IDEOLOGICAL STANCE DISCLOSED BY THE USE OF APPRAISAL AND IRONY IN A FILM

A Tesina Paper

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Sra. Decana de la
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S_____/_____D

De mi mayor consideración:

       Me dirijo a Ud. en mi carácter de Directora de la tesina "Ideological Stance Disclosed by the Use of Appraisal and Irony in a Film" (el título original "Language Use and Ideological Stance" fue cambiado para hacerlo más específico, por sugerencia del Comité Académico), presentada por el Licenciando Sebastián Andrés Amado, a fin de comunicarle que la misma está en condiciones de pasar a la instancia de evaluación y defensa oral.

Sin más, la saludo atentamente.

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Abstract:

Both forms of interpersonal meanings, the use of appraisal and the use of irony, take part in an inferential model of communication, in which the right inferences or assumptions on the part of the interlocutor are crucial to the success of communication. This paper aims to describe various ways of linguistic realization of interpersonal meanings in language use; the purpose of this description is to show that our choice of words may not only transmit ideology but also influence our interlocutors' ideas. Ideological stance is considered from a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective which delves into the dialectal relationship between discursive and social structures (Fairclough, 1989). The analytical framework is based on Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 1994), mostly on Appraisal Theory (Martin & Rose, 2003). In order to show some different strategies to convey ideology, the use of appraisal and irony in Moore's movie 'Capitalism: A love story' (2009) is analysed. Quantitative methods are adopted to analyse the data. Findings show that our lexical choices disclose our most intimate ideology.

Keywords: *ideology, appraisal, irony, interpersonal metafunction*.

Introduction

The study of discourse focuses on the use of language beyond and above the sentence; in other words, discourse studies focus on how people convey meaning and make sense of each other linguistically in texts and contexts (Schiffrin, 2006). Through discourse, people can "represent the world", "organize thoughts into communicative actions", arrange information so people can access it, "engage in actions and interactions with one another" and, most importantly, "convey their identities and relations" (Schiffrin, 2006, p. 169).

In our relationship with others, we usually disclose our ideology through discursive means. Some ideologies have specific functions such as that of "legitimate domination" and "to articulate resistance in relationships of power" (van Dijk, 2006, p. 115). Ideologies are seen as "systems of ideas" or socio-cognitive "shared representations of social groups"; so widely do they become shared that they appear to have turned into "part of the generally accepted attitudes of an entire community" (van Dijk, 2006, pp. 115-117).

Thus, ideologies have social-cognitive functions realised by language, or, more specifically, by language users, through the choice of a specific context in which a speaker speaks as a member of a social group, through the use of a specific lexicon, specific syntactic forms and certain communicative or speech acts-like the act of accusing or promising- among others, which signal the ideology of the speaker or writer. In other words, there seems to be an undeniable connection between strategies of discourse and ideological structures as "ideologies are acquired, expressed, enacted and reproduced by discourse" (van Dijk, 2006, p. 124).

This connection between structures of discourse and ideology might be noticeable by working on two strategies that may be like 'carriers' of human thought and beliefs: irony and appraisal. Both of these strategies may be framed within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)'s interpersonal metafunction. It is worth pointing out that this approach studies language choices employed by language learners to convey different meanings. To do this, SFL works on social context by looking at "how language both acts upon, and is constrained by this social context" (Pham Thi Minh Phuong, 2017, p. 67).

The interpersonal metafunction deals with relationships among participants in both spoken texts and written texts. Some SFL crucial notions such as the notions of context, already mentioned, register and the notion of tenor will help us frame our two interpersonal strategies. Although this paper focuses on the notion of tenor in particular, we are forced to mention the notion of context, also called 'context of situation' due to the pragmatic nature of the work

conducted here. Context is seen as a 'set of contextual parameters'-it includes not only tenor but field and mode as well-which come together to define the 'register' of a text (Flowerdew, 2013). Register, the second notion, "is a set of linguistic choices associated with a particular situation" (Flowerdew, 2013, p. 13), for example, that of a professional activity such as the language of students, doctors, teachers etc. The scope of this paper, which is the notion of tenor, has to do with "the social roles and social status in terms of power, expertise or authority…the social distance, i.e. the degree of connection or closeness…" and the degree of agreement of alignment among the interlocutors (Coffin & Donohue & North, 2009, p. 214). In other words, tenor focuses not only on the way the speakers or writers interact with the audience or readers but also on how this interaction will affect the words chosen in certain events (Mahmudah, 2013). It is within this interpersonal framework that both irony and appraisal will be looked at.

This paper is divided into five chapters: Chapter 1 presents the research question, sets the general objectives and the specific ones and defines the targeted audience; Chapter 2 deals with the theoretical framework and it is subdivided into different sections: the first one encompasses general features of political discourse, ideology and power; the second section of Chapter 2 deals with political discourse within Critical Discourse Studies; the third one is about the intimate connection between language manipulation and appraisal; and the last section within the same chapter revolves around language manipulation and irony. In Chapter 3, the movie Capitalism (2009) is introduced and the director himself; then, the methodology is defined within CDS and SFL as the analytical tool is presented. Chapter 4 revolves around the findings and all the examples found in the movie to illustrate the notions discussed, whereas Chapter 5 deals with some pedagogical implications and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 1- Research Question, Objectives and Target Audience

'Political language… is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind' (Orwell, 1968, p. 139)

The ideological perspective of media language entails the interaction of "particular ways of representing the world… particular constructions of social identities…and social relations" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 12)

The purpose of the paper is to describe how language use discloses different ideologies as regards the notion of 'capitalism' in Moore's movie '*Capitalism- a love story*' (2009) by answering the following research question: is the way we position ourselves ideologically reflected in our language use? To tackle this question and to disclose an ideological stance, different characters in the movie may be claimed to resort to the use of 'irony' and lexical 'appraisal'.

This study is mainly aimed at different audiences such as bilingual school students who study text analysis as part of the Cambridge AS Language exam or college language students interested in linguistic issues, such as the use of political discourse, irony, appraisal and issues related to ideology and power. Another possible audience is teachers themselves who want to help their students to become critical readers and become aware of how the choice of words may lead readers to believe issues are good or bad.

The objectives of this study are the following:

General objectives:

- To raise teachers' and students' awareness of the reciprocal underlying interaction of language and social structure thereby helping them to become critical readers in the face of people in power.
- To address social and political issues critically through text study.

Specific objectives:

- To show different uses of linguistic strategies such as irony and appraisal.
- To show that our choice of words reflects our most intimate ideology.

CHAPTER 2 - Theoretical Background

'…Ideologies are closely linked to power…they are a means of legitimizing existing social relations and differences of power…ideology is the prime means of manufacturing consent' (Fairclough, 2001, pp. 2-3)

2.1   Political discourse, ideology and power

Language tells us a lot about the ideology of those who use it; language is a means of communication in which we present political argument ideologically in the sense that emerges from "a set of beliefs" (Beard, 2000, p. 18). Ideologies are more than different ways of thinking and acting (Mooney. et. al, 2011). Bourdieu (1991) argues, when discussing the social root of hegemonic ideologies which are in keeping with dominant cultures, that

> "Unlike myth, which is a collective and collectively appropriated product, ideologies serve particular interests which they tend to present as universal interests, shared by the group as a whole. The dominant culture contributes to the real integration of the dominant class (by facilitating the communication between all its members and by distinguishing them from other classes)…finally, it contributes to the legitimation of the established order by establishing distinctions (hierarchies) and legitimating these distinctions. The dominant culture produces this ideological effect by concealing the function of division beneath the function of communication: the culture which unifies (the medium of communication) is also the culture which separates (the instrument of distinction) and which legitimates distinctions by forcing all other cultures (designated as sub-cultures) to define themselves by their distance from the dominant culture"(p. 167)

According to Mitchell (1986 in Mooney. et. al., 2011) this hegemonic view of ideology is seen as an orthodox view which consists of "a system of symbolic representations that reflects a historical situation of domination by a particular class…under guises of naturalness and universality" (p. 18).

Van Dijk (2006, p. 117) explains that ideologies have different cognitive and social functions, the most important one is to legitimate domination as well "articulate resistance in relationships of power". According to this author, an ideology is acquired and expressed by spoken or written discourse; he also argues that ideologies have or need some kind of organization but he makes it clear that they are not consistent because they are different from logical systems; in fact, they are socio-cognitive systems (van Dijk, 2006). When trying to define the nature of ideologies, van Dijk (2006, p. 118) posits that ideologies "organize social attitudes, such as those on immigration or abortion…". To account for this organization, the psychological notion of 'schema' is introduced to define the self-identity of groups through some basic categories, which define some ideologies but not all of them, such as "identity criteria, typical activities, aims, norms and values…" (van Dijk, 2006. p. 118).

According to the same author, there is a close connection between ideological structures and strategies of discourse; to show this he suggests some markers or expressions of ideology - within some broad categories-used in discourse: 'context' helps define speakers as members of a social group; 'lexicon' which selects evaluative positive and negative terms; 'form' and within it, we can find 'syntax' which gives you linguistic choices such as the use active and passives, full clauses or the use of nominalizations, the use of cleft or non-cleft sentences; within 'form' we can also find 'sound structures' through intonation patterns always emphasizing or deemphasizing 'our good things' or 'their bad things'; another category within 'form' is 'format', within it, we can find 'schema' or 'overall form' through the use of dominant categories such as headlines, titles etc., the use of fallacies that give the wrong conclusion and overgeneralizations, the use of rhetorical structures through the use of repetition, metonymy, euphemism, hyperbole etc; the last category is 'action' which deals with the use of speech acts such as promises, accusations etc. All of these categories highlight our good things and their bad things (van Dijk, 2006).

A term intimately connected with that of discourse and ideology is the concept of social power which is defined as control over people's actions; that is to say, the "control of one group over other groups and their members" (van Dijk, 2008, p. 9).

This control is pervasive in society and does not only apply to our talk or text but it also affects our minds; we can never be totally free in terms of what we think- our knowledge, opinions, attitudes are shaped and controlled by 'mainstream' ideas. The notion of power abuse is related to the interest of those who hold such power, and against the interest of those who are dominated (van Dijk, 2008).

Another name given to this notion of power is 'symbolic power', that is to say, the power or influence exercised over people through language which is realised in subtle and indirect ways (Mooney et. al, 2011). But power, of course, is not only exercised through language; in Fairclough's (2001) own words "power exists in various modalities, including the concrete and unmistakable modality of physical force" (p. 3). The author continues to add that we should draw a distinction between "the exercise of power through coercion of various sorts including physical violence and the exercise of power through the manufacture of consent…Power relations depend on both, though in varying proportions" (p. 3).

The notion of 'manufacturing consent' was coined by Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky (2002); in this seminal book, the same authors frame the notion of *power* in a 'propaganda model' in which the media's role is to represent, serve and propagandise the interests of a powerful elite and safeguard them. Within this model, some structural filters or factors are

described such as ownership and control as well as advertisers or funding sources that are in charge of making or defining the news agenda. This idea of 'power' seems to be in keeping with the one presented in the movie 'Capitalism' since the media here is shown, by the director, to 'speak' the most positive evaluations of the notion of capitalism, mainly through advertisers and media owners who define what is newsworthy and what is not.

