

An analysis of APPRAISAL in childbirth narratives with special consideration of gender and storytelling style*

RUTH E. PAGE

Abstract

This study uses the APPRAISAL framework developed by Martin (1996, 2000) to analyze the evaluation offered by women and men when narrating experiences about childbirth.¹ The textual patterns constructed by the speakers' use of attitudinal appraisal are considered in relation to gender in two ways.

First, findings suggest that the women and men in this study have subtly differing story-telling styles as indicated by the relative proportion of AFFECT and APPRECIATION found in their narratives. The women's narratives are seen as more personalized and exhibiting a higher degree of potential interpersonal involvement than the men's—features which are understood as connected with the patterns of social interaction between speakers.

Second, gender is also important in understanding the speakers' self-characterization as expressed through JUDGMENT. Through the comparators (Labov 1972) used here, the speakers depict a particular identity for the prospective father as one who may be peripheral and ineffective—a world view that is mirrored in the representation of the father as a social actor (van Leeuwen 1996) in current childbirth advice literature.

The analysis of APPRAISAL in these narratives supports recent trends in the study of language and gender that suggest there is no universal mapping between gender and linguistic form. Rather, like the evaluation used here, gender itself is seen as culturally constructed and related to contextual issues in a complex and multiple manner.

Keywords: appraisal; childbirth; context; evaluation; gender; narrative.

1. Evaluation and APPRAISAL

Evaluation is a concept that crosses discipline boundaries and has many diverse applications. Even within the field of linguistics the term is used in

differing ways across a number of research specialisms as the breadth and richness of the studies in Hunston and Thompson's (2000) recent collection indicates. This article focuses on a relatively new typology of evaluation: the analysis of APPRAISAL and its subsystems. Drawing on a systemic functional background, this framework is developed in Martin (1996, 2000) and White (1997, 2001). While this is an emergent typology, it has proved flexible and robust in application across studies from a range of areas, including the semantics of casual conversation (Eggs and Slade 1997), media (White 1997, 2001; Claydon 2001), literacy (Martin 1996), and stylistics (Martin 2000).

APPRAISAL is understood as '[a] particular approach to exploring, describing and explaining the way language is used to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positionings and relationships' (White 2001: 1). As Martin (2000: 145) notes, this has points of compatibility with other approaches to evaluation including earlier work such as that developed by Labov (1972). Labov's comments on evaluation stress the centrality of this area in the context of narratives of personal experience (1972: 366). Indeed, amongst the wealth of research that has extended and developed Labov's narrative work, the significance of evaluation has been reiterated time and again (as a small sample of this see Polanyi 1985; Bernstein 1997; Tolliver 1997; Holmes 1997; Berman 1997; Goodwin, 1997; Schiffrin 1997; Linde 1997; and Gwyn 2000). Areas of similarity between the two frameworks include emphasis on the interpersonal dimension of evaluation, which is implied in the Labovian concept of what renders a narrative *tellable*, thus warding off the audience's demand for relevance with the question 'So what?' This is taken further in the analysis of APPRAISAL and the symbiotic relationship between speaker, use of language and audience expectation, and response is described in Bakhtinian terms as the complex manner in which all texts operate in response to their prior and potential 'dialogic partners' (White 2001: 3). This notion of evaluation as negotiated between speaker and listener is echoed in research from other traditions too. For example, within conversation analysis, Pomerantz discusses the use of 'assessments'. Like instances of APPRAISAL and Labovian evaluation, these may be offered as 'an actor's sense or experience of events' (Pomerantz, 1984: 58) and confirmed or rejected by the participation of other speakers. Thus across various research areas there seems to be widespread agreement that evaluation, whether in spoken or written form, monolog or dialog, cannot be seen as a text-based phenomena alone, and is inextricably bound up with the dynamic inter-relationship between speaker/writer and audience.

Despite these broad similarities, it should be noted that these approaches to evaluation are not an exact duplicate of one another. Indeed, such

typologies must be understood as informed by their own theoretical assumptions and contexts, leading to some crucial differences. Pomerantz's work on assessments is rooted in her study of conversation structure and so remains primarily concerned with the formal and social functions of speakers' turn taking strategies. Labov's categories are embedded within a structuralist project concerning narrative form and focus more on similarities between narratives rather than highlighting differences (Martin and Plum 1997: 312). Hence in Labov's work, the focus is more on the evaluative nature of the form rather than on the speaker as an evaluator, leading to suggestions that the categories might be further tested in order to investigate whether these 'correspond to social practice' (Linde 1997: 16). In contrast to both these alternatives, the subsystems identified in APPRAISAL analysis are less concerned with structural features and instead emphasize semantic criteria. This is helpful as a move towards examining a different dimension in the construction of a speaker's opinion, but given the levels of subjectivity involved, the categorization is rather less determinate and cannot be carried out without close attention to contextual factors. As Eggins and Slade write:

The interpretation of the meaning of lexical items is not only dependent on the co-text but also on the sociocultural background and positioning of the interactants. Appraisal analysis must therefore be sensitive to the potential for different readings or 'hearings' of attitudinal meanings (1997: 126).

Thus the language users (both speaker/writer and audience) and the importance of cultural and contextual issues are clearly foregrounded in the process of constructing APPRAISAL.

The area of APPRAISAL that is focused on in this paper is that of ATTITUDINAL positioning. The subcategories in this system are AFFECT, which is understood as relating to the speaker's emotional response; JUDGMENT as their moral evaluation of behavior; and finally, APPRECIATION as their aesthetic opinions of entities or processes. As Martin points out, these categories are interrelated in that at a general level, 'all encode feeling' (2000: 147). This is diagrammatically expressed in Figure 1.

The distinction between these three categories, as suggested earlier, is primarily a semantic one, allowing for some degree of grammatical flexibility in the forms included within each. The three pairs of examples given here give a small indication of these types of APPRAISAL.²

(1) AFFECT

- a. I was euphoric about expecting a baby with the man I loved. It was that overwhelming feeling which made me focus on what I wanted from the pregnancy.
- b. I feared bringing into the world a small being who might end up as heart-gouged and bewildered as I had been.

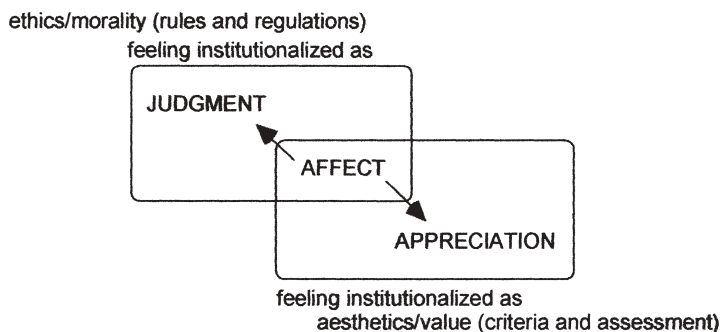


Figure 1. *Attitudinal appraisal* (taken from Martin 2000: 147)

(2) JUDGMENT

- a. I am sure the doctor's reasons were plausible, but it is completely wrong to strip a baby of organs without the parents' consent.
- b. She's on her very best behaviour.

(3) APPRECIATION

- a. This coastline of legendary beauty, with warm blue seas, superb sandy beaches and vibrant resorts, gives the South of France a special magnetism.
- b. Her lips were inflated and she looked tired and a little drawn, very different to her glamorous film appearances.

