indication of who had made it or where it could be viewed) or create ambiguities of proposition or reference. Bell (1998) demonstrates gaps and ambiguities in a British newspaper story about two raids on IRA houses and suggests reasons for them: Some gaps and ambiguities are caused by deficits in the reporting process; a writer under deadline pressure would simply say what he knows and hope the casual reader would not notice what he does not know. Others can be traced to separate events being merged into a single story during the production process, for reasons of saving space, increasing reader interest or comprehension, and/or avoiding redundancy. Despite widespread professional and folk bias against gaps in texts, however, research has shown that texts that are ambiguous or contain obvious gaps are not worse in every way. They may have an advantage in memorability – some cognitive studies have shown greater recall in texts with fewer connectives (for instance Millis et al. 1993) – and they may

lead readers to read further in hope of resolving the ambiguities. This again suggests that reader may, at least sometimes, spend more time with stories that require them to infer information than with those that merely evoke it, as long as these inferencing demands are not too high – as it is suggested that the radio ham in the Galtung and Ruge model may spend more time on the channels that are harder to receive in the hope of receiving rare and valuable information.

To summarize, there are many different kinds of newness with different prosodic frequencies. Although they are unlikely to contain truly Brand-New events, the national day news stories do contain many kinds of small and anchored New elements, including details of relations and attributes, actuality, evaluations, increments of news building on existing stories, and implementation of new modes of reporting. There is also information that is new to particular readers, although news producers do not account for this in their design of the news. Routine news, such as celebration stories, also functions as a ground against which the truly new can be seen more clearly; the regular, comforting pulse that allows more violent events to be perceived as truly newsworthy. In this case, it seems that no news can be good news – in more than one sense.

8.6   Conclusion

News about national days is part of the considerably body of media information packaged as 'news' that is not on the cutting edge of the new, in the sense of unexpected, negative and requiring mental adjustment. National day stories have a news value profile emphasizing continuity and predictability which opposes and balances the profile of negativity and unexpectedness for hard news. Such 'ground' news appears to have the regular function of providing a background that gives hard news greater impact as a 'figure' – in addition to any other elements of newsworthiness it may have, such as demonstrating appropriate affect, detailing the movements of elite individuals, reinforcing stereotypes and ideologies, as well as marking unexpectedness within the predicted events. It is also psychologically

reassuring for readers that events can be seen to recur in substantially the same way from year to year.

But there is always also a mixture of the expected and the unexpected in the stories, and a mixture of hard news and lighter news in the newspaper as a whole. This serves both pragmatic (judgmental) and cognitive purposes. As White observes throughout his work, the focal concentration by news outlets on what should not happen produces a model of the social order that implicitly encodes a desired equilibrium, usually quite similar to the status quo with some minor changes, and it is against this background that hard news stands out. Scannell (1996: 177) says that is precisely by routinely reproducing "the everyday human sociable world" that broadcast media manage to connect individuals with a center and get them to care about others in the news. This is true of newspapers as well, and increasingly so in the latter-day trend from official-sources journalism to stream-of consciousness style.

Newsworthiness of any kind, once negotiated and accepted by the public, becomes a habit that is hard to change, and national day news is now expected by readers, if only unconsciously, and is thoroughly integrated with other kinds of discourse like advertising images and references in speeches before and after the holiday. Like certain acts of politeness, national holiday celebrations and the news of them would be more formally newsworthy in absence than they are in presence; if the frothy prose and patriotic images disappeared from holiday editions of the newspaper, leaving the front page to reflect an ordinary news day of fires and foreign policy initiatives, this would certainly seem strange and readers would wonder whether the republic still stands as it did before. Although the amount of news about the Fourth of July has varied over the years, Table 3-1 showed that it is not diminishing or disappearing; the *New York Times* continues to devote 10,000 to 20,000 words a year to primary coverage of the holiday, in addition to the references to it that permeate the rest of the newspaper. This is surprising in the face of popular discourse about the irrelevance of nations and the rise of cross-national affiliations such as global corporations and Internet interest groups; it seems that mass media and the nation help constitute and legitimate each other not just in the stages of nation-building (as argued

by McLuhan, Deutsch and Anderson) but indefinitely, barring other traumatic events. At this writing, cross-national media such as the newspaper *The European* and the television channel *EuroNews* are marginal forces, as *USA Today* still is in the United States; people want to read news written from a point of view closer to their own. (The *EuroSport* channel seems to be a significant power, but is transmitted separately to segmented national and language markets.)