The prime means of manufacturing consent is ideology, a notion that is closely linked to that of power. Ideologies are seen as assumptions that are part of conventions dependent on the power relations underlying them (Fairclough, 2001). They are also seen close to language and as a means of "legitimizing existing social relations and differences of power…through familiar and recurrent ways of behaving which take these relations and power differences for granted" (p. 2).

The term 'political discourse' refers to a number of different text types such as "a speech, debate, political interview, policy document, and so on" (van Dijk, 1997 in Hamilton & Schiffrin & Tannen, 2018, p. 775). The term is also associated with the term 'rhetoric' since the origin of the term has to do with forms of persuasive effects and "argumentation procedures"; in other words, political discourse is one type of text or "genre for the display of rhetorical forms of persuasion or performance" (Wilson, 2015 in Hamilton et. al, 2018, p. 775).

Every discourse and especially political discourse can be regarded as 'multifunctional'; it performs a wide range of speech acts: intimidate, legitimize and most importantly, persuade (Woods, 2006).

According to Foucault (1978), when describing power relations, he argues that they "depend on a multiplicity of points of resistance: these play the role of adversary, target, support, or handle in power relations. These points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network" (p. 95). The same author continues to argue that "power is not something that is acquired, seized, or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away; power is exercised from innumerable points, in the inter-play of nonegalitarian and mobile relations" (p. 94).

When van Dijk (2008) talks about 'social power' he refers to 'power abuse' that is to say, situations in which there is control of one group over another one. In his own words, "social power is a property of the relationship between groups, classes or other social formations, or between persons as social members" (p. 29)

The same author describes different types of control: 'context control' refers to the ways "discourse is being regulated by those in power", mainly the control of the public discourse of the mass media; 'mind control' involves not only understanding and controlling what people say and

know but also their ideologies and values; 'discourse control' explains "how structures of discourse itself are being controlled", namely, "*what* can or should be said" and "*how* this can or should be formulated", for example, lexical choices, word order etc. (van Dijk, 2008, p. 10- 11).

2.2.   Political discourse in Critical Discourse Analysis

Political discourse is at the heart of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which examines the interaction between power and discourse and in particular it shows "the way in which authority, dominance and social inequality are constructed, sustained, reproduced and resisted" in discourse (Woods, 2006, p. 50).

Within CDA, the notion of discourse is seen as 'big D' discourse which sees this notion not only as the study of language in use but also as the way ideas are articulated and how they are used by a particular group such as the discourse of neoliberalism or feminism (Gee, 2011 in Flowerdew, 2013). Indeed, Discourse is seen as "a specific set of meanings expressed through particular forms and uses which give expression to particular institutions or social groups'" (Kress, 1989 in Flowerdew, 2013, p. 178). One of the main principles of CDA is that "social and political issues are constructed and reflected in discourse" (Paltridge, 2012, p. 187).

Politics usually has as one of its main objective "the acquisition and retention of power for certain groups and individuals"; at the same time, politics has "the authority to control the accumulation and distribution of society's economic wealth and goods" (Woods, 2006, p. 50). We can even go further and be more distrustful of politics claiming that it is very hard, in this age, to keep out of it; "all issues are political issues and politics itself is a mass of lies, evasions, folly hatred, and schizophrenia" (Orwell, 1968, p. 137).

One of the most important tenets of political discourse is to focus on "how the world is presented to the public through particular forms of linguistic representation" (Wilson, 2015 in Hamilton et. al, 2018, p. 776); in other words, institutions, places and objects are presented to us within particular positive or negative perspectives or "realities" which are "mediated through different forms of language representation" (Sapir, 2010 in Hamilton et. al, 2018, p. 776).

It is worth pointing out that political discourse as any other type of human discourse, such as the discourse of advertising, is not neutral; on the contrary, it is constructed to "lead its audience in the direction of particular thoughts, beliefs, and ultimately, actions" (Woods, 2006, p. 53).

We can complain about media 'witch-hunts'-the distorted or biased way the media presents news- because language of a political text "reflects the ideological position of those who have created it" (Woods, 2006, p. 18). It is worth explaining that it is practically impossible to expect that the media or politicians speak the 'truth' simply because of the values that are brought to the news by the creator and the receiver of the text.

A broad definition of politics, then, is not restricted to the activities of government or politicians but it also includes different relations of power such as doctors over patients, teachers over students or different social relations which deal with the notion of power (Mooney et. al. 2011).

A closely related term, within politics, is 'rhetoric' which is seen as a skill or tool and defined as the art of persuasion whose origins can be traced back to ancient Greece. This skill works on the notion of style and the targeted audience; in other words, it deals with the way people can shape a text to make it as persuasive as possible (Mooney et. al. 2011).

2.3.   Language manipulation and appraisal.

Language manipulation at the level of lexis needs to be done with some degree of subtlety; mainly, the deliberate choice of vocabulary emotionally charged to name "people or processes involved in politically sensitive issues" mentioned in the press. So this careful use of vocabulary is a crucial component in the construction of political discourse" (Woods, 2006, p. 59).

One of the most important linguistic strategies to exploit our use of lexis is 'appraisal'. It is regarded as an "interpersonal system at the level of discourse semantics" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 33). The interpersonal features in language can help us construe and see "the subjective presence of writers and speakers in texts as they adopt stances towards both the material they present" and the people they communicate (Martin & White, 2005, p. 1). Appraisal or evaluation can undoubtedly help uncover speakers' intentions behind lexical choice. Attitudes or evaluation can be separated into three kinds, depending on whether we are evaluating people's feelings, people's character, or the value of things. 'Affect' encompasses the resources for expressing feelings, 'judgement' includes resources for judging people's character, and 'appreciation' those tools for valuing the worth of things (Martin and Rose, 2003). Whereas 'affect' focuses on the feelings of the appraiser, 'appreciation' and 'judgement' focus on the appraised and are, therefore, more indirect in that our emotions are less explicit (Thompson, 2004). This system of attitude involves three traditional semantic regions known as emotion, ethics and aesthetics. Emotion or affect focuses on positive or negative feelings such as happiness, sadness, confidence, anxiety,

boredom (Martin & White, 2005). Judgement, another category within attitude or ways of feeling, "deals with attitudes towards behaviour, which we admire or criticise, praise or condemn" (p. 44). The last region is aesthetics or appreciation which "involves evaluations of semiotic and natural phenomena' depending on the 'ways in which they are valued or not in a given field" (p. 43).

Each of these categories of appraisal above can be divided into subcategories. 'Judgement' can be divided into two categories, whether we are evaluating "people in terms of social esteem" (social behaviour) or "social sanction" (moral qualities) (Thompson, 2004, p. 77). Affect can also be divided into 'realis' emotional states (the here and now) and 'irrealis' emotional responses (future possible states). The last 'evaluation' technique, 'appreciation', is subcategorised into 'reaction', that is to say, how the value or the thing being appraised strike us and 'composition', how the value is made up (Thompson, 2004). It is worth pointing out that only some of these subcategories of lexis will be covered in the paper; they will undoubtedly enrich the interpretation of the excerpts from the movie and help us shed light on the topic.

Engagement, another system of appraisal, does not apply to feelings; this system shows how locutions "play a dialogistic role in that they enable speakers and writers to present themselves as more strongly aligned or less strongly aligned with the value position being advanced by the text"; at the same time, this system reveals the way speakers are allowed to position themselves with regard to "the communities of shared value and belief associated with those positions" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 94). In other words, engagement concerns meaning negotiation of alignment/ disalignment construed by the text between the speaker or writer and "the text's putative addressee" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 95). This dialogistic perspective presented by Bakhtin (1981 in Martin & White, 2005, p. 93), most importantly, allows us to explore the nature of the relationship between the speaker or writer and previous utterances voiced by other speakers who not only "have previously taken a stand with respect to the issue under investigation" but they have also established, through the act of speaking, "some socially significant community of shared belief or value" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 93). The orientation of this framework revolves around contextual meaning and rhetorical effects rather than grammatical forms; hence engagement locutions allow the speaker to position herself vis-à-vis the text's backdrop of alternative points of views and value judgements (Bakhtin, 1981 in Martin & White, 2005). This heteroglossic context of prior utterances and viewpoints allow speakers to position themselves in different ways: by disclaiming (the textual voice rejects or is at odds with a position), proclaiming (in which the proposition is presented as generally agreed or relied on), entertaining (in which the proposition is presented as contingent among different possible

positions), and attribute (in which the proposition is "grounded in the subjectivity of an external voice" (p.98)).

According to Flowerdew (2013), the subsystems of engagement are these: 'proclamation', which has to do with asserting that something is true such as 'it is true that' etc.; 'disclaming' which revolves around the way we distance ourselves from what is communicated either in writing or orally, such as ' I deny that' etc.; 'acknowledgement' which deals with different ways to express possibility, for example 'it seems that' etc., and 'attribution', which discusses something a speaker reports either said or written, such as 'according to…'.

2.4.   Language manipulation and irony.

The second important linguistic strategy at the level of lexis to be analysed in this paper is irony. As pointed out in the introduction, irony is associated with the expression of attitudinal, evaluative and expressive behaviour. This device builds upon or exploits the principle of politeness; it is seen as a "second order principle" which "takes the form of being too polite for the occasion" (Leech, 1983, p. 82). Thus, the Irony Principle (IP) enables speakers "to be impolite while seeming to be polite"; this is done "by superficially breaking the cooperative principle but ultimately upholding it". The irony principle enables us "to bypass politeness" thereby promoting "the antisocial use of language" (Leech, 1983, p. 142).

A person who uses irony, he continues, "appears to be deceiving or misleading the hearer" but as a matter of fact, "he is indulging in an 'honest' form of apparent deception at the expense of politeness" (Leech, 1983, p. 83). In other words, "we are ironic at someone's expense" by "scoring off others by politeness that is obviously insincere, as a substitute for impoliteness" (p. 142). The insincerity becomes a breach of the informativeness or quantity maxim or a quality (truth) flouting.

The IP is also closely related to the cooperative principle - which is made up of different maxims: quality, quantity, relevance and manner. As said before, when we are being ironic, we overvalue the politeness principle "by breaking a maxim of the cooperative principle in order to uphold to the politeness principle" (Leech, 1983, p. 82)

Exaggeration or understatement usually signals the ironic force of a remark or comment; therefore, audiences usually don't take the comment at its face value (Leech, 1983). Thus irony my have "a positive function in permitting aggression to manifest itself in a less dangerous verbal

form than by direct criticism, insults, threats, etc." (pp. 143-144). In other words, this strategy "combines the art of attack with an apparent innocence which is a form of self-defence". Irony "pays lip-service" to the politeness principle and 'keeps aggression from the brink of war" (p. 144).

The traditional accounts of irony see this trope as meaning the opposite of the literal meaning expressed (Sperber & Wilson, 2004). "The ironist deliberately flouts the maxim of truthfulness" and implicates "the opposite of what was literally said" (Grice, 1975 in Sperber & Wilson, 2004, p. 54). Irony, however, can also be seen as a variety of echoic utterance, "used to express the speakers' attitude to the opinion echoed" (Sperber & Wilson, 2004, p. 59). In an echoic utterance, there is some repetition of a part of the expression used before, but, most importantly, verbal irony presupposes an expression of "an attitude of disapproval". Sperber and Wilson (2004, p. 60) posit that the ironist repeats or "echoes a thought she attributes to someone else"; at the same time, the user of irony dissociates himself/herself from it through ridicule or scorn. In other words, the attitude conveyed through an ironical utterance is that of a "rejecting" or "disapproving" kind (Sperber & Wilson, 1986, p. 239).