These examples indicate that AFFECT foregrounds the emotion undergone by the speaker, whereas JUDGMENT centers on the social and moral implications of the actions of individuals and APPRECIATION is to do with the aesthetic attributes associated with an entity (including physical aspects of human appearance). What even this very small sample also demonstrates is that further degrees of delicacy are also possible in the analysis of APPRAISAL. A detailed account of this may be found in Martin (2000) and Eggins and Slade (1997). For the purposes of this article, I will draw attention to the areas of particular relevance to the fairly broad analysis presented later. First, emotions, moral behavior and aesthetics may be of many types. Thus, within each category, further semantic subdivisions are possible. These are summarized in Figure 2. Second, for each of these subdivisions, the APPRAISAL may be expressed on a positive or negative polarity, relative to the cultural values of speaker and listener, shown in the contrast in each of the pairs in examples (1) to (3). So these distinctions recognize that emotive responses and opinions may be of many different kinds, both in terms of type and negative/positive values, but as Hunston and Thompson (2000: 143) put it, ultimately reduced to small number of basic options.

Third, any instance of APPRAISAL can be presented with more or less intensity. The resources that speakers might use to grade their attitudes towards events or people are referred to as AMPLIFICATION (Eggins and Slade 1997).³ While they simply represent this as a separate system of choices alongside the other attitudinal categories, it is important to note that in fact these strategies for either intensifying the APPRAISAL (ENRICHMENT or AUGMENTING) or playing down an opinion (MITIGATION) may exist in combination with choices from the categories of AFFECT, JUDGMENT and APPRECIATION. Thus, in example (2a), the JUDGMENT ‘wrong’ is AUGMENTED by the intensifier ‘completely’. Again, these strategies are summarized in Figure 2.

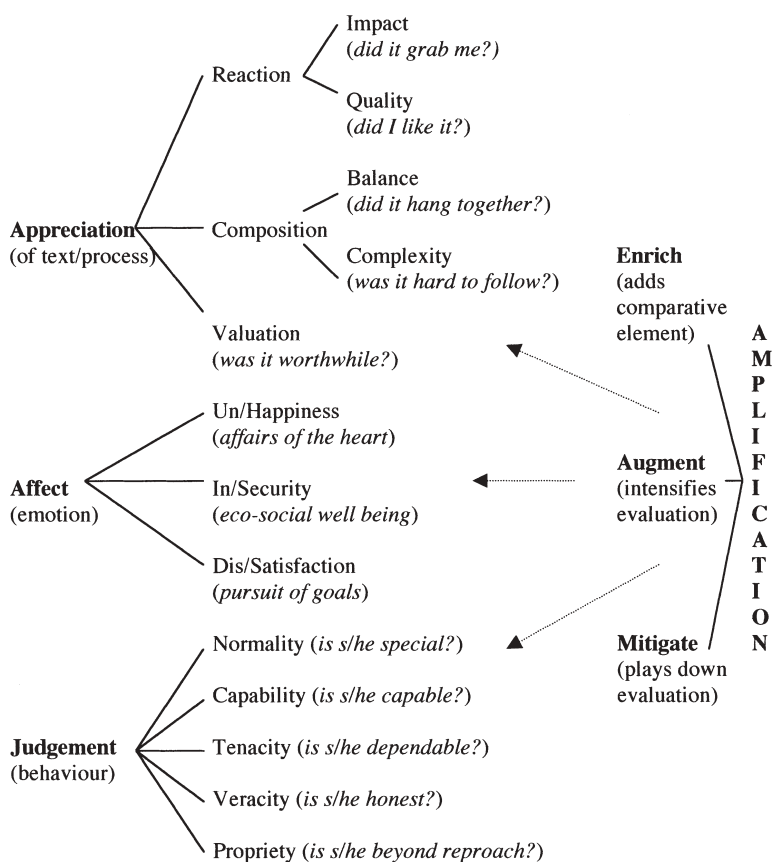


Figure 2. Summary of options available within ATTITUDINAL APPRAISAL (summarized from Martin 2000; Eggins and Slade 1997)

Fourth, there is an important distinction as to whether the appraisal is direct or implied. Martin writes on this, identifying appraisal that might be ‘directly construed in the text, or implicated through the selection of ideational meanings which redound with affectual meaning’ (2000: 155). The technical labels used to refer to this are inscribed and evoked, respectively. Thus we might draw attention to the difference between the direct presentation of AFFECT in example (1a) using terms such as ‘euphoric’ and ‘loved’ and the implied opinion in (3b) where ‘inflated’ might be taken as a token of negative APPRECIATION on the grounds of its allusion to cosmetic surgery, assumed to be censured perhaps because the achieved beauty is non-natural and potentially the result of considerable extravagance. Thus the interpretation of evoked types of appraisal depends heavily on the inferences made by the audience of the text. Like all analysis of appraisal, but perhaps even more so, the classification of these evocations involves a degree of subjectivity and must be understood as situated within particular cultural contexts. As such, these instances present occasions where there may be the possibility for multiple interpretations.

One way of dealing with this is to consider the option of double coding, where the appraised item may in turn evoke yet another classification at a secondary level. This might happen in at least two ways. First, the whole appraisal might infer a secondary meaning.

- (4) *That burger was revolting.* [APPRECIATION: negative reaction, quality [t-AFFECT: unhappiness]]

The direct interpretation of this clause is one of APPRECIATION, concerning the attributes of the ‘burger’. It can be understood as an answer to the hypothetical probe question ‘What was it like?’ suggestive of the subcategory of APPRECIATION: reaction, quality. However, further inferences might also be made that take the appraisal to be an indirect comment on the speaker’s likes or dislikes. Paraphrased roughly as ‘That burger was revolting therefore I did not like it’ the appraisal might also be seen at a secondary level as belonging to the category AFFECT: UNHAPPINESS.

Second, this kind of double coding can exist as a form of embedding where the primary coding then lends a coloration to a larger segment of text that can be taken as a token of evoked appraisal of some kind.

- (5) Since our arrival, I have noticed that *the majority of parents bottle-feed, vaccinate, and constantly give dummies and junk food* [t-APPRECIATION: negative REACTION, QUALITY [t-JUDGMENT: negative CAPACITY]] *to their babies and children.*

In this example, the primary coding of ‘junk food’ is itself an evoked APPRECIATION, on the basis that ‘junk’ has negative connotations, leading to

a subsequently negative prosody for the attribute of the food being described. What is interesting here is that the negativity of this APPRAISAL might retrospectively influence the interpretation of the preceding co-text. So to 'bottle-feed, vaccinate and constantly give dummies' on its own might be regarded as rather more attitudinally neutral (although note the use of the term 'dummy' rather than the more euphemistic option of 'soother' sometimes used to market these items) but when found added to list with 'junk food', these parenting practices are similarly positioned in a negative light, perhaps as a criticism of the parents' behavior in terms of their capacity (i.e., they are not capable of parenting their children 'naturally') and so functioning as a token of evoked negative JUDGMENT, at least within the culturally constructed set of values that this speaker seems to be drawing upon.

As recent communication on the APPRAISAL discussion group has indicated, the distinctions between inscribed and evoked appraisal are still a matter of debate, as are the possibilities for double coding. Indeed, Thompson's and Martin's comments (both 2002) on this matter suggest that there may be room yet for further refining these matters, particularly regarding the extent to which evoked AFFECT can be generated. Given the aforementioned fundamental connection between all three categories as founded upon 'feeling', in theory it would seem possible for a great many instances of APPRECIATION and JUDGMENT to also evoke AFFECT. Thus, as Thompson argues, delimiting the scope for such evoked AFFECT may be problematic (2002).