Media coverage of major and minor national ceremonies is in fact relatively more important now than it was 50 or 100 years ago because people are increasingly spending their leisure time at home rather than attending local physical gatherings that are networked through regional and ultimately national centers. With the exception of the Bicentennial of Independence and the Statue of Liberty Centennial, the text collection for the postwar period contains hardly any straightforward reports of extraordinary crowding at a Fourth of July event as such (as opposed to crowding at ordinary summer holiday resorts or music festivals). The increase in stories about the ideological meaning of the holiday is further evidence of an introspective turn in modes of celebration.

There is no evidence yet of citizens being ready to give up any holidays; in fact as some of the more sporadically celebrated holidays fade away (Lincoln's Birthday, Flag Day), more are introduced (Martin Luther King Day); and all nations seem to operate according to a law of conservation of holidays. Just as national days supplanted the minor religious holidays and royal anniversaries in many countries, another holiday type might supplant national holidays without significant changes in the surrounding habitus. The fading away of news about national days, however, without a compensating increase in news of other holidays would be disturbing as it would indicate the disappearance of leisure time and social contact. Together with the evidence of the deep integration of the idea of celebration with such basic concepts as recognition, human company, and changing one's state, this suggests that celebration (in general) is not simply an artificial bureaucratic construction but constitutes a basic activity type of its own. The number of celebration examples that have been adduced by researchers in search of larger cognitive concepts is striking, and shows that this study has

implications beyond the Fourth of July and analogous national holidays: among these proposals of celebration as a good example of human activity are Goffman's "celebratory events" as social interactions (1981: 168); Levinson's dinner party as an activity type (1991: 368); Minsky's birthday party as a type of frame (1975: 212); Galtung and Ruge's king's birthday as an elite event (1965); Boorstin's hotel anniversary as a reportable event (1961); and, by implication, the Thanksgiving dinner described in *Publick Occurrences* as the first reported event in the United States. Clearly, celebrations are significant happenings in the organization of human society and in human language as we use it. In the lifeworld, there are no pseudo-events.

IX CONCLUSION

The aim stated at the beginning of this study was to show how power, in the sense of getting people to do things they would not otherwise have done, is exercised through language about national days; that is, how a national community is suggested or imagined into being through small scale linguistic acts in such a way that it responds with coordinated performances that affirm its existence and structure. The examination of national day news discourse would, it was hypothesized, shed light on the linguistic order of celebrations and the construction of celebration as a human activity, as well as on aspects of practical nationalism. At the root of the power to organize people's actions on holidays is the ability of states to "invoke rhetorically fixed national identities to legitimate their monopoly of administrative control" (Boyarin 1994). To anyone who has worked for a large corporation, it is far from clear that the state has the monopoly of administrative control that Boyarin attributes to it, but it certainly has significant powers of administrative control, including the control of time. Modern states schedule periodic disruptions in daily routine in the hope of that its operations and economy will not be inconvenienced by unscheduled disruptions. These planned disruptions, which we call holidays, demonstrate and re-enforce the power of the state, yet are naturalized in language and with the help of the media in ways that make this difficult to perceive.

The national identities that are both the means and the end of national days are fixed at the most basic grammatical level through linguistic characteristics including pronouns ("we"), as well as definite articles and lexical classifications ("the people," "citizens"). Identities are also fixed through the treatment of each new celebration as presupposed on the basis of past celebrations, as in the leads and headlines, "The rejoicings

yesterday passed off without any great accident of moment" (1852), "2,000,000 Here Salute the Flag" (1916) and "Some Fourth of July" (1996), all examined in detail in earlier chapters. At a higher level, national identities are organized through essentialist concepts of the national community expressed through family and container metaphors; through the uncritical representation of elite actors in leading roles and the rather freer evaluation of other citizen groups; and through marginal news stories about conflicts of values that seem (however ambivalently) to suggest a moral. The national day is further reified through the process of topic bleed, as holiday references spread to all sections of the newspaper.