There are many counter examples that could be given that reject the traditional view of irony as stating the opposite of what you are saying. Some examples that could be given have to do with the notion of ironical 'understatement', which is traditionally viewed as meaning less than what you mean and not the opposite of what you say (Sperber & Wilson, 2004). For example, when the phrase 'I could live without something' is used to mean, through a euphemism, not the opposite of what is stated, which would be nonsensical, but, that we really do not want that thing for us at all. Also, famous quotations such as the one by Browning in 'Home thoughts from abroad':

'Oh to be in England,
  Now that April's there' (Sperber & Wilson, 2004, p. 55)

This famous quote could never be understood as communicating the opposite of what we really mean; indeed, it could be understood as expressing a feeling of rejection of a certain myth that English springs are always romantic, template and nice; in other words, these lines could even communicate a sentiment of mockery at this long held belief or 'value'.

We can go further and claim, according to the traditional view of irony, that "an ironical utterance communicates a single determinate proposition" which could have been expressed by

"another purely literal utterance" (Sperber & Wilson, 2004, p. 56). For example, if we say 'what a lovely day' (there's a downpour), we can replace the adjective by a literal one 'awful' and say 'what an awful day'.

An adequate definition of irony should be explanatory more than descriptive; it is suggested by traditional accounts that irony is a "deviation from the norm" and that "it is governed by arbitrary rules or conventions" (Sperber & Wilson, 2004, p. 57). As a matter of fact verbal irony is spontaneous and universal and arises without being learned or taught.

Different pragmatic approaches such as Sperber's and Wilson's theory of Relevance, Ducrot's Polyphonic Theory of Utterances and Grice's Conversational Theory among others have tried to explain an ironic utterance as a type of communicative attitude (Crespo Lajara, 2008). This author argues that irony, within political spheres, is seen as an attack or criticism; this device has "a playful-ingenious character" with "a double offensive-defensive effectiveness": on the one hand, it is an "indirect and implicit critical communicative strategy", and on the other hand, it is an "indirect attack mechanism that provides the speaker with a defensive tool"[1](p. 22). Irony is also evaluative not only of the world but also of the uses of language (Reyes, 1992 in Crespo Lajara, 2008). This linguistic strategy can allow us to distance ourselves from what we say, therefore, it can be seen as "an implicit quote"; this distancing from our discourse is due to the "ironic disguise" and "the indirect character of an ironic act"[2] (Lozano et. al, 1993, in Crespo Lajara, 2008, p.77).

According to Ducrot (2001), in being ironic "the speaker makes us hear an absurd speech but he disguises it as someone else's speech as if we were distanced from it"[3] (p. 262), irony being embedded within his polyphonic theory of different voices within utterances. In other words, when using irony, "the speaker does not communicate his own thought but somebody else's- he pretends to do so to distance himself or keep away from it to a lesser or greater extent"[4] (Bruzos Moro, 2009, p. 2).

As Sleibe Rahe & Pico (2014) explain, in their study of 'ironic argumentation', irony is seen from two different approaches: from a Gricean approach or from polyphonic theories. The former deals with the cooperative principle and maxim floutings whereas the latter argues that there are two meanings in every ironic utterance, one of them not explicit in the utterance. Of

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1,2,3,4 My translation

course, in interpreting ironic utterances, contextual, linguistic and sociocultural factors must be taken into account (Alvarado Ortega, 2006 in Sleibe Rahe & Pico, 2014, p. 5).

These authors consider that irony is a widely used linguistic recourse or rhetorical device that helps, especially a political speaker to argue or persuade someone in a linguistically different manner. The ironist does not involve himself 'in a direct conflict' because he knows 'the addressee will understand the criticism thanks to shared knowledge' between the speaker and himself [5] (p. 4).

Irony, seen as a persuasive pragmatic strategy present in our discourse, "can only be understood in context and depends inexorably on the speaker's intentions and the interlocutor's interpretative skills" (Crespo Lajara, 2008 in Sleibe Rahe & Pico, 2014, p. 11). As said before, irony makes use of different linguistic strategies to convey different points of views, one that the user of irony aligns with or one she distances herself from.

This linguistic strategy can be seen as a powerful communicative argumentative resource used to persuade an audience by distancing yourself from a specific train of thought or idea. This communicative strategy requires critical competence, ingenuity and cultural solvency on the one hand; and on the other, as a reflection strategy, it allows us to be critical of and mock at certain unfortunate realities that may upset us humorously[6] (Sleibe Rahe & Pico, 2014).

Within Sleibe Rahe & Pico's (2014) study, irony is seen within an argumentation framework in which ironic argumentation is explained. 'Argumentation', these authors argue, "possesses a pragmatic illocutionary and perlocutionary force through which the subject tries to change something in the order of someone else's ideas or opinions"(p. 3)[7].

According to Booth (1974), some of the features of 'stable' irony are that ironies are all intended so they are "deliberately created by human beings to be heard or read and understood with some precision by other human beings" (p. 5). Another feature is that ironies are 'covert', that is to say, "intended to be reconstructed with meanings different from those on the surface" (p. 6). The third feature of irony is that ironies are stable or fixed, "in the sense that once a reconstruction of meaning has been made, the reader is not then invited to undermine it with further…reconstructions" (p. 6). The last feature of irony is 'finite' in the sense that the meanings we reconstruct are local and limited. Irony, the author continues, "delimits a world of discourse in which we can say with great security certain things that are violated by the overt words of the discourse" (p. 6).

5, 6, 7 My translation

CHAPTER 3 - Methods

The texts to be analysed were taken from the movie '*Capitalism: A Love Story*' (2009) by Michael Moore. It is a satirical movie about different ways the mass media and people with power may influence ordinary people's ways of thinking and actions. To show this, Michael Moore interviews different people such as bishops, priests and artists about their opinions on capitalism. At the same time, we also hear the mass media voicing their opinions on the subject in an attempt to persuade ordinary people to believe that capitalism is good. Behind all this ideological fight between the mass media and regular folks, Michael Moore tries to disclose people's ignorance towards a system many people live in. To show this difference between the messages that the media sends to us and ordinary people's ways of living, some chunks of the movie will be used in which many people express their view. These different voices will be used as evidence to show the gap between a reality that is constructed by powerful people and the way poorer people experience their own plight.

This movie was chosen because, personally, I consider Michael Moore is a good director and his movies are original and insightful. The way the director opens a debate in the movie is interesting; he shows that, for some people in the movie, capitalism is good but for Michael Moore and many of the characters interviewed, it is negative and pernicious. What is more, he insists on showing us that capitalism makes us poorer and unhappy. To do this, he resorts to 'irony' as a way of not only mocking our existence but also persuading us that the world is not doing well; the director also makes use of 'appraisal' to show both the director's ideology towards 'capitalism' and the other characters' views on the same concept.

In keeping with the concept of ideology, the present study adopts a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective which delves into the dialectical relationship between discursive and social structures (Fairclough, 1989). The analytical tool to be used is based on Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 1994) which will focus on Appraisal Theory (Martin & Rose, 2003). The framework of the paper aims to describe some ways of linguistic realization of interpersonal meanings in language use. It is worth pointing out that both interpersonal meanings- such as the use of appraisal- within SFL and the uses of irony take part in an inferential model of communication, in which the right inferences or assumptions on the part of the interlocutor are crucial to the success of communication.

The data - different examples of 'evaluation' and 'irony'- will be collected from the movie and turned into a quantitative study. Some charts will be drawn to show the types of strategies

used (irony and appraisal), their frequency of occurrence, and if they show capitalism as a positive or negative concept. The aim of these charts would be to show the connection between the use of irony and appraisal and the characters' and the director's ideological stance. Thus, this paper will show how the use of irony and appraisal -as interpersonal strategies of language- may affect the way we interpret or transmit personal beliefs or views.

Firstly, the way irony is used to mock the system of capitalism will be dealt with. Then the second section will work on evaluative language-appraisal- in defining capitalism and, finally the notion of capitalism will be classified in terms of positive and negative through the strategies of irony and appraisal. Also, within this section, some examples which can be considered neither negative nor positive will be included; these examples will show dialogistic positioning or tentative viewpoints and degrees of certainty.

Different tables or figures are used to illustrate the findings. *Table 1* will show a summary of irony examples found in the documentary whereas *Table 2* will describe the different positive and negative appraisal evaluations of the system of capitalism. It is worth pointing out that not all the evaluations of the system that appear in the movie are used but just a selected group. The examples selected from the movie are the ones that are considered the clearest and most transparent, and most importantly, the ones that are in keeping with the theory chosen. The quantitative findings of the different interpersonal strategies (irony and negative appraisal versus positive appraisal) are shown in *Figure 1* in percentages. And *Table 3* will show the examples of engagement that have been found in the documentary.

CHAPTER 4 - Findings and Discussions

Language generally becomes political or politicised, rather, because of particular structures embedded or used in specific contextualised discourses (Wilson, 2015 in Hamilton et. al, 2018). Language should not be seen as "abstract grammatical categories" but, rather, language should be seen as "ideologically saturated"; in other words, language is conceived as a world view or opinion, making mutual understanding possible "in all spheres of ideological life" (Bahktin, 1981, p. 271).

The picture 'Capitalism: A love Story' (2009) is a satirical and political movie which intends to describe different views on the notion of capitalism through different interviewees. Some notions are positive and some are negative although we can clearly see the director's ideological stance from the very beginning of the documentary. Every time the word 'capitalism' is used by the media in the movie, it is seen as ideologically positive; when the word 'capitalism' is used by Moore or most of his interviewees, the word 'capitalism' is ideologically negative (through appraisal) or mocked at (through irony).

We could say that 'irony' is like a defensive mechanism used by Moore to counterbalance the positive view of the same system by politicians and, especially, by the mainstream media.

In the next section, the concept of irony and how the film director uses this strategy to make the notion of capitalism ideologically negative will be worked on.

4.1.   Irony and the notion of capitalism

The director of the movie usually mocks at the system by mentioning the word 'capitalism' directly or sometimes he uses irony by means of a comparison or analogy between the system and 'vultures'; between the system and 'evictions', between the system and a Roman Emperor who rules by decree, etc.

Irony, as already explained, is traditionally studied or interpreted as meaning the opposite of what the utterance literally means. This strategy is not confined to a single uttered sentence or some lines but it can be interpreted taking into account chunks or whole poems or stories (Blakemore, 1992). For example, in the following opening lines of the documentary, we can see an ironic use. To achieve this ironic effect through the entire film, Moore introduces very clear and opposing views either through language or other semiotic tools like images, for example. The film opens with a TV presenter saying:

(1) 'This picture truly one of the most unusual ever filmed contains scenes that under no circumstances should be viewed by anyone with a heart condition or who is easily upset'.

Then the speaker continues to add that

'We urgently recommend that if you are such a person or the parent of a young or impressionable child now in attendance that you and the child leave the auditorium' (the movie showing people robbing and sacking banks at gun point, taking loads of money from bank tellers and robbing them).