While there are areas of complexity in the analysis of APPRAISAL that will no doubt continue to be reworked as the framework develops, I would argue that it provides a distinctive and useful typology for exploring a particular aspect of evaluation. Used in conjunction with the Labovian framework, APPRAISAL is deployed here to explore the ways in which the speakers express their opinions about and reactions to their personal experiences. This is revealing both in terms of the ideological positions they adopt for themselves and the way this reflects the relationship between the teller of the tales and their audience.

2. Data sample

The stories analyzed in this article are a set of 23 oral narratives that were elicited in an informal interview situation. The initial motivation for their collection was to examine the extent to which gender could be considered a salient variable in the storytelling of women and men in relation to subject matter where gender-related issues were prominent. Following Sunderland

(2000: 250) the topic of childbirth was chosen, for while this sample cannot provide universalist evidence of women's or men's use of language (not all women or men choose to have children) it does offer biologically and socially differentiated roles for women and men. Previous studies of gender and narrative have documented a consistent pattern: that in various ways conversational narratives told by women differ from those told by men (Johnstone 1990; Abney 1994; Coates 1996; Georgakopoulou 1995; Eggins and Slade 1997). Many of these contrasts may be seen as corresponding to the stereotypical characterization of competitive/masculine as opposed to cooperative/feminine speech styles that has been suggested in certain research focused on language and gender difference (Tannen 1990; Coates 1995, summarized in Holmes 1997). Thus in stories told by men, male personae are presented as aggressive (Georgakopoulou 1995), rational (Abney 1995), or heroic (Eggins and Slade 1997) while in women's narratives, female characters are more often foolish and embarrassed (Georgakopoulou 1995; Coates 1996; Eggins and Slade 1997), or gullible (Abney 1994). The narratives considered here provide an interesting alternative to these studies, for the scenarios of childbirth resist such a dichotomy by offering the male speakers rather different roles in an experience where they might be more excluded, passive or even embarrassed.

The speakers who were interviewed consisted of nine pairs of women and men who had recently had children and an additional five women who had been present at childbirth in the role of a birthing partner (i.e. as additional support to the midwife). The prospective parents formed a naturally-occurring peer group, united by the common life experience shared by the interviewer (myself) of newly acquired parenthood, and while the birthing partners were not part of this same group, were similar in that they were all friends of mine. As such, each of the narratives may be understood as told within the context of friendship between the speaker and listener.

The narratives were prompted by the question 'Tell me what happened when X was born' and were overtly recorded while the interviewer and speaker met together in each other's homes, usually with the primary purpose of our children playing together. Apart from the recording itself, the social situation was a familiar one for the participants in this sample, as the women interviewed would meet regularly on a one-to-one basis, and the men would also meet up, albeit less frequently and in a mixed-sex context where larger groups were often present (e.g., whole families would interact). While these narratives are not spontaneous and to a certain extent artificial, the informality of the immediate context and the subject matter involved might offer mitigating circumstances to offset some of the constraints of this method of elicitation.

Indeed, the narratives in this sample attest to the deeply personal and emotive nature of the topic of childbirth. Many of the speakers became

involved in the narration of their experiences. Some described this anecdotally after the interview as a 'reliving' of the events. For others, the emotional engagement became apparent during the narration itself, as in example (6) where the speaker begins to cry as he tells of his emotional response to an incident during the birth of his son.

- (6) Edward
 1 and at that moment they went
 2 that was just an instant—
 3 and I just had these, I mean I still have these tears of joy

In addition, narratives about childbirth have a special status as stories that may often have been pre-rehearsed and retold in many different contexts. For example, they often form part of the reunion of antenatal groups, may be recorded in memory books for the child who has been born or related as 'gossip' between friends.⁴ The possible influence of earlier contexts and the extent to which narrative sequences become crystallized in their retellings is a potentially complicating factor in the case of these stories (Norrick 1998: 95; Eckert and McConnell Ginnet 1999: 189), which, due to its individual variability is difficult to assess but nevertheless should be borne in mind. What is clear is that these narratives did not take place in a vacuum and are shaped in particular ways according to the primary social situation in which they were told, as well as possibly influenced by earlier tellings. As considerable research shows, the role of the audience in co-constructing narratives is of great significance (Goodwin 1997). The extent to which the listener may choose or be allowed to participate in such co-construction, is, once again, not fixed but highly context-dependent. In the case of the narratives being considered here, the verbal interjections of the interviewer were minimal, consisting of expressive reactions or asides and occasional questions for clarification. Examples of this are given below.

- (7) James
 1 well she had contractions at about I'd say ten o'clock
 2 and Esther was born at twenty-two minutes past three
 3 <it's pretty impressive really>
 4 it's not bad
- (8) Rachel
 1 I'd just had a sandwich
 2 So I couldn't have a caesarean straight away
 3 <oh no>
 4 got to wait four hours
 5 and baby was alright, everything on the monitor was fine
 6 <so were they going to put you out under general?>
 7 well I said 'If I've got to wait four hours can I have an epidural please?'

- 8 and they investigated
 9 the anesthetist said yeah that was fine I could have an epidural so—
 10 <they wouldn't do you a caesarean under an epidural?>
 11 yeah they would, but then I'd still got to wait because there wasn't a
 theatre available

The minimal nature of the interviewer's verbal participation in the narrative is unsurprising given that the speakers were being allowed to hold the floor and were telling what are, to at least some extent, pre-established stories. Thus, in terms of the transcript of the narratives, the presence of the interviewer is not always immediately obvious. However, the significance of the interviewer as audience should not be underestimated both in terms of the immediate contextual influence as constituting the relationship of friendship described earlier, and more broadly as situating that particular relationship within wider contextual issues such as the social practices surrounding childbirth for this group of speakers in the UK at the end of the twentieth century.

Initial reports on this data sample focused on the macro-level structural similarities shared by these narratives, where both women and men make use of a particular narrative form known as the ANECDOTE (Page 2002). In this earlier article, I argued that the various linguistic choices made by the speakers need to be understood as related to gender in a complex and contextualized way. In the analysis offered here, my exploration of the possible relationships between gender, context and linguistic form is continued but focuses more closely on the choices speakers make when talking about their feelings and events, analyzed specifically through the attitudinal categories of APPRAISAL.