At the beginning of the study, I listed the main theoretical approaches to be followed as cognitive linguistics, discourse analysis influenced by systemic-functional linguistics, and pragmatics. Now it is time to ask what the study has contributed to each of these. In the area of cognitive linguistics, I examined the lexical semantics of 'celebrate,' which functions as a master verb in the news stories and structures our expectations of national days and other celebrative occasions. Definition and sentence generation tests with informants, described in section 4.2, showed that in the speech community of present-day American English (and likely all major native English varieties), celebration is interpreted as an activity that relates an abstract change in state such as a birthday to a temporary, bounded behavioral change, typically in the direction of happy social activity and consumption. While the word is assumed to have come into English with the Latin concerning Christian sacraments and rites of passage, in fact secular uses in English have been attested as far back as religious uses. However, a comparison of the evidence from informants with entries from older dictionaries did show that the affective orientation of 'celebrate' has shifted from solemn to happy over the past few centuries. Use of 'celebrate' at present appears to be highly fractalized toward personalized and nonce occasions, such as 'We're celebrating the release of our new movie' and 'I'm celebrating the end of my teaching for the week,' not to mention 'We're celebrating Mary.' Both the shift from solemnity to rejoicing and the move toward fractalization may have been aided by the growth of secular national

holidays over the last few centuries as celebration has become a standardly referenced frame or way of relating to reality.

The 'celebrate' frame clearly includes people who celebrate, a triggering event that is the grounds for celebration, and behaviors through which celebration is enacted. The connection between the grounds and the behaviors may also be made more directly with verbs such as 'recognize' and 'commemorate,' and emotional involvement may be either explicitly stated (as it often is in the news stories) or implicitly assumed (as it typically is in conversation). In terms of process types in systemic-functional linguistics, 'celebrate' is primarily a behavioral verb. However, it has a subtle polysemy that enables it to also be used with emphasis on the material, mental, verbal, relational or existential aspects (section 4.3). A certain degree of sincerity or enthusiasm is assumed in ordinary conversation to be part of the frame of celebrating; typically this commitment is mentioned only in its absence, as in, 'We celebrated but we really didn't feel like it.' It is therefore curious that the newspaper stories have frequently marked the presence of emotion with detailed manner adjuncts such as "with more than usual enthusiasm." This marking is undeniably related to the newspaper's pragmatic role as a judge of the public and a promoter of ideology through implicit means (Chapters V and VII).

Another important finding for cognitive semantics is that the frames evoked in the newspaper are dense with a kind of micronarrativity. The celebration frame implies a prior triggering event, and a beginning and end to the celebration. Evaluations of emotion are frequently constructed in terms of flow between sources and sinks: the national flag, for example, is said to infuse feeling into the crowds who later return it in applause for the speakers. Other submerged narrative patterns include pressure-release metaphors for excess feeling that supposedly accumulates in the period between holidays, and life-cycle metaphors for the nation which carry entailments of personhood and face wants (Chapter VI). Thus news language, and indeed language in general, is implicitly narrative on many levels that are not apparent when one scans texts for gross features of narrativity such as chronological order.

Pragmatics relates first and foremost to the way news stories function as speech acts, as discussed in section 3.5 and Chapters VII and VIII. As speech acts, the Fourth of July news texts suggest the holiday behaviors citizens should perform on the national day (take the day off, decorate their houses, go to public events, reflect on the nation), and then evaluate the way they carry out these suggestions. However, the evidence shows that room is regularly left for disattendance, through acknowledgement that the scheduled events can be dull and people may choose to stay away, and also through some limited reporting on protests. And in fact room must be left for disattendance, since the behavioral imperatives are impossible to enforce and the implied speaker would lose face if the performance of the implied listeners were too rigidly evaluated.

Politeness phenomena have a central role in pragmatics, and in Chapter VII the study of face wants and politeness was extended in Chapter VII to accommodate large groups and institutional entities such as the nation and the newspaper. These corporate actors cannot be spoken about in terms of essentialist, mentalist concepts of identity but they can nevertheless be credited with the need to maintain face. In writing about the nation, journalists show the deference characteristically associated with politeness and they treat the nation as a person who shares the basic positive face want to have others support one's wishes (including the wish for autonomy). However, a significant difference between everyday facework and corporate facework is that the nation does not directly respond to the tributes to its face. Face wants can also be negotiated between groups, as the newspaper does when it negotiates stances that are ambivalent between alignment with the nation, alignment with what I have called the hot patriot and cool patriot positions, and alignment with its own professional interests as an institution that retains the power to evaluate others. In wartime, the cool patriot footing may be temporarily inaccessible or unused.

