

AUTHORIAL VOICE IN THE EDITORIALS OF FINNISH BUSINESS NEWSPAPERS^[*]

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Abstract: This study uses empirical data to describe how subjectivity is constructed in the editorials of two Finnish business newspapers. The theoretical basis of the study is Appraisal Theory, according to which language is approached from an interpersonal perspective. In this article, subjectivity is described in terms of the category of NEGOTIATION and ATTITUDE. The data of the study consists of 32 editorials describing processes of economic or economic-political development, published in two Finnish business newspapers in 2001, 2005, and 2015. The analysis focuses on inscribed linguistic devices used to express directives and assessments as well as their targets. As data is subject-specific, the adjustments have been made for the methodology of analysis. The results of the analysis show that both manifestations of directives and assessments and their targets have subject-specific restrictions in the social context of business newspapers and the genre of editorial. In general, the authorial voice of the sub-genre may be described as the voice of the commentator, which seems to be getting stronger with time.

Keywords: Business newspapers, editorial, appraisal theory, authorial voice

1. Introduction

In journalistic discourse communities, such as the discourse community of business journalism, writers must adapt to the social role of a journalist, defined by shared values, ideologies and norms. In their social roles writers formulate texts so that they successfully fulfil the specialized communicative purposes of the genre in question and answer the expectations of the community. Therefore, the social role also constrains linguistic choices, for example, it restricts expressions of subjectivity and attitudes influencing the frequency and type of evaluation expressed in texts. (Swales 1990; Bhatia 1993; Hyland 2002.)¹

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¹ This paper is a part of my PhD research in which I have approached the editorials of business newspapers as a genre from several perspectives. In Katajamäki (2005) I described the editorial writers' representations of their social roles based on interviews applying critical discourse analysis and genre theory. The same theoretical framework was applied in Katajamäki (2013) for studying ideologies reproduced in the editorials. Like in this paper, Appraisal Theory was the starting point for studying how subjectivity was constructed in the editorials in Katajamäki (2012), which concentrated on resources of ENGAGEMENT (especially in the meaning category of 'entertain'), and Katajamäki and Koskela (forthcoming), which concentrated on attitudinal meanings realized through lexical metaphors.

This paper focuses on illustrating how such constraints can be recognized by their linguistic realizations, that is, words and utterances that are used to direct someone or to evaluate someone or something and thus convey subjective meanings in editorials of business newspapers. In particular, this paper aims at exploring the targets of subjective meanings because realized targets shed light on the social constraints imposed on writers. Subjective meanings conveyed in editorials are approached drawing on Appraisal Theory, which offers a framework that can be applied for ‘describing and explaining the way language is used to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positionings and relationships’ (The Appraisal Website 2017; see also Martin & Rose 2003; Martin & White 2005).

Editorials as a genre belong to opinion articles. Therefore, it is allowed and even expected that they are openly subjective. However, *subjectivity* can be defined and studied in many ways. Appraisal Theory sees subjectivity and objectivity as phenomena that can be approached from a linguistic point of view. By making grammatical and lexical choices, writers construct either a ‘subjective’ or ‘objective’ authorial voice. The subjective voice foregrounds the author, signalling adopted stance through evaluations, directives and dialogical positioning (e.g. certainty or doubt). If these are not emphasized, authorial voice appears to be ‘factual’ and objective allowing for the author ‘to remain absent from the surface of the text’. (Iedema, Feez & White 1994: 204–235; Martin & White 2005: 92–94, 163–178; see also White 1998: 39–40.)

Editorials of Finnish business newspapers are reminiscent of editorials in general newspapers, which are considered to be institutional, newspaper’s opinions (Stonecipher 1990: 24; Le 2010: 3; Lihua 2011: 9). Generic conventions of institutional texts are reflected in language use of the editorials, e.g. the subjectivity of the writer is often hidden by not using identity markers like “I” or “we”. Appraisal theory offers a broad framework for illustrating subjectivity that is constructed through linguistic realizations chosen from the language system.

This paper focuses on **directives** and **inscribed assessments** realized through attitudinal lexis. Both are found to be typical and distinctive resources for the editorial genre in business newspapers (see White 1998: 143). The various ways of conveying or activating directives and positive or negative assessments together constitute patterns of evaluative meanings by which certain journalistic voices used in different kinds of media texts can be recognized (Martin & White 2005: 178–179; Thomson, White & Kitley 2008: 220). In their APPRAISAL analyses, Iedema, Feez and White (1994), White (1998) and Martin and White (2005) define two types of journalistic voice: *reporter voice* and *writer voice*, that is divided further into *correspondent voice* and *commentator voice*, based on the preference patterns for values of the APPRAISAL system in media texts. Commentator voice is the style typically associated with commentaries, like editorials. Reporter voice is objective, with no authorial directives or only sporadic inscribed assessments. However, directives can be expressed as quoted statements. Inscribed authorial assessments are typically expressed through the more subjective correspondent and commentator voices. However, the correspondent voice is partly curtailed, as authorial directives and also some types of assessments are not expressed. On the contrary, there seem to be no constraints on value statements for the commentator voice. (Iedema et al. 1994: 204–235; White 1998: 39–40, 124–126, 146–150, 168; Martin & White 2005: 163–178; Thomson et al. 2008: 221–222.)