In example 1 above, we can see that the director attempts to exaggerate when he says 'these scenes should not be viewed by anyone with a heart condition…'. These ironic expressions can be considered to be examples of overstatement or hyperbole in which he exaggerates a point for effect. Thus, he seems to be flouting a maxim of the cooperative maxim such as that of quality-these utterances cannot be taken to be truthful information. Although the images shown (people sacking banks, etc.) are visually dramatic, it is common knowledge that nothing should happen to someone with a heart condition if they decide to watch the movie. In sum, the audience does not take these remarks at face value and thus this 'insincerity' on the part of the speaker of these expressions may be regarded as a breach of information or quality. In other words, these ironic expressions are like an apparent deception used at the expense of someone else (Leech, 1983).

(2) Immediately after this, the movie shows a red sign that says: 'Capitalism: a Love Story' (while again the movie shows people robbing and sacking banks).

It can be clearly seen from example 2 that the images shown in the movie (people robbing banks at gunpoint and sacking banks etc.) and the sign above- 'Capitalism: a Love Story' -contrast each other in the light of a traditional perspective of irony. That is to say, the system of capitalism, as shown in the movie, cannot be about 'love' when you see people sacking banks at gun-point; in other words, capitalism seems to be a story about hatred but not love. But we can also see that the director, while showing this apparent opposition between the images and what he states, appears to be doing more than meaning the opposite of what he says; indeed, he appears to be making an interpretation of an event. Blakemore (1992) explains that the point of irony is not the fact that we deviate from the truth or from literalness; instead, the same author explains that when irony is seen in the light of "the interpretative use of representations", the ironist not only expresses "his attitude towards an opinion that a particular person or people in general hold" (p. 108) but he also, through non-linguistic means -such as the tone of voice or the look on his face- dissociates himself from it. Needless to say, irony makes the word 'capitalism'- as it appears in this part of the movie,

ideologically negative.

In an attempt to present his own view of capitalism, the director goes on to compare or draw an ironic analogy between the Roman Empire and capitalist USA. Moore opens the movie by showing the Roman Empire. A voice-off says:

(3) 'Rome was the largest and the most beautiful city of the Ancient World. The magnificent façade of the Empire, however, could not conceal the seeds of decay. The unhealthy dependence of the economy on slaves, the disparity between rich and poor (the movie shows pictures of the Emperor of Rome and today's poor people sleeping rough in parks). Behind the splendour of the Forum were vast areas of crowded slums. Escape from the slums was difficult for there were few jobs available and practically none for the unskilled. (Again, the movie shows, while the voice-off is speaking, images of the entertainment during the Roman Empire and the one performed now through stand up comedians or presenters). To keep idle citizens entertained and out of mischief, frequent games and spectacles were held at public expense. At first, only chariot races were sponsored (images of this type of race being shown). But by the reign of Trajan, brutal combat to the death had become popular (Images shown of ring combat now and then, thus showing a great similarity between them). Earlier in Rome's history, elected representatives exercised the power. But by now, every function of government had been absorbed by the Emperor who was above the law and ruled by decree (again images of the Emperor and images of government's spokespersons or economy ministers from the USA now are being shown). That a people as civilized as the Romans, with the most humane system of law ever devised (Romans toasting and drinking and pictures of dogs barking at prisoners nowadays), could tolerate the violation of human beings is astonishing (pictures of the past and pictures of the Supreme Court of the USA being shown). This imbalance and the irresponsible behaviour of public officials (images of Bush George and the Emperor being shown) would become the major reasons for Rome's eventual decline'.

Example 3 above can be regarded as ironic since, through the comparison between an empire and a country, the director is implicitly dissociating himself from this idea of capitalism, thus the speaker is presenting an interpretation of his own thought (Blakemore, 1992). The interpretation of his own thought might be spelled out like this: he rejects the system of capitalism through the role of the media-the way people are entertained-, the way his country is ruled by decree, the irresponsible behaviour of public officials etc. Although the word 'capitalism' does not appear explicitly in this chunk, Moore is describing this system and, through irony, is making it

ideologically negative. The explicit comparison- through images and text- between a Roman Emperor who seems to be abusing power and the USA president at the time who also seems to be ruling by decree seem to show that the system of capitalism does not help ordinary people. We can also see the director resorting to irony- through the help of semiotic systems such as images-as an indirect critical defensive and offensive mechanism, or communicative strategy, which evaluates or judges not only the world but the way language is used (Crespo Lajara, 2008). For example, when the presenter says 'to keep idle citizens entertained…spectacles and games were held at public expense', we can see the director defending himself and attacking a view of capitalism which is not only deceiving -through different games from the past and images of today's entertainment through TV- but costly.

After this satirical comparison between what was going on during the times of the Roman Empire and what is going on right now in the USA, which according to Moore, there appear to be many points in common, Moore himself then asks:

(4)'I wonder how future civilizations will view our society. Will they judge us by this? (an image of a cat flushing a toilet is shown)

Then we hear a song that says:

<div style="text-align:center">

'He's a cat, meow, flushing the toilet,

He's a cat, meow, flushing a toilet'

(images of a cat flushing a toilet).

</div>

And then Moore asks:

'Or…

Will they judge us by this?' (the movie showing an eviction of a family in Lexington, North Carolina).

(The movie then shows evictions throughout the USA and demonstrations and pickets in many cities in the country. People protesting and fighting for their rights and against the system which seems to be hurting them)

Then a character -from Peoria, Illinois- who has just been evicted from his home says:

'There's got to be some kind of rebellion between the people that have nothing and the people that's got it all. I don't understand. There's no in between no more. There's the people that's got it all and the people that have nothing'.

Then, this character and his wife explain what they are going through by being evicted from their home, the history of their home that passed from generation to generation and what it

means losing a property that used to be a family farm once. At the end of this scene, she, in tears, asks: 'why do you do this to the hard- working people? Why do you take everything? You take everything away from them (the poor). We are just middle-classed, hard-working people trying to make a living, just trying to survive'. Then the husband explains that he found out the house had been sold to someone else and does not belong to them anymore.

This whole situation (comparing evictions with a cat flushing a toilet) above might be taken as ironic since the director appears to be rejecting both views through visual resources: the cat flushing the toilet, which gives the ridicule and ludicrous salience, and the harsh reality of being evicted from your own home. The director is thus presenting a juxtaposition, that is to say, he shows us something that seems naïve and even ridiculous like a cat flushing a toilet and ordinary people who are unfairly or cruelly evicted from their homes. Both situations that Moore shows us arise out of the same rhetorical question: 'will future civilizations judge us by this? (a cat flushing a toilet or unfair evictions). Moore aims, through this question, not only to make us, viewers, dig deeper into our thoughts and but he also intends to show us the cruelty of a system which we may naturally reject given the tragic events-evictions etc.-ordinary people have to go through in the course of the movie. We, as readers or viewers, are always expected to make a series of judgements, for example, judgements about what we are told and about the ideological stance of the author. Whether a passage or chunk is regarded as ironic or not depends "not on the ingenuity of the reader but on the intentions that constitute the creative act" (Booth, 1974, p. 91). Also, the reader is supposed to catch the proper words to those intentions in context (Booth, 1974).

Then, Moore names and gives his own personal and explicit definition of capitalism:

(5)'THIS is capitalism, a system of taking and giving. Mostly taking. The thing we didn't know was when the revolt would begin'.

Then the same character mentioned above (the one who was evicted from his home) explains:

'We have tried everything except robbing a bank. I am thinking of maybe doing that. You know that's one way somebody could get their money back. They did it to me, I don't know why I can't do it to them'.

This whole chunk above shows again how the director, through irony, rejects a situation with scorn and even makes fun of it (Blakemore, 1992). Moore, in making an interpretation of his own thought, seems to be saying that capitalism does not help; on the contrary, capitalism takes away everything people have got. Of course, paralinguistic features help the director convey the

idea that capitalism not only takes things away from people but it also gives them nothing. The phrase 'Mostly taking' seems to be the gist of the irony. Paralinguistic features such as the use of a specific tone may also help to communicate the ironic message; an ironical tone is always a contemptuous or amused tone or any other tone connected with different attitudes or feelings; it must be admitted, though, that it is difficult to tell for sure whether an ironic tone as such really exists (Grice, 1989).

According to Booth (1974, p. 6), irony is not only intended, that is to say, created with deliberation by human beings, but also covert in the sense that it is "intended to be reconstructed with meanings different from those on the surface". To help the director convey this deliberate idea of ridicule through ironic utterances, Moore 'uses' his interviewees as tools to achieve his aim.

Then Moore interviews an up- and- coming real estate whizz, Peter Zalewsky, in Florida:

(6)'This is my second Hyunday Sonata, and I'll probably get a new one next year. And when I do, it'll probably be another Sonata. You know, I am not a car guy. If I can go there and steal a condo for the equivalent of what a Mercedes would cost or a Bentley would cost, I'm all about that'.

Moore explains that this whizz calls his company Condo Vultures and that he deals exclusively with clients who buy up foreclosed homes and then resell them at a profit. Then Peter himself explains:

'At the end of the day the only people who are buying are primarily individuals we represent…which are basically bottom-feeders who are going in there. They have no compassion, no sensitivity. They are running purely off numbers. They are coming in all cash, and they are looking to slit any single seller's throat, regardless of what their situation is'.

Then he adds: 'the vulture basically represents a bottom-feeder that goes in there and cleans up the carcass. Because they are dealing with so many different germs and so many different situations, they'll have to vomit on themselves, and there's some sort of cleansing process that occurs. The vultures aren't actually killing. They are the ones doing the cleanup'.

Then, Peter expands on their procedure:

'What we do is we tap into data and boom. (We got 3, 400 foreclosing by Bank of America…). As we collect data, it's giving us the insight into the battlefield, almost like a drone flies over the battleground in Afghanistan or in Pakistan or in Iraq… Now our people are using

that data to be able to go in and try to steal properties. Legally and ethically, but take them at the bare-bone bottom price. It's all about taking right now... So this is what capitalism is, and why the information is so critical. We go in there, we alert them to it, and if they like it, you know, ch-ch-boom (he pretends to have a gun and shoot)…This is straight up capitalism…everybody's got this desire to go in there and take advantage of other's misfortunes. Somebody asked me "what's the difference between you and a real vulture"? I said "it's very simple. I don't vomit on myself" (Peter laughs).

This whole interview is full of ironic utterances and may be considered a self-contained ironic passage in itself. The comparison between vultures and capitalism is really worth discussing. Moore seems to make his interviewees give their opinion to support his own. The effect of irony, Blakemore (1992) explains, is giving the hearer a great deal of responsibility for deciding how ridiculous a particular situation is; the hearer must decide, in this particular example, how ludicrous it is for someone to think of capitalism as a vulture or to refer to a real estate company as 'condo vultures'. Of course, the director seems to be mocking the whole situation, in particular, how a system may take advantage of people. The echoic use of utterances means that "every utterance is an interpretation of the thought that the speaker wishes to communicate" (p. 166). By comparing capitalism to a vulture, the director not only makes fun of this situation with scorn but rejects it too.

The use of certain structures such as the use of the hyperbolical statement '…slit a any single seller's throat' is a way of exaggerating a point and mocking a situation by creating a clear visual image in the mind of the hearer. The use of these rhetorical structures help highlight a certain ideology (van Dijk, 2016). The analogy between a buyer of mortgaged houses and a vulture is intended to show that the potential buyer and Peter himself -as a seller - have no compassion as far as doing business is concerned. The visual image, created by the words themselves, through which a buyer is 'doing the clean-up' –such as the one that a vulture does-'but not doing the actual killing' is also very effective and helps the director both give his meanings particular salience and make a mockery of the situation.