This system of alignments or footings is deeply integrated with the evaluation system discussed in Chapter V. There it was established that national day celebrations are evaluated by the newspaper chiefly in terms of three meaning complexes: 1) an impressiveness factor, covering

scale and beauty; 2) an appropriateness factor, covering matters of tradition and taste, as well as restraint in dangerous activities, since tragedy is especially inappropriate on a happy occasion; and 3) the enthusiasm or other appropriate affect of participants. Mentions of enthusiasm help maintain both the face of the nation and the face of the newspaper as an event promoter, and signals of affect are among the most salient reported details in the news stories. The impressiveness, appropriateness, and enthusiasm factors are related to one another through the implicit claims of the text; for example, it is assumed that impressive displays are appropriate for national days and may provoke displays of affect. These three factors can be matched with the categories of the Appraisal (Attitude) system to some degree: enthusiasm is related to Affect, impressiveness is related to Appreciation, appropriateness is related to Judgment. However, tokens of each can also be interpreted in terms of the other categories; and any kind of evaluation of a national day in the newspaper can be read as a Judgment of social esteem. Thus the three factors in the Appraisal system are, for these data, neither equally weighted nor independent, a finding which has ramifications for the study of linguistic evaluation in general.

These findings on evaluation set the scene for a re-examination of news values. The prototypical hard news story entails the evaluation of an event as important, unexpected and negative; something that threatens the social order (White 1998). However, news of holidays and celebrations tends to manifest a more approving tone, and this kind of news works to reproduce the social order. There is no contradiction in news values here, for order must be reproduced in order to be violated, as prevailing news value theories (e.g., Galtung and Ruge 1965) turn out to acknowledge in their assumptions. Furthermore, hard news values such as unexpectedness and negativity are displayed in a few, atypical national day news stories, concerning such matters as fireworks, protest marches, and refusal to take the day off, and these stories carry a significant amount of the pragmatic work for the corpus as a whole. And yet at the same time, infringements of holiday peace, consensus, and decorum, however seriously meant, are not experienced or evaluated as serious threats and, like the mock military displays on the holiday, can be treated as play (Bateson 1955).

The study represents an attempt to synthesize different approaches into an analysis that is richer than any one of them could provide. Systemic-functional linguistics offers the most fully articulated framework of those I have used, and the only one to take prosody into account at all levels, but its current practices depend on categorization systems that are not particularly delicate. Instead of starting with the categories, I chose to let centers of evaluation emerge from the data itself, and subsequently compare them with the categories devised by others; this procedure was followed for example in the description of 'celebrate' and analysis of evaluation.

In the course of the study I also performed a large number of corpus-linguistic analyses, including pure word frequency counts which were compared to counts for general corpora; further investigations were made of the distribution of keywords (cf. Williams 1988, Wierzbicka 1994) that could be assumed to be central to the discourse of national days. The results were reported in part in ben-Aaron 2002a. With the exception of a few details which I have integrated into the present study, these exercises were unrewarding, and I came to understand that it really did not matter if a certain word appeared three times in 1871 and then not again until 1926, for several reasons: First, as explained in Chapter III, the text collection had to be built on principles of extensiveness, representativeness and salience (in the modified Chafean sense of attractiveness to the reader's conscious attention) rather than the unachievable ideal of completeness, so the counts would not be comparable across different periods; and the numbers were too small to be reliable in any case. Second, reader attention to words varies tremendously according to their use and context, for example headlines are noticed more than text, and evaluations and colorful quotations are remembered more easily than unstructured lists.