3. Gender and narrative style: AFFECT and APPRECIATION

The procedures employed for analyzing APPRAISAL in these childbirth narratives follow the steps outlined by Eggins and Slade (1997: 138). That is to say that the transcripts of the narratives were taken, all APPRAISAL items identified, classified according to my reading of them, and the results for each speaker tabulated in order to gain an overview of the broad patterns across the texts as a whole. No two narratives were exactly the same in terms of the profile of APPRAISAL offered. This is to be expected, particularly given the personal topic involved and the range of possible preferences for childbirth that might be expressed. However, when the results for the different speakers were taken together, some general trends were hinted at. First, as noted in Page (2002), the men told stories that were on average longer

Table 1. *Women and men's use of APPRAISAL*

Speaker		Appraisal (number of occurrences/hundred words)
Fathers	(9 men)	1.71
Mothers	(9 women)	2.09
Birthing partners	(5 women)	2.77

than the women's (1941 words as compared with 1739 words respectively). Within these categories, the length of the men's stories varied more than the women's did, ranging between 763 and 4214 words as compared with the relatively smaller range of 1041 to 2584 words. This points to the disadvantages of using averaged figures: that the 'noise' of variation within a given category is obscured and does not facilitate identification of difference within categories (as opposed to between them). Furthermore, when considering the quantification of APPRAISAL, counting the number of occurrences does not indicate how much text space has been taken up by the different subtypes as APPRAISAL might be realized by a single word, phrase or whole proposition (see also Martin 2000: 154–55 regarding units of analysis). Nonetheless, the patterns hinted at in the following tables are still useful, but are perhaps better understood as an heuristic starting point for exploring the ways in which these narrators use APPRAISAL resources in their stories.⁵

At its most general, these statistics indicate that the women's narratives contained a higher proportion of APPRAISAL than did the men's (2.09% for the mothers and 2.77% for the birthing partners as compared with 1.71% for the fathers). This gender-based difference is also found in a comparison of the APPRAISAL subtypes for the women used types of AFFECT more frequently than the men (46% and 33% respectively), while the men presented more APPRECIATION than the women (53% as compared to the 38% used by the mothers and 36% by the birthing partners). This contrast seems to suggest that women and men represent their emotional responses in significantly differing ways. Given that AFFECT is concerned more explicitly with emotion, this might be interpreted in stereotypical terms as

Table 2. *Subtypes of APPRAISAL*

Speaker		Affect (emotion)	Judgment (behavior)	Appreciation (aesthetics)
Fathers	(9 men)	33.1%	13.4%	53.5%
Mothers	(9 women)	46.2%	12.8%	38.5%
Birthing partners	(5 women)	46.4%	13.5%	39.9%

the women's greater emphasis on affective as opposed to informative meaning. This is expressed by Holmes, when she comments on the 'tendency for male communication to focus on content or information, while females are more often orientated to feelings' (1998: 464).

Assessing what is meant by these rather impressionistic labels of 'affective' and 'informative' meaning is complex. It is here that the choices made in the systems of AFFECT and APPRECIATION can be illuminating in drawing this distinction more precisely. The following extracts provide examples of AFFECT and APPRAISAL used by female and male speakers.

- (9) Yvonne
 1 I can't describe how excited I was [AFFECT]
- (10) Natalie
 1 I felt really excited by it [AFFECT]
- (11) Maria
 1 well we arrived at hospital
 2 and I was about one and a half centimeters dilated
 3 and I was so gutted (emphatically) [AFFECT]
- (12) Andy
 1 well it was quite exciting [APPRECIATION]
 2 'cause it was for us a more standard delivery
 3 and we had the excitement [APPRECIATION] of calling the midwife out in the middle of the night
- (13) Bob
 1 did an internal examination
 2 and found that Maria was only one centimeter dilated
 3 so one centimetre was a tad disappointing (all laugh) [APPRECIATION]

As these examples indicate, AFFECT and APPRECIATION offer subtly different means of presenting emotional responses. In the examples of AFFECT the emotion is directly related to the APPRAISER whereas with APPRECIATION, the quality is associated with the object being appraised rather than the person doing the appraising (White 2001). Thus while the speakers here are articulating the same emotion (either excitement or disappointment), the female speakers present themselves as the one experiencing the emotion whereas the male speakers attach the emotional quality to an aspect of the experience itself while they are backgrounded in some way, as in Andy's nominalization of 'excitement'. This description of 'excitement' is an instance where it is possible to suggest a double coding of the APPRAISAL as a form of evoked AFFECT, whereby the noun is paraphrased as 'an experience in which I felt excitement'. However, I would want to draw attention to the fact that the male speaker chose *not* to do that, and by using the nominalization obscured the agency of the senser of the emotion. Indeed,

the pronoun used is the first person plural, thereby further ambiguating who the one affected by the excitement might be (example 12, line 3).

There is a further distinction that might be drawn between the instances of AFFECT when female and male speakers describe their physical responses indicative of emotion, for example crying. This is demonstrated in the following examples.

- (14) Wendy
 1 and just driving home
 2 I think that was about half twelve
 3 and the streets were sort of empty
 4 and I was like tears—well it wasn't even tears
 5 I was silently sobbing, sobbing, sobbing [ENRICHMENT, AUGMENTING]
- (15) Natalie
 1 and I was just lying there
 2 Looking at Charles
 3 going 'We've got a son, ooh we've got a son'
 4 I was just absolutely crying my eyes out [AUGMENTING]
 5 and the surgeon was just like a bit taken aback really
 6 that I wasn't laughing or smiling
 7 I was just crying [ENRICHMENT]
 8 and these tears were just rolling down my face [AUGMENTING]
 9 saying 'Ooh we've got a son' [AUGMENTING]
- (16) Ivan
 1 and they actually gave her to me
 2 and it sort of—it—I cried
 3 it's sort of partly down to the exhaustion [MITIGATION]
- (17) Edward
 1 and you know a couple of times I sort of came out of the room where we are
 2 and went into the kitchen for a bit of a blub and a bit of a cry. [MITIGATION]

These extracts show a difference in the speakers' presentation of emotion where the women's examples are more explicit and from a Labovian perspective can be seen as much more densely evaluated through the use of internal evaluation. In terms of APPRAISAL, this contrast can be analyzed according to the subcategories of AMPLIFICATION. Broadly speaking, the women's AFFECT is AMPLIFIED through ENRICHMENT or AUGMENTING. This includes the use of comparative elements (Wendy, lines 4–5; Natalie, lines 6–7), repetition (Wendy, line 5; Natalie lines 4 and 7, 3, and 9) and grading words (Natalie, line 4). In contrast to this, the male speaker's AFFECT in these examples plays down rather than intensifies the emotional response

by drawing on devices from the category of MITIGATION. This includes the use of 'vague talk' (Eggins and Slade 1997: 137) as in phrases like 'sort of' used in Ivan's and Edward's extracts, the diminishing quantifier 'a bit of' (Edward, line 2), the explanation offered by Ivan for his tears, notably a physical as opposed to psychological or emotional reason, again nominalized as 'exhaustion' (line 3) and the relatively euphemistic nature of 'blub' (Edward, line 2) as compared with the 'sobbing' described by Wendy.

Taken together, the women's greater use of AFFECT, amplified to intensify their emotions set against the men's greater use of APPRECIATION and use of MITIGATION to play down their responses would seem to offer some evidence to support the stereotypical trend that in these narratives, the women do indeed seem to emphasize affective meaning. It is rather more contentious to claim that the analysis here automatically supports the second part of Holmes' binary claim: that is, that men are more concerned with informative meaning. The use of APPRECIATION in itself does not necessarily map neatly on to a focus on objects or facts since the phenomena under evaluation might be of many different kinds and characterized in any number of subjective ways. Rather, the analysis of APPRAISAL given here suggests that for this sample, while men do talk about their emotions, they do so in an implied rather than direct way and make greater use of distancing strategies than do the women.