(7) The context of this example is Regan's times which are described by Moore in detail. But before this description, when Reagan is campaigning for president, Moore says:

'It was time to bring a new sheriff to town (images of Reagan on a horse acting in a Holywood movie). One who knew how to act like a President. He knew how to handle workers who wanted a better wage…(images of people carrying banners that said 'on strike' and then

images of Reagan shooting a guy in a movie and the guy saying 'all right Mister, I guess you win' while raising his hands as a sign of turning himself in) or these annoying feminists whining their equal rights amendment (images of a feminist movement protesting on the streets and then images of Reagan again as an actor saying ' well, I can change that in a hurry' while slapping a woman's face). A man who knew how to get the job done (an image of a happy Reagan smiling and sign below him saying 'America'). Ronald Reagan came out of the B-movies to become the most famous corporate spokesman of the 1950's (images of Reagan making two TVs commercials, in one of them he says 'This is a Transistor Radio Two, weighs only a few ounces, you can slip it right into your pocket'; in another commercial, he is seen smiling and advertising a shampoo for 'greaseless hair' for men). He had found his calling, and Wall Street had found their man (the same image of a happy Reagan with a broad smile advertising a shampoo for gentlemen). You see, the banks and corporations had a simple plan to remake America to serve them (images of a happy and young Reagan smiling with joy). But to pull it off would require electing a spokesmodel for President (an image of a happy Reagan again advertising in a TV commercial) and on November 4th, 1980, that's what we did). It was a historic moment because now, Corporate America and Wall Street were in almost complete control' (images of Reagan speaking on the balcony of the White House surrounded by powerful Wall Street bankers and CEOs).

The whole excerpt is ironic from beginning to end; Moore achieves this in different ways, the main method at his disposal is the use of contrasting images to reinforce the ironic statements. For example, the whole depiction of and comparison of Reagan to a sheriff makes the situation ironic and even ridiculous; in Moore's witty documentary, it can be clearly seen how verbal irony presupposes an attitude of rejection and allows the speaker to distance herself from what she asserts (Sperber and Wilson, 2004). It must also be pointed out that these contrasts such as a happy B-movie actor with a big smile (Reagan) and antidepressants skyrocketing, the analogy between a president and a sheriff riding his horse or people demonstrating on the streets or feminists protestors and a very happy Reagan show that "a sense of irony involves not only the ability to see ironic contrasts but also the power to shape them in one's mind" (Muecke, 1970, p.47). It is worth saying that Moore uses these 'ironic' contrasts throughout the documentary to make the reader infer the ironic message and his own political ideology. When Moore contrasts this shooting scene in which Reagan is seen shooting a man who says 'ok, mister, you win', another contrast or analogy is evident between what the man says in the movie and what happens in the history of the country. Reagan wins the elections and changes the course of the economy without economic regulation and free market which lead to a future catastrophe in the country during Reagan's times,

according to Moore.

After this ironic chunk, Moore gives a description of Reagan's times and the effects of his capitalist policies in the 80's among them- through interactive charts and graphs- the dismantling of the American industrial infrastructure, lays off increased (100, 000 or more), million job losses, working people's wages froze and the richest American had their income tax rate cut in half, insurance and pharmaceutical companies pushed the cost of health care up and up etc.)

At the same time he shows that big companies such as AT & T, General Electric had profits of billion dollars. On top of this, Moore shows through some interactive graphs or charts that there was an explosion of personal bankruptcies (+610 %), people were encouraged to work twice as hard and people were encouraged to live on borrowed money until the US household debt was nearly 100 % of the GDP, incarcerations raised to 355 %. Then he shows the ratio of workers' wages and American CEOs and points out that the latter had a wage increase of 649 %. All of this, according to Moore, was great news for the stock market and for America's CEOs.

Also, Michael Moore shows the dismantling of GM and the million of job losses in Flint Michigan. At the same time, he shows a brief contrastive analysis of what happened to GM and how the Germans and Japanese protected their middle class and unions despite the conservative governments. And eventually, Moore shows that Germany and Japan rebuilt their car industry and produced safer cars, more fuel-efficient and which rarely broke down. Also, in Germany unions helped hire and fire the board of directors so that workers could have a say in what's going on.

The rest of America was starting to resemble Flint Michigan (the birthplace of GM), Michael Moore shows through images all the places hit by capitalist policies which according to him protect just a few.

(8) After this description of Reagan's effects on the country, Moore goes on to show the end of Bush's administration. He says (while Caribbean music is played and Bush is seen playing bongos and dancing African music cheerfully):

'The president was enjoying his final year in office (Bush dancing happily). But as the economy of the country was beginning to fall apart (Bush riding a bike), he decided it was time to roll up the C- word'.

Bush himself says about capitalism: (Michael Moore begins to 'talk' to Bush and interact and have an imaginary dialogue with him while Bush is giving his speech: Moore's comments are in brackets)

'Capitalism is the best system ever devised. (Ugh? Really?)… As voices from the left and right are equating the free enterprise system with greed and exploitation and failure. (Greed? Exploitation? Failure? Go on, I'm listening). Capitalism offers people the freedom to choose where they work and what they do'.

Then, these positive definitions of capitalism are interrupted by images of regular folks looking for jobs but not being able to find them. This is now interrupted by Bush again who argues that capitalism gives people 'the opportunity to sell and buy products they want'. Moore again interrupts him with more regular folks, this time, an owner of a sign company who has been avoiding layoffs in Stockton California because he is lucky enough to sell signs that say 'foreclosure', which makes up half his business (an image of the owner of the business sticking the sign of 'foreclosure' outside different houses or businesses). This sad reality is again interrupted by President Bush's positive comments on capitalism:

'If you seek social justice and human dignity, the free market system is the way to go'.

This excerpt shows different examples of irony. The first one that can be seen is the phrase 'roll up the C word'. Here we can see the use of an understatement or euphemism in which Moore appears to be flouting Grice's imformativeness or quantity maxim for an effect; ('C- word' instead of calling it by its real name). "The ironic force of a remark is often signalled by exaggeration or understatement, which make it difficult for the hearer to interpret the remark at face value" (Leech, 1983, p.143). At the same time, Moore seems to be poking fun of the word, to which he attaches negative features already mentioned throughout the movie. We can also see an echoic use of irony when Bush says 'voices from the left…' and Moore says: 'Greed'? Exploitation? Failure? According to Sperber & Wilson (1986, p. 239), "verbal irony invariably involves the implicit expression of an attitude" and "…the relevance of an ironical utterance invariably depends…on the information it conveys about the speaker's attitude to the opinion echoed". The speaker, the authors continue, can express many different attitudes (disagreement etc.) to an opinion echoed (Sperber & Wilson, 1986). As already explained, the attitude expressed through irony is one of rejection or disapproval in which the speaker herself "dissociates herself from the opinion echoed and indicates that she does not hold it herself" (Sperber & Wilson, 1986, p. 239). All the evidence and context presented by Moore after the mention of 'the C-word' shows that he is totally against the system of capitalism: all the jobless people that we can see in the movie scanning ads in the newspaper may prove this.

(9) Moore introduces Sully, Captain Sullenberg to show the plight which American pilots are going through in the USA.

Moore says:

'Remember Sully? Captain Sullenberg, who safely landed his Airbus plane on the Hudson River, saving the lives of 150 people?'

A voice says:

'A true American Hero' (images of Sully raising his prize, playing baseball, a picture of him holding a baby on a cover of 'People' magazine).

Moore then says:

'He met the Mayor, went to the State of the Union. Heck he even went to the Super bowl. And then he went to Congress'.

(When Sully was invited to speak in Congress, he took advantage of the opportunity to explain the bad conditions of American pilots. When Sully is shown speaking in Congress, Moore plays some loud trumpet music to drown out Sully's voice in Congress- this meant that congressmen were not ready to listen to that complaint).

While in Congress, Sully says:

'Flying has been my lifelong passion. But while I love my profession, I do not like what has happened to it (Moore moves the camera with a shaky movement in an attempt to show the congressmen's dislike at what they hear). It is my personal experience that my decision to remain in the profession I love has come at a great financial cost to me and to my family. My pay has been cut 40%. My pension, like most airline pensions, has been terminated, so please do not think I exaggerate when I say that I do not know a single professional airline pilot who wants his or her children to follow in their footsteps'.

Then Moore interrupts and says 'Whoa, you cleared the room with that one, Sully' (Congress empty chairs are shown). I do not think the Congressmen wanted to hear that stuff. They like you as a hero'.

Then Sully continues to say:

'The current experience and skills of our country's professional airline pilots (trumpet music is being played to drown out his voice) come from investments made years ago when we were able to attract the ambitious, talented people…'

This whole excerpt (example 9) may be ironic in different ways or by different methods. One of the features of irony is the 'comic element' which "seems to be inherent in the formal properties of irony" (Muecke, 1970, p. 34). The whole situation is tragic but Moore makes a point of making it comic in different ways. While Sully is speaking, Moore resorts to some music as mentioned above to make the whole situation comic and to show the disagreement that

congressmen felt for his comments. He even shakes the camera to explicitly show the congressmen's surprise at Sully's comments. To show the ironist's (Moore's) disapproval at the situation and to show that the congressmen did not wish to hear the pilot's complaints, Moore resorts to this music as a sign of irony. When an ironist uses other methods apart from verbal means, it is called 'behavioural' irony (Muecke, 1970).

"The appearance of an intentional contradiction sets up a psychic tension which can only find a resolution in laughter" (Muecke, 1970, p. 34). The contradiction and the tension can be clearly seen (images reinforce this tension) when Moore utters ' you cleared the room with that one, Sully', 'the congressmen like you as a hero'. Moore means that the congressmen did not wish to listen to the underpaid pilot but to Sully, the hero. The intonation he uses also reinforces both the comic effect and the psychic tension between Sully and the congressmen.

(10) Moore then explains that he wanted to be a priest himself; he says that 'it was because of the priests who went on the march from Selma or tried to stop the war or devoted their lives to the poor (images of famous priests and Martin Luther King marching are shown). He says that they (priests) told him very clearly what Jesus said: 'that the first shall be last, and the last shall be first (images of police brutality against people). That the rich men will have a hard time getting into heaven (images of rich people shown). That we will be judged by how we treat the least among us (images of the poor holding banners shown). And that there are no more important people to God than the poor. Since that time it seems that Jesus got hijacked by a lot of people who believe that the Son of God was sent here to create heaven and earth for the well-to-do (images of famous people such as George Bush Junior and the New York Stock Exchange). I must have missed that part of the Bible where Jesus became a capitalist' (an image of Jesus Christ shown).

Moore shows an invented dialogue between someone and Jesus:

A man asks Jesus: 'please tell me master, what must I do to have eternal life''

Jesus replies: 'go forth and maximise profits.

Another man asks: 'you said the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand, but when exactly will it come?

Jesus replies: 'when you disregulate the banking industry'.

A dying man passes by and says: 'help me, I've been this way for 20 years'

Jesus approaches the man and says 'I'm sorry. I cannot heal your pre-existing condition'. Then Jesus says to everyone present 'he'll have to pay out of pocket'.