If the study of corpus linguistics has taught us anything, it is that the structures that are most frequent are different from the ones that are the most salient in consciousness (Fillmore 1992). To my mind a very important direction for future research would be to investigate the workings of the salient features and try to find out what makes them

powerful out of proportion to their frequency, and the study has followed this line in the chapters on evaluations, metaphors, and politeness features, all of which are shown to be integrated in a psychologically charged family celebration scenario in which junior members are exhorted to display attention to senior members while the newspaper preserves its position as external judge of the proceedings. The discussion of the nature and positioning of new information demonstrates that the details that anchor this scenario are easy to pick out because of their location at the edges of the text, in headlines, leads, subheadings, and paragraph beginnings and endings; often in reports they are positioned at the beginnings of clauses as marked New information in order to attract attention. Information that anchors resistant readings is typically buried in places where it does not leap to the eye but can easily be picked out by skilled readers. In setting these priorities I do not wish to deny the likelihood of subtle ideological effects from linguistic features that are not consciously attended to, as posited in Critical Discourse Analysis, but to argue that we need a more principled study of textual effects which takes the management of attention into account as well.

These findings have significance for social science beyond linguistics. Whether or not holidays and other celebrations are a natural human universal, they are certainly a universal of the modern world and its system of nations, which have one by one adapted earlier practices to new regimes, eventually forming a new global culture of ceremonial politics, albeit one that is localized in its specifics. At the same time, the rise of mass media which accompanied and supported these changes has led to a newly reflexive view of celebration: celebratory practices and reporting on them have become integrated with ways of judging and describing for an audience that has learned it can substitute the mediated experience for actual participation. At the beginning of the coverage, the news stories took the form of simple recounts, told as a summary followed by a minute-by-minute chronology with overt evaluations using attributive and predicative adjectives. Over time, these recounts were supplanted by narratives of emotion that related the different affective (and evaluated) states through micronarratives. As bureaucracy and technology developed, the narratives increasingly took

shape through classifications, statistics, and official soundbites from elite actors, with the whole organized through the inverted pyramid structure. By this time the status of the media as an evaluator was taken for granted. Currently the dominant news style consists of metadiscursive discussion (about the significance of the national day, for instance), largely presented through closely observed "fly on the wall" reports, with an underlying narrative of closely balanced opposing forces. With the advent of websites, which were not treated in the study, newspapers have extended this pattern to inviting readers to take a side and talk over the constructed oppositions in complementary media such as Internet discussion forums and SMS bulletin boards. Further turns will certainly follow as fashions in information change.

If we return to the story from 1916 that was briefly reviewed in Chapter I as a representative and somewhat arbitrarily chosen example of the material in the text collection, we should now be able to see more clearly the ways in which journalists speaking to their readers enact power by reproducing standard patterns in the discourse of national days, beginning with the headline:

> 5,000 DANCE IN STREET.
> Vacation Society Has Old-Fashioned Village Celebration.

Here we see that the celebration is characterized first by its activity (dancing in the street), and by the estimated number of people attending, which together appear to give an objective report, sustaining the newspaper's growing claim of being a uniquely trustworthy source of information. The crowd figure is given first even though it is obviously New information, meaning the newspaper assumes the holiday frame will be salient in readers' minds and will condition their expectations of news. The placement also makes the figure operate as a marked New in its context. At the same time the reported crowd size functions as a positive evaluation of enthusiasm via scale, following the discussion of evaluation in Chapter V. "Old-fashioned" is another obvious evaluation and if there is no reference to accidents or problems associated with earlier ways of celebrating, then it must be read as positive for

appropriateness, usuality and consistency, as well as suggesting some quaint sensory touches. It appears again in the lead:

> There was an old-fashioned village Fourth of July celebration last night in the block between Fifth and Sixth Avenues on Thirty-ninth Street last evening [*sic*], where the Vacation Society was helping the Mayor's committee in the observance of a safe and sane Independence Day. Five thousand big people and little people, rich people and poor people, danced and sang, cheered the flag and the soldiers in the moving pictures, and applauded the speakers.