Great care must be taken when discussing possible relationships between gender and language. The dangers of reiterating a binary model of gender difference are well known. Criticisms include the recognition that in doing so significant cross gender similarities might be ignored (Johnson 1997); that intra-gender variation might be silenced; that in generalizing from findings political realities and local contexts are lost (Eckert and McGonell-Ginet 1998, 1999; Cameron 1998); and that a binary model of gender oversimplifies reality, perpetrates stereotypes and renders the existence of non-conforming individuals invisible (Bing and Bergvall 1998; Cameron 1995). Indeed, while the subject of gender and language continues to provoke research, significant studies suggest that there is little to indicate an unequivocal relationship between any given linguistic form and gender (Georgakopoulou 1995; Cameron 1998). Therefore this analysis of women's and men's use of APPRAISAL should not be transposed into a universalizing, essentialist claim that all women in all contexts emphasize emotion while men do not. Instead, the trends that have been examined here must be understood within the specific context of these particular narratives.

Indeed, it is inappropriate to attempt to treat gender as an isolated variable as if it were a bottom line explanation for the linguistic behavior of an individual. Rather, while the gender of the speakers does have some bearing on the way they narrate their experiences, this is bound up in a complex manner with a network of other potentially influential factors.

In an earlier article on these narratives, I noted the asymmetrical social interaction between the women's single-sex relationships and the mixed-sex interaction, demonstrated both through attendance at antenatal classes and more generally through patterns of friendship where the relationship between the women friends was closer due to increased time spent together as a result of maternity leave and shared support groups (Page 2002). The more established and intimate friendship patterns of the women may also go some way to explaining their use of APPRAISAL in these narratives too. White describes the rhetorical functionality of AFFECT saying:

Through such 'authorial affect' the speaker/writer strongly foregrounds his/her subjective presence in the communicative process. Through this revelation of emotional response he/she seeks to establish an interpersonal rapport with the reader (2001: 5/25).

As such, the female speakers' greater use of APPRAISAL, and in particular their use of AFFECT might be seen as characterizing their narratives told in a single-sex context as more personalized and exhibiting a higher level of potential interpersonal involvement with their audience than the mixed-sex interaction of the men's. This might then be interpreted in the light of the relative closeness of social relationship between speaker and listener where the closer the social relationship, the greater the degree of emotional self-disclosure (signaled through the use of AFFECT) and the increased likelihood of interpersonal involvement in the interaction between teller and audience. This is not to claim that APPRAISAL can act as a direct index of the intimacy of a relationship, but it is notable that the male speakers who offered the least APPRAISAL (Henry and Darren) were also the men who knew the author least well of those who took part in this study.

Thus it would seem that for the narratives analyzed in this study, there are differences in the storytelling styles of women and men. However, these differences cannot be related to gender in some decontextualized or essentialist manner. Instead, gender is only part of the social context in which these narratives are embedded, underpinning and relating to other areas of difference between speakers such as their choices to return to work after becoming parents and the subsequent patterns of friendship and involvement in communities which construct discourses of parenthood such as postnatal support groups.

4. Gender and self-characterization: JUDGMENT

A contextualized view of gender is also important when considering the APPRAISAL constructed by these speakers as belonging to the category of

JUDGMENT. Returning to the statistics in Table 2, it is notable that both the women and the men used markedly less JUDGMENT in their narratives than the other subtypes of attitudinal APPRAISAL (13% by the prospective parents and 13.5% by the female birthing partners). Moreover, when JUDGMENT is offered, the person being judged is most frequently the speaker themselves rather than some other participant in the narrative world. Examples of this include:

(18) Tracey

1 and I'm like 'I can't do this without an epidural. There's no way!'
[t-JUDGMENT: negative CAPACITY]

(19) Ivan

1 and I didn't know if I'd be able to keep the momentum up all night
2 but anyway I did being a true hero [JUDGMENT: + CAPACITY].

The type of JUDGMENTS made by the speakers all belong to the category of SOCIAL ESTEEM. That is, they appraise the speakers' normality, capacity or tenacity.⁶ For example, in Tracey's comments the evoked JUDGMENT is one of capacity, understood as how able (or not) she is to cope with the onset of labor. These are social, interpersonal values as opposed to JUDGMENTS of SOCIAL SANCTION that might carry ethical or legal weight and be used to make JUDGMENTS about morals or professional behavior. The speakers in this study presented little evidence of these latter kind of persuasive opinions (although some of them did make limited JUDGMENTS about the quality of medical care they received). This might be seen as related to the context and purpose of these narratives where the JUDGMENTS of SOCIAL ESTEEM appraising the speakers themselves are a form of self-presentation. Along with the instances of AFFECT, this encourages a greater sense of empathetic solidarity between speaker and listener, appropriate to informal storytelling between friends, even when elicited as a pseudo-interview.

While the JUDGMENTS of SOCIAL ESTEEM may carry less social weight than SOCIAL SANCTION, they are both 'shaped by the particular cultural and ideological situation in which [they] operate' (White 2001: 2/17). In the discussion that follows, the interpretation of JUDGMENT is therefore critically related to the socio-cultural context of these particular narratives. This is heightened because in these extracts there is much use of evoked JUDGMENTS, which as noted earlier, are based on inferences derived from the speaker/listener's world knowledge. Moreover, here such inference about the behavior of these speakers is grounded in the roles and expectations that relate to experiences of childbirth. These cannot be taken as universal. Not only might women and men have socially differentiated roles, but these will be specific to the localized socio-cultural context of these speakers

and the practices of childbirth that accompany these examples (that is, mostly hospital births based in a large city in the UK at the beginning of the twenty-first century).

The discussion of the speaker's self-presentation through JUDGMENT centers on the way the father's behavior is appraised, both by themselves and others. Here a certain view of the father is constructed which is defined primarily in terms of how involved they were (or not) with the events. This is further focused into two aspects: how able they felt to offer help to the mother and how able they were to cope with the physically unpleasant aspects of the situation. These components might be understood as relating to JUDGMENTS of CAPACITY (that is, whether the fathers were 'strong' providers of assistance or incompetent, 'stupid' and 'wimpy') and JUDGMENTS of TENACITY (whether the fathers were 'brave' and 'dependable' or 'cowardly' and 'weak'), thus they seem to be related to a certain stereotypical view of the 'father in childbirth' as peripheral and inadequate in various ways.

The following examples (20) to (22) indicate the negative JUDGMENT of the fathers' capacity and their apparent exclusion from an active role. This rests upon the interpretation of the simile 'like a spare part' as an indication of the father's ability to act in a useful manner, thus functioning as an evocation of JUDGMENT in terms of their capacity.

(20) Fred

- 1 I felt a little bit like a spare part, [t-JUDGMENT: negative CAPACITY]
- 2 because you know Rita's there in the hospital
- 3 and they've got all these midwives coming round taking temperatures and
- 4 blood pressure and oh all these machines going bleep bleep bleep
- 5 um and you're just there holding her hand [t- JUDGMENT: negative CAPACITY, MITIGATION]

(21) Wendy

- 1 he felt like a spare part [t-JUDGMENT: negative CAPACITY]
- 2 he just actually didn't know what to do [t-JUDGMENT: negative CAPACITY]
- 3 and was asking these stupid questions to the midwife you know [negative APPRECIATION]

(22) Bob

- 1 you know it came to the second stage
- 2 and this is the point where I really started feeling like a spare part [t-JUDGMENT: negative CAPACITY]
- 3 'cause it's obviously—the midwives know what they're doing [t-JUDGMENT: + CAPACITY]
- 4 and Maria's body knows pretty much what's going on and how to cope [t-JUDGMENT: + CAPACITY]

- 5 but uh for me as Maria's husband you know and partner being there through the experience
- 6 I—uh I had no idea what to do [t-JUDGMENT: negative CAPACITY]

Even when the father is more closely involved in supporting the birthing mother, they do not always represent this in positive terms. While Henry in example (23) positively evaluates his effectiveness, it was also common for the prospective father to appraise their capacity negatively, sometimes intensifying the force of this JUDGMENT through AUGMENTING and ENRICHMENT strategies, as seen in example (24, lines, 1, 2, 4, and 6).