In excerpt 10 above, we can see, again, the comic element present in irony; "the concept of the ironic observer for whom an ironic situation or event is a spectacle… something observed from the outside" (Muecke, 1970, p. 36). The intentional contradiction described in example 8 above can also be clearly seen in this example (10), when we see Jesus speaking like a share holder; the whole situation is more than comic because we would never picture Jesus speaking as if he were in the stock market. Both images seem to be powerful and holy for different people: 'Jesus' for Christians (Moore included) and 'the stock market' for businessmen. In other words, we cannot help but laugh because we as viewers instantly reject or disapprove of them; the speaker (Moore, in this particular case) dissociates himself from the opinion echoed and does not hold it himself (Sperber and Wilson, 1986).

In sum: the system of capitalism is viewed negatively through irony 10 times -out of the 40 descriptions of capitalism discussed in this paper- which amounts to roughly 25%. The 10 negative descriptions of the system through irony are summed up as follows in table 1 (the number of the corresponding example is given between brackets):

- Certain scenes of the movie should not be viewed by anyone with a heart condition or who is easily upset (1)
- Capitalism: a love story (scenes show people robbing and sacking banks) (2)
- Comparison between the Roman Empire and USA (violation of human rights) (3)
- Comparison between a cat and evictions through USA (4)
- Capitalism as a system of taking and giving. Mostly taking (5)
- Comparison between Capitalism and vultures (6)
- Reagan as an actor and President (7)
- Capitalism as the best system ever devised (Ugh? Really?) – Capitalism equated to greed, exploitation and failure (8)
- Captain Sullenberg: a hero? (9)
- Jesus a capitalist? (10)

Table 1: Examples of Irony

4.2. Appraisal and the notion of capitalism

The system of capitalism is viewed positively and negatively through appraisal. The theory of appraisal is a way of expressing our views and reacting to the opinions of others (Flowerdew, 2013). The most important ones and the ones that will be covered in this paper are 'appreciation'

within 'attitude' and 'engagement'. Although not within the scope of this paper, there are two more subsystems that belong to 'attitude', as already said, 'affect' (emotional attitude) and 'judgement' (evaluation of behaviour).

Engagement, the other system of appraisal that will be covered here, has to do with "how we express our commitment to what is stated in what we say or write" (Flowerdew, 2013, p. 30). Some examples belonging to the subsystems of engagement have also been found in the documentary such as 'proclamation', 'disclaiming', 'acknowledgement' and 'attribution'. It is worth clarifying that not all sub categories within engagement are found in the paper.

Appraisal is a system that foregrounds "the interactive nature of discourse, whether spoken or written-as negotiation" (Martin & Rose, 2003, p. 19).

In this section the descriptions of capitalism that appear in the movie will be divided into 'ideologically positive' or 'ideologically negative'. It is worth pointing out that all the uses of the term 'capitalism' in the movie by the mainstream media are 'ideologically positive' whereas most other views of the system by the director himself and most of the director's interviewees are 'ideologically negative'. Hence the examples are divided accordingly. There is also a section that includes examples that are neither negative nor positive; instead, these instances focus on different discourse voices that show tentative viewpoints and degrees of certainty.

4.2.1. Ideologically negative views of capitalism given by Moore or his interviewees

If the term 'capitalism' is used by Moore, as said before, the word will be mocked at through irony; if the word is used by any of his interviewees, it will be described as ideologically negative through appraisal.

A live report from ABC news interrupts a TV program because President Jimmy Carter had an important announcement to make:

(11) 'We are at a turning point in our history…too many of us now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption. Human identity is no longer defined by what one does but by what one owns. This is not a message of happiness or reassurance. But it is the truth, and it is a warning'.

In this example, we can see the use of the appreciation (reaction) system through the use of the phrases in bold 'human identity…no longer defined by…', 'not a message of happiness or reassurance…' and 'a warning', through which Carter construes his own negative evaluation of the

system of capitalism.

Then after showing different scenes in which people are seen being ill-treated by the system, Moore begins to interview people on the notion of capitalism:

'Is capitalism a sin?' Moore asks one of his interviewees.

The definition of capitalism below is presented by Father Dick Preston (a movie character and an interviewee), the priest from Flint, who married Michael Moore and his wife. When interviewed by Moore himself, the priest says:

(12) '… Capitalism for me and many of us, at this present moment, is an evil; it is contrary to all that's good; it is contrary to the common good, contrary to compassion; it's contrary to all the major religions. Capitalism is precisely what the Holy Book, in particular, reminds us is unjust, and in some form and fashion, God will come down and eradicate somehow. Capitalism is wrong and therefore it has to be eliminated'.

In this example above, we can see the system of appreciation at work through the phrase 'an evil' and other expressions in bold such as 'contrary to all that's good', 'contrary to the common good', 'contrary to compassion', 'contrary to all religions', 'unjust', 'wrong' and 'has to be eliminated'. Through these expressions, the speaker shows how much capitalism displeases the speaker, especially through the subsystem of 'reaction'.

After this description in example 12, Moore decides to see another priest. So now we hear the views on capitalism from another priest that married Moore's sister and Moore's brother-in-law. ' I am sure he would have a more balanced approach when it came to capitalism', Moore adds ironically.

The priest says:

(13) 'Capitalism is immoral, it is obscene, it is outrageous… it is really radically evil, it's radically evil'.

In this example, although the appraised is not an animate thing, the system embodies features that are 'personified' as in many examples in the movie; we can see the system of attitude at work and especially the subsystem of 'appreciation' through attitudinal meanings which "tend to spread out and colour a phrase or discourse as speakers and writers take up a stance" oriented to appreciation in this particular case (Martin & White, 2005, p. 43). Saying that a system is 'radically evil' is attributing human features to an inanimate being or entity such as capitalism.

After this conversation, Moore decides to consult the bishop of his town:

(14) 'The system does not seem to be providing for the well-being of all the people and that's what makes it, almost in its very nature, something contrary to the Jesus who said 'Blessed are the poor; woe to the rich. That's right out of Saint Luke's Gospel '.

The appreciation system can be seen through the phrase 'contrary to the Jesus…' which "reworks feelings as propositions about the value of things" (Martin and White, 2005, p. 45).

4.2.2. Ideologically positive examples on capitalism given by the mainstream media.

(15) 'Our topic today, what is capitalism? Capitalism? Well, why should there be any question about it? Hasn't it given us the highest standard of living in the world?...We're free to try to make a profit, to just get by or to fail. Well, that's what capitalism is, a system of free enterprise…well now tell us what free enterprise means'.

When the voice of the media in the excerpt above uses the three expressions in bold ('the highest standard of living', 'free…to make a profit', 'system of free enterprise'), they make use of the system of 'appreciation', which includes different attitudes about different things such as books, sculptures, spectacles, performances etc.; these "can be appreciated positively or negatively" (Martin & Rose, 2003, p. 28). In this particular example and in the ones that follow in this section, capitalism is viewed positively.

Then we hear some more TV views on capitalism:

(16)'This is the basis of the capitalist system, the profit motive. (The image of a drug store seller or pharmacist in a white overall is shown) He is in business to make money (a registration cash machine making cents and dollars is shown).

In the light of appreciation, we can see that in the excerpt above the media use the subsystem of 'composition'. When the media use the phrase 'the profit motive', they seem to be implying that capitalism is made up of a component: profits. The verbal phrase in bold that follows confirms this: making money is the basis of the system.

Then, Bush himself- as representative of a political view which agrees with that of the mainstream media- says about capitalism:

(17)'Capitalism is the best system ever devised…Capitalism offers people the freedom to

choose where they work and what they do…'If you seek social justice and human dignity, the free market system is the way to go' (these comments are followed by images of people looking for jobs but not being able to find them).

In this excerpt above, we can see again some markers of the system of appreciation at work. Within this system, the first two phrases in bold 'the best system' and '…offers people the freedom to choose' seem to show the subsystem of 'reaction' which shows how the system of capitalism, in this case, pleases the speaker or how it has grabbed him or caught his attention (Martin and White, 2005).

In the following example, Moore introduces, once again, the voice of the Media through different TV shots or excerpts from different TV channels, which are seen as the most powerful voice in Moore's movie:

(18) 'We know that American capitalism is morally right because of its cheap elements: private ownership, the profit motive and the competitive market are wholesale and good; they are compatible with God's laws and the teachings of the Bible'.

The system of 'attitude' through 'appreciation' can be seen in this example. Appreciation "relates to the evaluation of objects and products in terms of their aesthetic or other value" (Flowerdew, 2013, p. 30). We can see, more specifically, the subsystem of 'composition' within appreciation: when the media says 'private ownership, the profit motive and the competitive market, they mean that these features seem to be a significant part of capitalism. Also within appreciation, we can see the subsystem of 'reaction' when they use the phrase 'morally right', 'wholesale and good'; this subsystem within appreciation shows how much capitalism has pleased the speaker, in this particular case, the voice of the mainstream media propaganda.

Then we hear of another interviewee, Stephen Moore (no relation, Michael Moore explains), a columnist and an editorial board member of The Wall Street Journal ('the daily bible of Corporate America', Moore explains), giving his thoughts:

(19) I think that capitalism is a lot more important than democracy. I'm not even a big believer in democracy. I always say that democracy can be two wolves and a sheep deciding on what to have for dinner…I'm in favour of people having the right to vote and things like that, but, you know, there are a lot of countries that have the right to vote that are still poor. Democracy doesn't always lead to a good economy or even a good political system (images of the Capitol in Washington DC and the American flag shown). With capitalism, you are free to do what you want, to make whatever you want out of yourself. It doesn't mean you are gonna succeed. Remember the

US Constitution does not guarantee happiness (image of Moore visiting the National Archives in Washington DC).

In this excerpt the system of appreciation 'reaction' can be seen when the speaker above says: 'capitalism is a lot more important than democracy…', 'with capitalism, you are free to do what you want, to make whatever you want out of yourself'; through these phrases, the speaker seems to be saying not only how much the system has grabbed him but how much it appeals to him as well.

After the repeated media voices on capitalism, Michael Moore goes to see his friend, Wally Shawn, a playwright and actor who also studied economy and politics. We hear his voice on capitalism now, while Moore interviews him:

(20)'Free enterprise is a form of words that is intended to conjure up in your mind a little town with different shops, and the guy who runs the best shop has the most customers'.

In this example, Shawn describes 'free enterprise' through positive appreciation terms which define it as 'a little town with different shops…' Hence, he construes an evaluation of capitalism by defining its value. At the same time, the adjectives 'little and the best' in bold above also contribute to making the excerpt above positive through appreciation.

Shawn continues to give his opinion of capitalism saying that:

(21)'…The original theory of capitalism is that it is a very clever way (an image of both Wally and Moore doing some window shopping and entering a shop) of society voting on what goods it wants made…you know, society votes. They like (a picture of a woman making and serving ice-cream to kids is shown) the way this guy makes ice cream. But the other guy, they don't like his ice cream that much and they don't buy it so it fades out…the basic law of life is that if you have things, you can easily get more things. Very quickly, one guy can have five times more than anybody else'.

Shawn, in this example, resorts to different evaluative language such as that of 'attitude' through 'appreciation', for example, when he describes capitalism as an 'original theory' and 'clever way of society of voting on what goods it wants made' where he evaluates something in terms of values. Likewise, in the third line, the interviewee resorts to the same system above but within another subsystem, 'affect', which shows emotions. In this line, he refers to people's emotional attitude, for example, when he says 'they like the way…' and '…they don't like his ice cream…'

Moore then explains that his dad was an assembly line worker at GM (General Motors), bought and paid for their house before he (Moore) graduated from kindergarten.