The story begins conversationally with a light subject before reprising the information in the lower headline, with the addition of the official name of the holiday, which is required in the lead for clarity. Giving the precise location of the celebration adds verisimilitude and marks the area as a possible point of interest for the next year. The mention of the Mayor's committee adds prestige to the event and its sponsor, the Vacation Society[128], while the "safe and sane" label, combined with "old-fashioned" in the same sentence, points to a fusion of previously separate ideas: it is possible to have a Fourth of July celebration that is "old-fashioned" and also safe. In addition to a covert appeal to different segments of the population as readers and supporters of the newspapers, the listing of "big and little, rich and poor" functions as another measure of the comprehensiveness of the celebration, while the verbs "cheered" and "applauded" show the audience as enthusiastically involved with the event, and the consistently positive tone of the report positions the

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[128] What the *New York Times* refers to as the Vacation Society was founded in 1893 as the Jewish Working Girls' Vacation Society, a philanthropic agency that arranged inexpensive vacations for immigrant garment workers and other working women, and reimbursed employers for lost wages. When paid vacations for workers became a more regular feature in U.S. industry, the Working Girls' Vacation Society, as it was then known, began to arrange vacations for returning GIs, students and others through the 1940s (Freedman 2003, Altonji and Oldham 2000). The street where the celebration was held was in an area of midtown Manhattan known as the Garment District, since it was the most central of the areas in the city where clothing factories used to be located, and is still home to many clothing-related businesses. The *Times* has generally aspired to draw its core readership from the upper middle class of all ethnicities, and the omission of words such as 'Jewish,' 'working' and 'Garment District' from the story may be seen as symptomatic of its aspirations.

scene as an example of desirable behavior for the future, as explained in the sections on footings in Chapter VII.

> The street in front of the vacation headquarters, 38 East Thirty-ninth Street, was canopied with a curtain of lanterns in red, white, and blue. From 8 o'clock until 11, with only the intervals for speeches, the Sixty-ninth Regiment Band played patriotic airs and dance music.

The coverage and intensity of the spectacle in both sight and sound is emphasized here, as is the creation of a special space for celebration in the middle of the city grid:

> The street was the dancing floor. The Vacation Society headquarters on one side and the band and speakers' stand with the sheet for the moving pictures on the other formed the sides of the ballroom. There were little folks dancing, pretty young girls, and their escorts, older people too, and the most noticeable couple was a dignified old colored man dancing with a funny little pickaninny. Inside the Vacation headquarters there was more dancing, and here and there on the sidewalks were stray couples who did not like the limelight of the asphalt dancing floor.

This description invokes the Bastille Day celebration model of carnival and communitas, where all are dancing together on the same dance floor (although not necessarily exchanging partners and social businesses), rather than the more usual hierarchical ceremony model of holiday celebration. The fact that the latest entertainment technology, namely moving pictures, is incorporated into the celebration is noted as newsworthy. Disattention is reported in the mention of the couples who would not dance (note that this occurs about two thirds of the way through the story, which is a usual location for information anchoring a resistant reading), and variation in mood is shown by the juxtaposition of the "dignified old colored man" with the "funny little pickaninny." The writer may also be using these locutions to steer a path through changing manifestations of racism; the time when race is not mentioned unless it is a factor in the story is still many decades off.

> Everybody sang the "Star-Spangled Banner" as the words were thrown on the screen. Then there were war pictures – pictures of the civil war, the Spanish-American war, and the American soldiers on the border. The crowd applauded Dudley Field Malone when he called for a full democracy and

>votes for women. Mrs. Richard Aldrich told of the flag she loved, the Red
>Cross flag, and asked for a big membership for the Red Cross. Dr. Katharine
>B. Davis also spoke. (July 5, 1916, p. 12)

The karaoke-style singing of the national anthem, whose full lyrics are generally acknowledged to be unknown to nearly all citizens, is reported as if to say that nationalism can be technologized and up-to-date. In a trope common to events intended to solidify community, the past, present and future are mentioned as if to connect them: past wars, current mobilization, and future political action. Several New Yorkers active in reformist politics are mentioned as if everyone should know who they are, implying a community in which people do recognize their own celebrities.[129] At the same time, "everybody" in the first line is conversational and immediate. The incongruity of Mrs. Aldrich praising the Red Cross flag as the flag she loved instead of the national flag has been covered in Chapter I.