(23) Henry

- 1 and it just so happened that because I'd been to the parentcraft
- 2 and I don't know why I don't remember most things
- 3 but I just happened to remember the breathing patterns
- 4 and because I do a few physical exercises in the gym
- 5 I know how to send energy to a certain part of the body with grunting or grimacing or whatever [t-JUDGMENT: + CAPACITY]
- 6 and uh with that I managed to help Lisa kind of when she was pushing not to—[JUDGMENT: + CAPACITY]

(24) Bob

- 1 and *I was just saying the most stupid things* like 'come on, bear down' and 'puff puff blow' you know [[APPRECIATION: negative quality, AUGMENTING] t-JUDGMENT: negative CAPACITY]
- 2 and you think 'What an idiot. This is not helping at all!' [negative CAPACITY, AUGMENTING]
- 3 uh well maybe it's helping me a little bit to feel like I'm involved [+AFFECT: SATISFACTION, MITIGATION]
- 4 but I felt like a real donkey (all laugh) absolute nutter [JUDGMENT: negative CAPACITY, AUGMENTING, ENRICHMENT]
- 5 and that lasted about an hour
- 6 feeling like a nutter for an hour [JUDGMENT: negative CAPACITY].

This APPRAISAL of incapacity seems to be distinctively gendered and not simply a result of being an observer rather than the one undergoing the birthing experience, for the female birthing partners comment on their superiority as a support for the birthing mother. It is interesting that they do not express their ability to help (capacity) in terms of strength but instead couch this in terms of their empathy with the mother, often as a result of their own birthing experiences. Given that empathy can be understood as the feelings directed towards another person, these APPRAISALS are giving a double coding where, within this context, the AFFECT is also seen as evoking JUDGMENTS about the birthing partner's capable behavior. In example (25),

there is further instance of double coding at line 6, where the speaker's expression of AFFECT in terms of her desires, 'what I would have wanted' is merged with a broader evocation of a JUDGMENT of capacity, inferred on the basis of the speaker's competent knowledge of what to do during labor. This kind of complex interplay between the categories of ATTITUDINAL APPRAISAL once again indicate the importance of AFFECT in the women's storytelling, here related to their self-presentation as sensitive, competent helpers.

- (25) Wendy
- 1 and we started doing the breathing together
 - 2 and actually at the start I felt a bit stupid [JUDGMENT: negative CAPACITY]
 - 3 and then suddenly because she was in so much pain
 - 4 you just forget all that
 - 5 and it was REALLY good [APPRECIATION: + REACTION, QUALITY]
 - 6 'cause I knew exactly what I would have wanted all through labour [AFFECT [t-JUDGMENT: + CAPACITY, AUGMENTING]]
 - 7 and I wanted someone to have been talking to me right through the contractions
- (26) Yvonne
- 1 but Sonia really wanted me more than—not more than Mike
 - 2 but with the woman there's an empathy that a man just can't have [AFFECT [t-JUDGMENT: + CAPACITY]]
 - 3 and I found that with my mum when she was at my birth
 - 4 and Mike was great and was encouraging her [APPRECIATION: + REACTION]
 - 5 but I was—I could just feel everything she was going through [AFFECT [t-JUDGMENT: + CAPACITY]]
- (27) Zoe
- 1 we were both sort of helping her with it
 - 2 but I had a lot of empathy for her cause I was a woman and also she was my daughter [AFFECT [t-JUDGMENT: + CAPACITY]]
 - 3 and I just felt all the way through—
 - 4 I was just really willing it to come down
 5. and really doing as best I could to help her [JUDGMENT: + CAPACITY]

Likewise, when the father and the birthing partner are positioned as spectators, there seems to be a similar pattern. The men often expressed disinclination (fear), which could then be interpreted as cowardice and hence negative tenacity, where the women did not and seemed to enjoy their involvement in events, which might be interpreted as expressing AFFECT: satisfaction. Examples of this include the following.

- (28) Charles
 1 so I thought '*I'm not going to look, I'm not going to look at anything*'
 [t-AFFECT: DISINCLINATION [t-JUDGMENT: negative TENACITY]]
 2 and they said things like you knew the big lights they have up over the
 theatre tables built of glass but lots of chrome in them
 3 so if you looked at it you can see, you can see a reflection of what's
 going on
 4 '*I don't want to know*
 5 '*I don't want to see any of that thank you very much*' [AFFECT:
 DISINCLINATION [t-JUDGMENT: negative TENACITY]]
- (29) Bob
 1 and I didn't have the guts to look and see what was going on
 [JUDGMENT: negative TENACITY]
 2 couldn't cope with that at all [JUDGMENT: negative TENACITY]
- (30) Yvonne
 1 and the midwife'd go 'come on, come on and have a look'
 2 and make my head get right down and have a look up
 3 and she was ever so good at explaining things to me [JUDGMENT: +
 CAPACITY]
 4 but it was fascinating to see things from a totally different angle
 [AFFECT: SATISFACTION]

So whether positioned as a support or spectator, the male speakers construct roles for themselves that are peripheral to the experience of childbirth and often negatively appraise their actions as compared with the empathetic and more positive SELF-APPRAISAL offered by some of the female birthing partners.

It is interesting that these examples of JUDGMENT share certain formal characteristics. Consisting of similes, comparative statements, examples of negation or modality they all belong to the category of internal evaluation described by Labov as comparators (1972: 381). As the term suggests, these function evaluatively by comparing the narrative events with others that might have happened, but did not. The comparative nature of these devices appears fitting to the social purpose fulfilled by this SELF-APPRAISAL and is related to the speaker's impression management.

The comparative descriptions made by the female birthing partners are relatively straightforward. Here the women's greater capacity as compared with the men's is emphasized by the contrastive use of the discourse marker 'but' (example 26, lines 2 and 5; example 27, line 2). This might be understood as an example of self-aggrandizement, a means of promoting the more positive aspects of the speaker's behavior. The uses of similes, negation and modality work in a slightly different way. Each of these requires a complex

form of duality in their cognitive processing. In the case of negation, this entails the albeit momentary projection of the state of affairs that is denied. So for example, in processing the statement 'I didn't have the guts to look' the audience has to also imagine the speaker 'hav[ing] the guts to look'. Drawing on the work of Iser, Bartlett (1987: 48) comments on the effect of this, saying:

What is cancelled, however, remains in view, and thus brings about modifications in the reader's attitude toward what is familiar or determinate—in other words, he is guided to adopt a position in relation to the text.

In this way, I suggest that the comparators function as a face-saving device for the presentation of negative JUDGMENTS, whereby the speaker's less positive appraisal of self is made indirect and softened by the hypothetical positive appraisal hinted at in the 'canceled' alternatives.