(22) 'We had a new car every three years, we went to NY every other summer…we went to catholic schools and we lived a good life. 'If this was capitalism', Moore adds, 'I loved it and so did everyone else'. 'Things seemed to be going in the right direction. Dad had a secure job and Mom worked if she wanted, but didn't have to. Middle class families only needed one income to make a living. Our union family had free health care and free dental. They could go to college without getting a loan from a bank (images of different places and happy families are shown). His dad had four weeks' paid vacation every summer. Most people, he explains, had a savings account and a little debt. And his father's pension was set aside where no one could touch it (images of a man (maybe his father) swimming and looking happy). His pension would be there for him when he retired' (images of men happily playing bowling).

In this example above, different evaluative systems can be seen at work. For example when he uses the adjectives 'new' and 'good' in the sentences 'we had a new car every year...', '…lived a good life' the system of appreciation (reaction) seems to be at work because it is a proposition about the value of something. After some of these lines, he makes use of an 'attitude' evaluative system through 'affect' when he says ironically '…if this was capitalism, I loved it…' thus expressing an emotional attitude through the verb 'love'. Then, he goes back to appreciation when he goes on to talk about his family's economic situation, '…Dad had a secure job…', '…Mom worked if she wanted' '…Middle class families only needed one income…', '…our union family had free health care and free dental', '..His dad had four weeks' paid vacation…'.

In sum: the system of capitalism is viewed positively through appraisal in 15 evaluations out of the 40 descriptions of the system, which amounts to 37.5%, whereas the system of capitalism is viewed negatively through appraisal in 15 descriptions out of the 40 uses, which also amounts to roughly 37.5 %. The positive and negative descriptions are given below in table 2 with a summary of the evaluations found. The number of the corresponding examples of each evaluation of capitalism is between brackets. It is worth clarifying that the 40 evaluations of the system of capitalism include the 10 ironic descriptions of the system discussed in section 4.1.

APPRAISAL

Negative	Positive
Human identity defined by what one owns (11)	The highest standard of living (15)
Not a message of happiness or reassurance (11)	Free to make a profit (15)
A warning (11)	Free enterprise (15)
An evil (12)	Profit motive (16)
Contrary to all that is good (12)	In business to make money (16)
Contrary to the common good (12)	The best system ever devised (17)
Contrary to compassion (12)	It offers people the freedom to choose where they work and what they do (17)
Contrary to all major religions (12)	It is morally right (18)
It is wrong (12)	Private ownership… (18)
It has to be eliminated (12)	The competitive market are wholesale and good (18)
Immoral (13)	More important than democracy (19)
Obscene (13)	Free to do what you want, to make whatever you want out of yourself (19)
Outrageous (13)	Free enterprise is a little town with a guy who runs the best shop… (20)
Radically evil (13)	An original theory (21)
It is contrary to the Jesus… (14)	A clever way of society voting on what goods it wants made (21)

Table 2: Positive and Negative Appraisal Findings

It is worth pointing out that example 22, apparently part of positive appraisal, is not included in table 2 above- or in the percentage count- because the role of the media in the 80s, as shown in the movie, was to 'sell' other positive features about capitalism which, according to Moore, are in keeping with what Moore calls 'Corporate America' exemplified through the notions such as free enterprise, the profit motive. So the media at the time, according to Moore, show that these last features are positive and that the ones included in example 22 such as 'free health care', 'free dental', 'secure jobs' are more like unreal present regrets- which Moore lived in his childhood-

and which the director remembers with pleasure in the movie but never came true for him or anyone in the country in the 80s. In the same example, Moore says '…if this (that is, people enjoying free health care etc.) was capitalism, I loved it…', '…everything seemed to be going in the right direction'; these expressions above and the ones used at the very end of the movie: 'had he (that is, President D. Roosevelt) lived, every American, regardless of race, would have had the right to a decent job, a livable wage, universal health care, good education…' confirm that these expressions in example 22 are unreal present regrets shown through the use of the counterfactual. (It is worth explaining that President Roosevelt is shown at the end of the movie giving his annual State of the Union address in the beginning of the 40s in which he proposed a second Bill of Rights to the constitution which never actually happened).

The expressions used in example 22 are these:

- A new car every three years
- We went to catholic schools
- We lived a good life
- The right direction
- Middle classes only needed one income to make a living
- A secure job
- Mom didn´t have to work
- Free health care
- Free dental
- Go to college without getting a loan
- 4 weeks' paid vacation every summer
- His father's pension was set aside

Figure 1 below shows the results described above- including irony- in percentages.
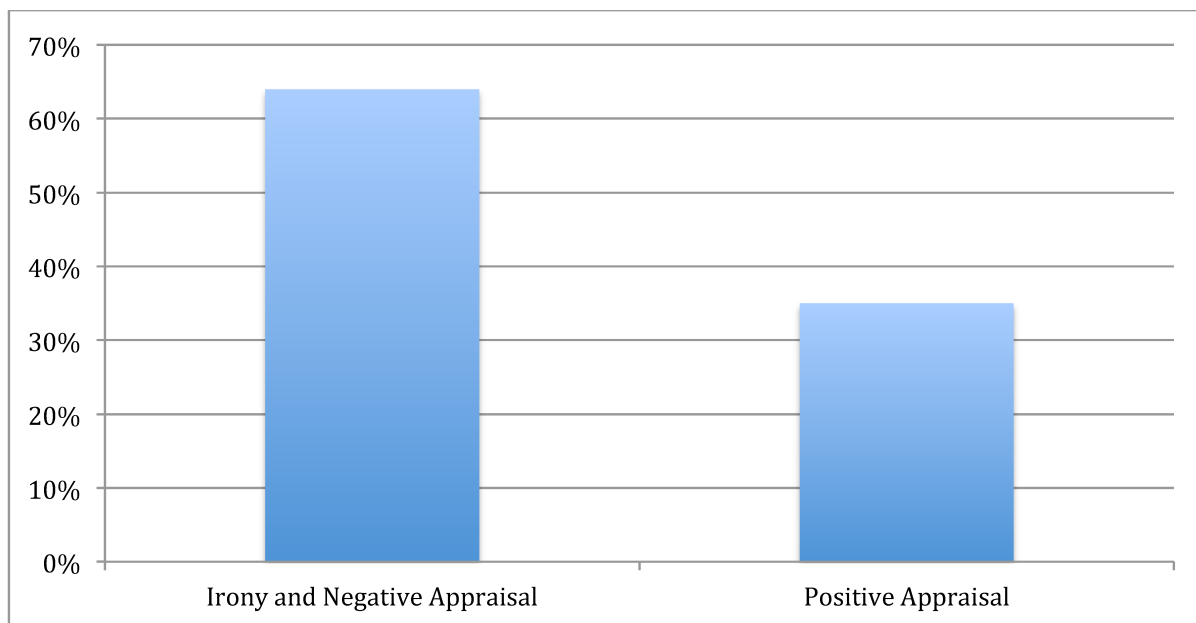
Figure 1: Irony and Appraisal Negative versus Appraisal Positive in percentages.

As seen in *Figure 1* above, about 62.5 % of the evaluations or descriptions of the term 'capitalism'-that is to say, about 25 % of the ironic evaluations plus the 37.5 % of Appraisal Negative- confirm many features of ideologies already posited in the introduction, among them, legitimating domination, articulating resistance in power relationships and ideologies are seen as shared socio-cognitive representations of social groups (van Dijk, 2006). For example, in the ironic evaluations of capitalism we can see different ideological groups: on the one hand, we can see the director himself and all his interviewees such as Peter Zalewsky and his 'Vulture' real estate company, Captain Sully (the pilot hero) and, on the other, the mainstream media through different actors such as Reagan and Bush as bearers of the media ideologies such as 'the profit motive', 'free enterprise', signifiers that are repeated throughout the movie etc.

With regard to Appraisal Negative, which comprises 37.5 % of the evaluations of the term capitalism, different 'allies' or voices representative of the director can be seen: the director's father as a worker of GM, former President Jimmy Carter and his criticism of capitalism and religious men such as Father Dick Preston, another priest and the bishop of his town who define capitalism as evil and contrary to Jesus' ideals.

Appraisal Positive comprises the other 37.5 % of the evaluations which are in keeping with the mainstream media ideals' group -including some presidents voices' such as Reagan's and Bush's and even the director's playwright friend Wally Shawn; these positive descriptions of the system such as free enterprise, the profit motive, morally right, freedom to choose etc. are discussed in section 4.2.2.

All the findings, especially the 62.5% of negative evaluations of capitalism, that is to say, irony plus negative appraisal, seem to cast light on the director's ideology itself, which is against the system of capitalism, as he himself says at the end of the movie- and also through his religious interlocutors- that capitalism is an evil and should be eradicated. The findings also prove the director's intention which is to show that capitalism is an unfair system and that it should be replaced by something more democratic.

It is worth pointing out that the findings also shed light on the research question set in chapter 1, that the way we position ourselves is ideologically reflected in our language use; in other words, our choice of words reveals our most intimate ideals and beliefs. It is worth pointing out that the director's ideology can be seen to be mirrored in his own lexical choices.

As regards the use of appraisal per se, it is worth explaining that both positive and negative examples of appraisal are examples of attitude, more specifically, appreciation, used by the different participants of the movie to convey their own ideological stance. As regards positive appraisal, the mainstream media and, especially, some former US presidents and some of Moore's interviewees, to a lesser extent, feel the ideological need to see the aesthetics or value of capitalism in terms of institutionalised feelings within "worlds of shared community values" (Martin and White, 2005, p. 45). As for negative appraisal, appreciation is also used because the film director and most of his interviewees feel the need to uncover their ideologies by describing their feelings towards the system in terms of propositions about the negative value of capitalism.

4.2.3. The resources of dialogistic positioning: Engagement

The engagement system is used by the different groups to highlight "the social event of verbal interaction implemented in an utterance or utterances" (Martin and White, 2005, p. 92). In other words, those who resort to this system reveal the nature of the relationship they have with other speakers who have taken a different stand on the same issue. At the same time, the dialogistic positioning as regards the director's construal of his own audience and alignment with it can be seen through the engagement system when he and the different ideological groups that side with him describe what capitalism is.

There are 13 words, phrases or expressions found which may not be considered either positive or negative and therefore not included in the 40 evaluations of capitalism or in *table 2* above either. These examples are examples of engagement. The summary of these evaluations are summed up in table 3 below with their corresponding number of the example:

We <u>tend to</u> worship self-indulgence and consumption' (11)

'What <u>the Holy Book</u> reminds us is unjust' (12)

'<u>God</u> will come down and eradicate it somehow' (12)

'The system does not <u>seem to</u> be providing for the well being…' (14)

'<u>Blessed are the poor, woe to the rich'</u> (14)

' If you seek social justice and human dignity, the free market is <u>the way to go'</u> (17)

'…We <u>know</u> that American capitalism is morally right…' (18)

'…They (the profit motive, free enterprise) are <u>compatible with God's laws and the teachings of the</u> <u>Bible'</u> (18)

'…I am not <u>even</u> a good believer of democracy…' (19)

'…if you have things <u>you can easily get more things'</u> (21)

'…They (Moore's kids) <u>could</u> go to college without getting a loan from a bank…' (22)

'…His (his father's) pension <u>would</u> be there for him when he retired…' (22)

'…Things <u>seemed to</u> be going in the right direction' (22)

Table 3: Engagement examples

It is worth pointing out that verbal communication is dialogic in nature in that whenever a speaker speaks or writes something, she reveals the influence of, refers to, or takes up in some way what has been said or written before and anticipates "the responses of actual, potential or imagined readers/listeners" (Bakhtin, 1981 in Martin & White, 2005, p.92).