Looking through the entire story, we can also see that important elements are naturalized through nominalizations such as "old-fashioned village celebration," "observance of a safe and sane Independence Day," "patriotic airs and dance music," and "war pictures." In particular, "the street" is frequently thematized, rooting the description in an obviously Given location evoked from the readers' lifeworld as well as positioning it as part of a paradigmatic set of local holiday reports with beginnings like "In Brooklyn" and "At the Cincinnati," adding up to comprehensive coverage. The reporter mixes evaluative shadings such as "old-fashioned" and "pretty" with an

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[129] All three were likely to have been mentioned many times before in the newspaper. Dudley Field Malone was a successful divorce lawyer and former Undersecretary of State who would later be part of the defense team in the 1925 Scopes trial in Tennessee, in which a schoolteacher was prosecuted and convicted for teaching the theory of evolution (UMKC 2004). Margaret Livingston Chandler Aldrich, together with Anna Bouligny, went to Puerto Rico and established field hospitals there for the military wounded during the war with Spain in 1898, for which they were awarded the Congressional Gold Medal in 1940 (Congressional Gold Medal 2004). Dr. Katharine B. Davis opened the first model reformatory for women in Bedford Hills, N.Y. in 1900 (Munger 1941).

apparently neutral style that lends itself to evaluation through implicatures, such as the mention of crowd size and the names of speakers who would appear to new readers either as already well-known local figures or as persons being constructed as newly famous through the text and others like it. As to what is new in the text, the details of the event, speakers, and motion pictures, including images of soldiers mobilizing on the Mexican border, are undoubtedly new to all. Some readers may have been struck by more basic elements, such as the fact that the *New York Times* chose to report on this particular celebration, the fact that motion pictures were shown on a midtown street, and, in the case of younger readers and recent immigrants, the fact that the celebration took place at all.

Given and New exist on a plane above the text as well. In a high-content genre like news or fiction the style and selection of details need to be refreshed periodically, or even continuously. It is true that most Fourth of July stories could plausibly run a few years earlier or later, but not 20 years earlier or later, because of stylistic and factual drift, as well as changes in ideology and increasing reflexivity; there is much in the older stories especially that seems naïve today. We have seen how the news stories changed to satisfy contemporary desiderata for news, whether these are constructed in terms of having news at all (early period), in terms of deluging the reader with details in a show of reporting technology (the middle period to which this text belongs), or in terms narrativizing and reflecting on events (late period). Markers of stance also changed from the subtle lexical criticisms and occasional open accusations of the 19th century to the serious and straightforward official reporting of the early and mid-20th century, with the main ambiguities and gaps to be found in peripheral texts like the 1936 story about the WPA workers who called either a strike or a holiday observance, depending on one's perspective. Traces of negotiation can occasionally be seen, as in the neutrally footed roundups of citizen views of patriotism, and some of the discussions of appropriateness in celebrations. However, in the vast majority of cases, what is being contested is mainly the content of event programs that use the past in the present – not the existence of the programs themselves or the nation they celebrate.

In the late 20th century, as we have seen, the newspaper began to run deliberately polyphonic stories and reflective features investigating the idea of patriotism and the structures of public memory rather than taking them for granted. At this point, the public had been made more aware of the uses of history by the state, and was interested in the workings of these uses. Commentators such as Bodnar (1992) and Kammen (1991) have found reasons for this reflectiveness in historical events such as loss of trust in president after Watergate, the end of the Cold War, the rise of the history industry with the Bicentennial, and a more diverse population requiring more explanation. Trends in intellectual life such as the rise of discourse analysis itself have likely also played a part. The expert discourse of historians like these, and other social scientists reviewed in Chapter II, has raised important questions of reflexivity that have filtered through to the public, through the *New York Times* among other channels; for example there are a number of news stories about strategic changes in celebrations, written by or with the aid of historians and chiefly dating from the 1960s and later (for example, Glassberg 1991). This feedback loop has complicated the problem of celebrating the state. The present study represents an attempt to push this trend further.

There are many places where the study could be extended and deepened. First there are issues related to the text collection. Confidence in the results would be higher if all the news stories from the earlier years could have been typed in full, though this would have doubled or tripled the amount of data to be considered. The text collection would also be strengthened by including one or more time series of consecutive years to check hypotheses about year-to-year reactions in the stories, and it could also be extended backwards with news stories from earlier, shorter-lived newspapers, going back to the first celebrations of the Fourth of July during the Revolutionary War (Travers 1997 provides a summary of these sources). By chance the collection also happens to contain no holiday during which the United States was fully involved in a war with broad popular support and conscription, and the addition of such material would provide a valuable reference point for ideological effects. At its present size, however, the

text base is already too large to maintain full and even-handed mental acquaintance with at the desired level of detail, so any significant increase in size would probably require increased use of quantitative methods. The category systems I have derived and in particular the analysis of evaluation would obviously profit from comparison with quantitative results, but as noted, counting and comparing tokens is problematic when the phenomena involved are implicit and may be anchored by anything from a quotation mark to an underlying allegorical resemblance.