The similes might be interpreted as working in a similar way. These constructions require the audience to make a connection between the two parts of the form, in the cases cited here, the speaker and 'a spare part'. In itself, the choice of this simile is not particularly creative and is easily understood. However, the selection of simile as compared to metaphor retains a significant distinction between the speakers and their superfluous involvement, they are only *like* 'a spare part', not necessarily one in actuality. Therefore, as with negation, the comparators play down in some measure the negative import of JUDGMENT made by the speaker about his behavior. The speakers' uses of comparators in relation to JUDGMENT might be seen as motivated by interpersonal factors, such as the need to save face when narrating embarrassing or difficult events. Thus the Labovian formal analysis of these devices is usefully supplemented by the socially oriented account derived from the work on APPRAISAL.

This characterization of the male speakers as passive, ineffective or peripheral presents a marked contrast to the stereotypical self-presentation of men as heroic, competitive and aggressive as suggested in previous studies of language and narrative described earlier in this article. We might then question why speakers should draw upon these rather negative stereotypes and how this might relate to the patterns of AFFECT and APPRECIATION discussed earlier. At a simplistic level, the comparison of capable feminine empathy and peripheral or inadequate masculine behavior might be understood as paralleling the women's greater use of AFFECT in these narratives, for both the women's behavior and APPRAISAL patterns suggest an emphasis on emotion. This characterization of women as more compassionate and with a greater use of emotion in narratives of personal experience is substantiated in studies from social science and has been related to patterns and practices of socialization in childhood (Kyratzis

1999; Chance and Fiese 1999). However, as argued throughout this article, to abstract an isolated pairing of femininity and emotion is a dangerous generalization without sufficient evidence and with potentially dubious outcomes.

Instead, the appraised behavior of the prospective father needs to be understood specifically in relation to the discourses of parenthood relevant to these particular narratives. The negatively marked lack of involvement on the part of the father is not confined just to the presentation of the men in these stories. Rather, it is a stereotypical identity that is also constructed in childbirth advice literature. In these texts, the prospective father is represented as a social actor using strategies of passivation and backgrounding (cf. van Leeuwen 1996). As a result, the active role of the father is systematically de-emphasized, even when these articles are supposedly about the father's increased opportunity for involvement in the event.

In this way, the negatively appraised self-presentation of the fathers both in these narratives and more generally in literature about childbirth, might be interpreted as constructing an identity that supports the influential discourse labeled by Sunderland as 'part-time father/full-time mother' (2000: 257). As Sunderland goes on to write, this discourse is rooted in the socio-political division of labor where women and men have traditionally been assigned to separate spheres and is influenced by theory that privileges the role of the mother in the child's psychological development. While the bases for this division might well be critiqued for a whole range of reasons, it is remarkable that many societal practices continue to perpetrate this dichotomy. Those that relate specifically to the experience of childbirth include socio-political factors such as the asymmetry in the maternity and paternity rights available in the UK for the speakers in the study and still current at the time of writing this paper. Hence the prospective mother is entitled to time away from work to attend antenatal appointments and classes while the prospective father is not. There is a similar discrepancy in practices concerning the new parent's return to work where it is still unusual for the father to return on a part-time basis in order to facilitate childcare arrangements.⁷ This holds true for this sample of speakers where only two of the nine fathers worked flexi-hours to support childcare requirements whereas none of the nine mothers had returned to work on a full time basis.

The discourse of 'part-time father/full-time mother' might therefore be seen as influentially related to the use of APPRAISAL in these childbirth narratives in two ways. First, it both constructs and is reconstructed by the characterization of the men as a general identity for the peripheral involvement of the prospective father. Second, it may also be understood as indirectly related to the patterns of AFFECT and APPRECIATION. The social

practices that are related to this discourse of 'part-time father/full-time mother' (such as the women's maternity rights) may facilitate the initiation and support of friendships between women such as those who took part in this study. This in turn results in the asymmetrical closeness of the single and mixed-sex friendship patterns noted earlier as a possible influence on the women and men's differing use of AFFECT and APPRECIATION. In this way, gender is seen as having an important relationship to the storytelling style and self-presentation articulated by these speakers, not in some essentialist sense, but as a construction that is related in a complex manner to the context in which these narratives are situated.

5. Conclusions

The analysis of APPRAISAL in these narratives supports current trends in the study of language and gender. The projection of a persona through JUDGMENT suggests that even though the physical experience of childbirth distinguishes between women and men in biological terms, the gendered fronts that speakers may adopt and recreate in relation to this scenario are culturally constructed. While this study has only dealt with a specific group of parents and birthing partners, it is not difficult to envisage contexts where these adopted identities might vary considerably, for example taking speakers from a range of age groups or from different cultures. Even for the speakers in this sample, it is possible that they might represent themselves and their emotional responses in contrasting ways if the storytelling had taken place for different reasons and with other audiences, say for instance in an all-male peer group chatting at work or in the pub. As various research has indicated, men in single-sex contexts construct solidarity in a range of alternative ways (Kuiper 1998; Pilkington 1998). Further research taking into account comparative, localized studies is necessary before more definitive conclusions can be reached. However, even from this relatively small-scale set of narratives, it is clear that gender cannot be reduced to an essentialist 'given' but might itself be open to interrogation in varying ways. Consequently, gender cannot be abstracted but is better understood as enmeshed in sometimes diffuse ways within particular contexts. Thus the women's and men's differing uses of AFFECT and APPRECIATION whilst indicative of different story-telling styles, has been interpreted in the light of gendered patterns of social interaction rather than as a universal binary of emotion and logic.

The high dependence of APPRAISAL on context for its interpretation makes it a fitting analytical tool for investigating these areas. As noted by many linguists, an examination of linguistic form in relation to gender might in

isolation appear misleading (Johnson 1997; Cameron 1998). As Cameron writes elsewhere (1995), to leave the analysis at purely a textual level does not address questions that might be pertinent from a feminist perspective, such as where the patterns in language use originate from and to what ends they might be used. For example, in the data considered here, the men's less direct involvement in childbirth depicted in various ways through the APPRAISAL choices might not only be interpreted as resulting from their construction of the 'part-time father' and their participation in the social practices that support this but also as a pattern that might legitimize the continuation of socio-political factors such as the inadequacy of paternity provision in the UK (perhaps stereotypically paraphrased along the lines of 'men are not involved in childbirth, therefore there is no need to provide greater paternity rights'). Therefore APPRAISAL's socially-oriented account of the speaker's construction of attitude and its possible reception enables the analyst to address more directly precisely those questions related to assumptions and value systems that are of heightened significance when assessing matters related to gender. While applications of APPRAISAL for such ends have so far been fairly limited (Martin 1996, 2000), the findings in this paper suggest that there is considerable profit in pursuing this connection in further research.

Appendix

Key for notation system used in APPRAISAL analysis.

<u>Underlining</u>	APPRAISAL (primary coding)
<i>Italics</i>	APPRAISAL (secondary coding)
<i><u>Italics and underlining</u></i>	shows the two layers of the double coding, indicating which words are interpreted as giving rise to either the primary or the secondary coding.
[]	shows categorization of coding
t-	prefix indicates that a token of evoked APPRAISAL is being used
< >	indicates interjections from author

Notes

- * I would like to thank Professor Howard Jackson, Professor Jim Martin and the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper. All errors, of course, remain my own.