The dialogic nature of the expressions used in the locutions above in table 3 allows speakers to position themselves or align themselves with the issue under discussion. In example 11, for example, the speaker is the ex president Jimmy Carter who is warning the population about the influence capitalism may have on them, the increase of consumption and, most importantly, the change of values in American society brought about by this system; hence, when Carter uses the expression 'tend to', it helps him to position himself with regard to consumerism and discard it as something trivial but, at the same time, admitting a certain danger or deception which the population may be facing. The use of this expression seems to be an example of 'acknowledgement' or 'entertain', within engagement, which is used to show how speakers resort to tentative language to signal degrees of certainty.

With regard to example 12, the propositions 'the Holy book reminds us…' and 'God will come down…'- uttered by one of the priests interviewed by Moore- are examples of 'attribute' because they are "grounded in the subjectivity of an external voice" (Martin & White, 2005, p.

98), thus invoking dialogic alternatives or reporting what has been said. These external voices 'God and the Holy Book' are used by the speaker to make his point more valid or more believable or trustworthy.

The expressions used in example 14 are also uttered by the same priest interviewed by Moore. The verb 'seem' in the expression 'the system does not seem to be providing…' is also used within the engagement system and, more specifically, 'acknowledgement' or 'entertain' to signal "a range of possible positions" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 98). The same speaker introduces again the voice of the Bible to assert his viewpoint through an external voice: 'Blessed are the poor…' These words may be an example of attribute within engagement which report what the Bible, in this particular case, says.

In example 17 above, Bush reveals the influence which the mainstream media has on him; he repeats the media discourse as if it were his own. The system of engagement can be seen through 'proclamation' in which the proposition is represented as compelling, plausible, well-founded, generally agreed, reliable. When Bush says '…if you seek social justice and human dignity, the free market system is the way to go', we can see that "the textual voice sets itself against, suppresses or rules out alternative positions" (Martin & White, 2005, p. 98). This example of engagement could be regarded as an example of 'evoked' appraisal instead of 'inscribed'. In the latter the evaluative language is explicit whereas in the former the language is indirect but "intended to evoke an attitude" (Thompson, 2004, p. 77). Bush seems to be saying 'there is no doubt' that the free market is 'compelling', 'well-founded', 'reliable' etc. but this evaluative language may be regarded as implicit.

In example 18 above, the comparison between capitalism and the Bible is very powerful. We can clearly see the commitment of the media's words; therefore the system of engagement through 'proclamation' is also at work in this excerpt when the media, through the use of the verb 'know', say 'we <u>know</u> that American capitalism is morally right'; in other words, these utterances are presented as true. They seem to be saying 'there can be no doubt that' capitalism is right. According to Martin & White (2005, p. 127), 'pronounce', which is seen as a type of proclamation, refers to "formulations which involve authorial emphases or explicit authorial interventions or interpolations". This is clear when the media say that the system of capitalism is 'compatible with God's laws and the teachings of the Bible'. Through this analogy, they seem to be saying that 'we- the media- contend that this is the case'.

Although the columnist and editorial board member of The Wall Street Journal is talking about democracy and not capitalism per se in example 19 above, he seems to be criticizing

'democracy' to highlight his belief in the system of capitalism so the example is included within the group of phrases that evaluate the system of capitalism. The system of engagement can be seen at work through the subcategory of 'disclaim' when Moore's interviewee says 'I am not <u>even</u> a big believer of democracy…'; hence he rejects or is at odds with some supposed position which is 'democracy' itself. The use of the concessive 'even' in the previous statement shows that many people do think democracy works and that many people expect him to be a fan of democracy but, contrary to expectations, he is not. The same statement above through the use of the marker of concession 'even' may be interpreted as introducing different voices with which he disagrees hence the same example may be seen as an example of 'attribution' within 'engagement'. That is to say, these other voices or opinions seem to be saying that they 'claim or believe that' democracy is worthy of our respect so they adhere to the system of democracy but he does not. We can see dialogistic or heteroglossic alternatives, that is to say, this dialogistic background of different voices "construes a particular arrangement of other voices and/ or alternative viewpoints" (Martin and White, 2005, p. 99).

Shawn, Moore's friend and interviewee-in example 21- makes use of the 'engagement' system through 'proclamation' in which he asserts the truth of something, for example, when he says '…the basic law of life is that if you have things, you can easily get…'

In example 22, within the engagement evaluative system ('entertain'), Moore presents different possibilities through modality, for example, when he states 'they (their kids) <u>could</u> go to college without getting a loan from a bank…', '…his pension (his father's) <u>would</u> be there for him when he retired…', 'things <u>seemed to</u> be going in the right direction…'. In these, "the authorial voice represents the proposition as but one of a range of possible positions"- thus invoking dialogic alternatives (Martin and White, 2005, p. 98).

CHAPTER 5 - Pedagogical implications and suggestions for further research

This study will attempt to contribute to the field of CDS (Critical Discourse Studies) by discussing the notions of irony and appraisal to express ideology and its consecutive application in a spoken text (movie). This study will help students of undergraduate language courses see different ways we use language ideologically thereby shedding light on communication itself by connecting theory and practice (application in a movie) in a continuum. Also, teachers may benefit themselves through this paper by honing critical reading skills that may help their own students infer the intention behind people's messages.

As any reading or interpretation of discourse is seen as a public and social act, addressing social and political issues within educational settings is essential, because, when we read a text, we interpret it and connect it to a broader context or to society itself (Wallace, 2003). Therefore, this study will help learners read critically by grasping subtle and 'default' ideological meanings which will only come to the surface once learners have uncovered these implicit and ideologically communicated assumptions. To do this, this study will attempt to frame the process of reading and interpretation of discourse as something communal or social which will, in the end, also contribute to the students' fostering and raising of foreign language awareness.

It is worth pointing out that learning to read a text critically is not part of our linguistic competence but it is something that must be encouraged and learned (Wallace, 2003). All learners, no matter the type of language (first, foreign etc.) when in the process of reading, make meanings and engage in critical thinking (Wallace, 2003). Engaging in a "critique Project" will help students as well as teachers to identify ideologies, which -within a CDS perspective- may be seen as "ideas that legitimate positions of power"; these ideas are seen not only as "systematically distorted communication" but also as false (Eagleton, 1991 in Wallace, 2003, p. 28).

Different topic -related fields have been deliberately left out of this paper for the obvious reasons of delimiting or narrowing down the topic. Some of these topics such as the category of appraisal 'graduation' and other categories of 'attitude' such as 'affect' and 'judgement' -also within appraisal- could be further exploited in other papers. The role of images in this paper can be seen to contribute greatly to the meaning that the director wishes to convey when making the notion of capitalism positive or negative. In other words, in most interpretations of irony, we can see the ironic utterances accompanied by the semiotic system of images which play a significant role in making 'capitalism' negative. So a further analysis of this connection between language and images is recommended for future research on the topic.

Images within a multimodal discourse analysis approach can also be suggested as a possible field of interest for future research. Multimodality studies "how texts draw on different modes of communication such as pictures, film, video, images and sound in combination with words to make meanings" (Paltridge, 2012, p. 170). When we interact, we communicate or "we make meaning in a variety of ways" (Jewitt & Bezemer & O' Halloran, 2016, p. 1). According to Paltridge (2012), images, different shots (high angle shot, low angle shot) as well as gestures, posture and gaze and other paralinguistic features have received special attention in multimodal discourse analysis. "Different means of meaning making are not separated but almost always appear together: image with writing, speech with gesture…" (Jewitt et. al., 2016, p. 2).

Conclusions

It is worth remarking that ideologies in political discourse are seen as belief systems that belong to groups of speakers. In this movie, we can see different ideological groups who contrast with one another, the mainstream media on the one hand and the director's ideology and his interviewees on the other. We can also see that these groups are either in favour or against the system. These groups (the mainstream media, the director and his 'allies'), as we have seen, show their allegiance to capitalism by positive or negative markers, either through appraisal (positive or negative) and irony (negative).

The close and intimate connection between our language choices and our own ideological stance can be confirmed by looking at the various examples that prove that both thoughts or beliefs and our use of the language are intricately intertwined with each other.

Different audiences can benefit from this study, as discussed in Chapter 1, by dealing with complex issues such as the connection between discourse- through the use of different strategies - and sets of group beliefs. Teachers in bilingual scenarios on the one hand can help their own students raise awareness of this intimate connection and thus help them become critical thinkers when it comes to text analysis in A- level language exams. College students of linguistics and teacher trainers themselves, on the other, can also benefit from this study by taking a close look at how political ideologies are conveyed through language within the realm of criticality or critical thinking in CD studies.

The hidden and sometimes overt intention of the director, which is to prove that capitalism is wrong and evil, is consistent throughout the documentary. The different findings collected in the paper show this intention through the strategies of irony and negative appraisal. Irony- which is used roughly 25 % out of the examples selected- is an efficient strategy at the director's disposal which makes the concept of capitalism tactfully negative through mockery and ridicule whereas positive appraisal is a tool that helps him make the movie less subjective by voicing the mainstream media's ideals on the subject. Both negative appraisal and irony are used to confirm the director's idea that capitalism should be replaced with something more 'democratic', as he himself argues in the movie.

The findings, especially the 62.5 % of negative evaluations of the system of capitalism, have confirmed the research question that our lexical choices disclose our most intimate ideology. This has been shown, as said before, through the director's intention which is to show that capitalism is radically pernicious and evil. The director also tries to make the topic debatable

through different positive evaluations of the system, sometimes coming from his own interviewees such as congressmen or the actor and also expert in politics and economy Wally Shawn –which comprise about 37.5 % of positive evaluations of the system.

The fact that examples of engagement appraisal have been found in the documentary may also confirm the director's attempt to make the documentary less subjective while he is being highly critical of the system at all times. The different voices introduced through engagement such as that of the Bible, Jesus, God and modalized expressions such as 'seem', 'tend to', 'could' etc. are examples of his attempt to make the narrative of the movie more plural. At the same time, the use of appreciation, within the system of attitude, which embeds feelings in propositions, also shows his attempt to make his discourse less direct. Appreciation is a system which, in my opinion, makes views less personal if compared with other systems within attitude such as 'affect' and 'judgement' which seem to make feelings more direct and less institutionalised.

The choice of the movie genre – a sarcastic political documentary- to air his views on the subject is also effective on the director's part because through it he can be both descriptive and critical at the same time. Therefore, this type of movie is a good ground to see ideological stance and the reflection of linguistic strategies as bearers of communal beliefs such as the positive ones that the mainstream media hold or the negative ones that the director and the other participants of the movie entertain.

It is worth pointing out that ideologies, then, are conveyed through groups who look at the issue in question either positively or negatively. It is up to us, teachers and students alike, to see behind the text and see which ideology has influenced us the most and why.

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