At a more analytical level, the conclusions become increasingly uncertain the further we move from the present; although the earliest texts were written only 150 years ago, their style is sufficiently alienating that I sometimes had difficulty analyzing the footings and detecting uses of irony. In addition, changes in practice, from orations and odes to mass pageantry to the mediated national holidays of today, might be separated more rigorously from changes in language; it is obviously a problem that the same material sometimes must be used as linguistic data and as evidence of context. More work could be done with images (although a start was made in ben-Aaron 2004), and with interactions with broadcast and Web media, since, as Scannell's case studies (1996) make clear, as more people get their news through the media instead of attending public events in person, media consumption and post-consumption activities gain in value and become an important way of relating to the community. And just as studies of news have recently been informed by studies of gaps and censorship (Anthonissen 2003), so the study of media involvement in celebration would be informed by studies of how these mechanisms operate in less free societies.

All of the considerations identified above are principally supporting efforts to determine what the journalists were trying to achieve. The effects of national day news stories on multiple actual readers have not been investigated at all in this study, and now that a framework is in place for analyzing the ideological structure of national day texts, reader focus groups could be interviewed, preferably close to the holiday as well as at a distance from it. Given a complex and uncomputable media environment, in which we are not even sure if yesterday's news is

accurate or effective at any given perlocutionary task, we should of course be somewhat cautious in our pronouncements about pragmatic effects of the media. We need a systematic methodology for dealing with the inevitable layers of reflexivity, inhibition and observation effects – as well as precise planning since fieldwork can only be done during a few days per year per country. Other areas that need to be investigated with actual readers include perceptions of the celebration frame *in situ*, skimming mechanisms, multimodality (in particular the interaction of pictures and text), and perceptions of diachronic change in news language. Although I have argued that the pragmatically charged stories and linguistic elements that attracted my attention as salient and interesting probably worked the same way for readers in earlier decades, we do not know if they approached the texts the same way; secondary sources (particularly Heath 1983 and Henkin 1998) provide strong evidence that textual habitus changes from generation to generation and over each individual's lifetime. The results of the present study suggest a linguistic mass observation program for studying discourse at the largest scale – across nations and generations – and discovering how we make and use meanings over a lifetime from often hurried browsings of blanket-sized sheets of news and, latterly, clicking through online news sources and discussions.

This study has described the characteristics of the different types of national day stories for the newspaper and its audiences, from the point of view of cognition, pragmatics, ideology, and communications. The newspaper data gathered over 150 years shows a high degree of underlying organization; the evaluations, metaphors, statements of emotion, and orientations to the nation mostly follow a few carefully worn tracks that allow the reading audience to decode important information at skimming speed even when it is presented in nonintuitive order. The generally routine and repetitive national day stories exemplify the type of unthreatening comfort news that helps provide a stable ground against which to view the figures of the more negative, exceptional and unexpected news that highlights the boundaries of the social order and that is usually considered to be the most prototypical news. At the same time, readers also encounter negative stories that indicate the boundaries of permitted holiday play, and gaps where they

must attempt to decode the content inferentially, reading in their own norms of behavior and investing more attention in the story.

The immediate result of these textual manipulations on national days is that the majority of the population is successfully induced to pay attention, either in person or through the media, to certain activities that honor the nation and reproduce the national hierarchy; in most countries, this involves taking a day off. Taking a holiday to honor the nation may not always be contrary to citizens' interests, but it is most certainly the result of orders imposed from above for ideological reasons, and deserves scrutiny on that count. The longer term effect is that national day news helps build the face of the nation as an entity deserving special attention and respect, and it affirms the newspaper's position as a privileged speaker who has the right to judge others. In the case of national holidays journalism does not speak truth to power; rather, it speaks power itself.

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