1. To avoid confusion between technical and non-technical uses of terms, references to APPRAISAL systems and their subtypes are in small caps.
2. Further details of the notation system are given in the Appendix.
3. As White (2001) notes, this research area is under development. The subsystems of force and focus listed on the APPRAISAL website offer a slightly different framework for categorizing the relative intensity of any given example of APPRAISAL.
4. The narratives in this sample are typical of this, and had been retold on previous occasions prior to their recording for this study.
5. These instances of APPRAISAL include only primary codings.
6. As noted in Martin (2000), APPRAISAL categories are field-sensitive and so may be established relative to both subject matter and relative to the sociocultural perspectives drawn upon by speakers and negotiated in their talk. These criteria may be made explicit in the coding of APPRAISAL through the use of paraphrase.
7. Full details of current UK maternity rights are available at <<http://www.tiger.gov.uk>>.

References

- Abney, L. (1994). Gender differences in oral folklore. *The SECOL Review: Southeastern Conference in Linguistics* 18 (1): 62–79.
- Bartlett, B. (1987). Negatives, narrative and the reader. *Language and Style* 20 (1): 41–62.
- Berman, R. (1997). Narrative theory and narrative development: The Labovian impact. *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7 (1–4): 235–244.
- Bernstein, C. (1997). Labov and Waletzky in context. *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7 (1–4): 45–52.
- Bing, J. M and Bergvall, V. L. (1998). The question of questions: Beyond binary thinking. In *Language and Gender: A Reader*, J. Coates (ed.), 495–510. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cameron, D. (1995). *Verbal Hygiene*. London: Routledge.
- (1998). Performing gender identity: Young men's talk and the construction of heterosexual masculinity. In *Language and Gender: A Reader*, J. Coates (ed.), 270–284. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Claydon, J. (2001). The deadly spread of foot and mouth disease: The press construction of a crisis. Unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Birmingham.
- Coates, J. (1995). Language, gender, and career. In *Language and Gender: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, S. Mills (ed.), 13–30. Harlow: Longman.
- (1996). *Women Talk*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Chance, C. and Fiese, B. H. (1999). Gender-stereotyped lessons about emotion in family narratives. *Narrative Inquiry* 9 (2): 243–255.
- Eckert, P. and McConnell-Ginet, S. (1998). Communities of practice: Where language, gender and power all live. In *Language and Gender: A Reader*, J. Coates (ed.), 484–494. Oxford: Blackwell.
- (1999). New generalizations and explanations in language and gender research. *Language in Society* 28 (2): 185–201.
- Eggs, S. and Slade, D. (1997). *Analysing Casual Conversation*. London: Cassell.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (1995). Women, men and conversational narrative performances: Aspects of gender in Greek storytelling. *Anthropological Linguistics* 37 (4): 460–486.
- Goodwin, M. (1997). Negotiating evaluation in Storytelling. In *Towards a Social Science of Language: Papers in Honor of William Labov*, vol. 2, G. R. Guy, C. Feagin, D. Schiffrin, and J. Baugh (eds.), 77–102. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Gwyn, R. (2000). 'Really unreal': Narrative evaluation and the objectification of experience. *Narrative Inquiry* 10 (2): 313–340.
- Holmes, J. (1997). Struggling beyond Labov and Waletzky. *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7 (1–4): 91–96.
- (1998). Women's talk: The question of sociolinguistic universals. In *Language and Gender: A Reader*, J. Coates, (ed.), 461–483. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hunston, S. and Thompson, G. (eds.) (2000). *Evaluation in Text: Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Johnson, S. (1997). Theorising language and masculinity. In *Language and Masculinity*, S. Johnson and U. H. Meinhof (eds.), 8–26. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Johnstone, B. (1990). *Stories, Community and Place*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Kuiper, K. (1998). Sporting formulae in New Zealand English: Two models of male solidarity. In *Language and Gender: A Reader*, J. Coates, (ed.), 285–93. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kyrtzsis, A. (1999). Narrative identity: Preschoolers' self-construction through narrative in same-sex friendship group dramatic play. *Narrative Inquiry* 9 (2): 427–455.
- Labov, W. (1972). *Language in the Inner City*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Linde, C. (1997). Discourse analysis, structuralism and the description of social practice. In *Towards a Social Science of Language: Papers in Honor of William Labov, Volume 2*, G. R. Guy, C. Feagin, D. Schiffrin, and J. Baugh (eds.), 3–30. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Martin, J. R. (1996). Evaluating disruption: Symbolising theme in junior secondary narrative. In *Literacy and Society*, R. Hasan and G. Williams (eds.), 124–171. Harlow: Longman.
- (2000). Beyond exchange: APPRAISAL systems in English. In *Evaluation in Text: Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*, S. Hunston and G. Thompson (eds.), 142–175. Oxford: OUP.
- (2002). Response to Geoff Thompson: Re: [AppraisalAnalysis] pain. Appraisal Analysis mailing list: <AppraisalAnalysis@yahoogroups.com>. Mailserver: National Academic Mailing List Service, URL: <<http://www.jiscmail.ac.uk>> [accessed on 10 April 2002].
- Martin, J. and Plum, G. A. (1997). Construing experience: Some story genres. *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7 (1–4): 299–308.
- Norrick, N. R. (1998). Retelling stories in spontaneous conversation. *Discourse Processes* 25 (1): 75–97.
- Page, R. E. (2002). Evaluation in childbirth narratives told by women and men. *Discourse Studies* 4 (1): 99–116.
- Pilkington, J. (1998). 'Don't try and make out that I'm nice!' The different strategies women and men use when gossiping. In *Language and Gender: A Reader*, J. Coates (ed.), 254–269. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Polanyi, L. (1985). *Telling the American Story: A Structural and Cultural Analysis of Conversational Storytelling*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishers Corporation.
- Pomerantz, A. (1984). Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: Some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes. In *Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis*, J. M. Atkinson and J. Heritage (eds.), 57–101. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schiffrin, D. (1997). The transformation of experience, identity and context. In *Towards a Social Science of Language: Papers in Honor of William Labov, Volume 2*. G. R. Guy, C. Feagin, D. Schiffrin, and J. Baugh (eds.), 41–55. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Sunderland, J. (2000). Baby entertainer, bumbling assistant and line manager: Discourses of fatherhood in parentcraft texts. *Discourse and Society* 11 (2): 249–274.
- Tannen, D. (1990). *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation*. New York: Ballantine.
- Thompson, G. (2002). Response to Donna Miller: Re [AppraisalAnalysis] pain. Appraisal Analysis mailing list: AppraisalAnalysis@yahoo.com. Mailserver: National Academic Mailing List Service, URL: <<http://www.jiscmail.ac.uk>> [accessed on 10 April 2002].
- Tolliver, J. (1997). From Labov and Waletzky to 'contextualist narratology': 1967–1997. *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7 (1–4): 53–60.
- van Leeuwen, T. (1996). The representation of social actors. In *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*, C. R. Caldas-Coulthard and M. Coulthard (eds.), 32–70. London/New York: Routledge.
- White, P. (1997). Death, disruption, and the moral order: The narrative impulse in mass-media 'hard news' reporting. In *Genre and Institutions: Social Processes in the Workplace and School*, F. Christie and J. R. Martin (eds.), 101–33. London: Cassell.
- (2001). Appraisal website, URL: <<http://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/AppraisalGuide>> [accessed 4 October 2001].

Ruth E. Page is a lecturer in the School of English at the University of Central England in Birmingham. Her research interests include narrative analysis, language and gender studies, and literary linguistics. She is particularly interested in the role of evaluation in constructing identities and narratives and is currently working on a range of studies centered around issues in feminist narratology. Address for correspondence: School of English, University of Central England, Perry Barr Campus, Birmingham, B42 2SU, UK <ruth.page@uce.ac.uk>.