Business journalists form a discourse community with its own kind of readers (defined as elite readers). This is reflected in that business journalistic discourses have a distinct ideological background and their own topics built on specific types of sources. However, it has been said that business journalism has adopted the journalistic genres of general journalism rather than inventing genres of its own (Parsons 1989: 41). Like editorial writers in general newspapers, when interviewed (Katajamäki 2005), editorial writers of business newspapers stated that they are allowed and even obliged to take a stand for or against on-going political issues. In addition, they may also discuss whether certain economic developments are really occurring or not². Because business journalistic discourse communities have their own special communicative purposes, which are served by the genres used within the discourse of business journalism, it can be supposed that the discourse of business journalism tends to impose its own constraints on the discourses of editorials. Appraisal Theory and the analysis of ATTITUDE offer a framework for describing similarities and differences at a discourse semantic level within the genres of business newspapers (Martin & White 2005: 10). However, Appraisal Theory has so far rarely been applied to the discourse of business journalism (see Katajamäki 2009; 2012; Kornetzki 2011).

2. The theoretical framework of APPRAISAL

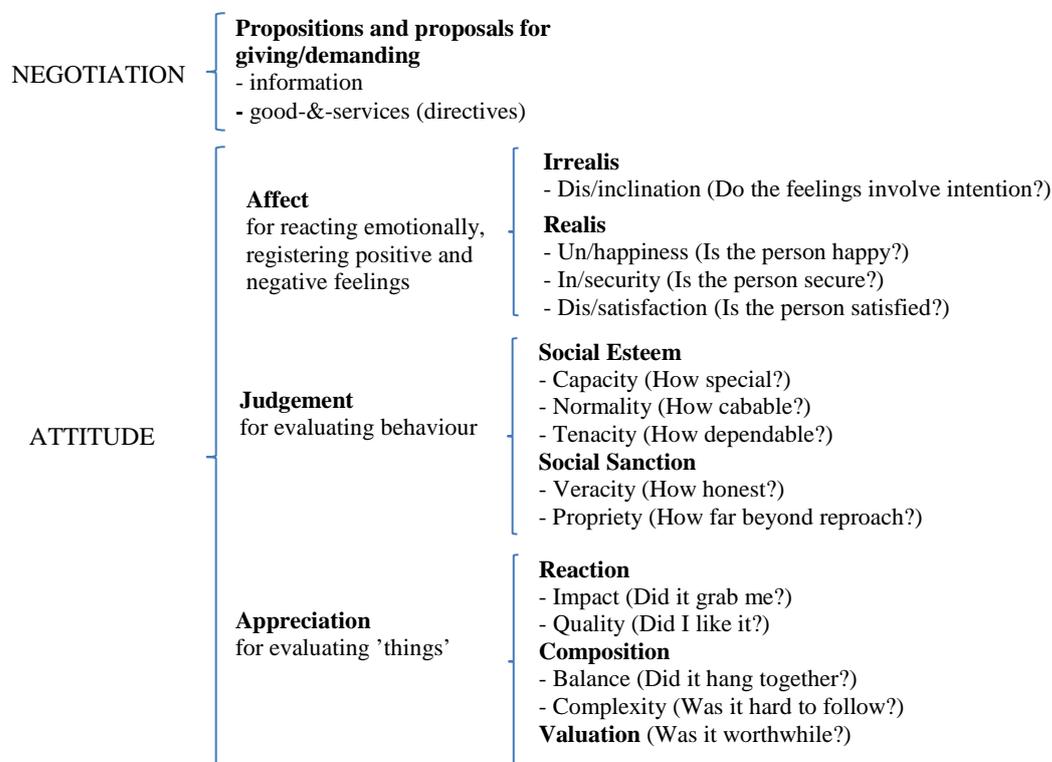
Developing Appraisal Theory to explore media discourse was started in the *Media Literacy Project* (Iedema, Feez & White 1994) and was continued subsequently by White (1998), Martin and Rose (2003) and Martin and White (2005). Media discourse has been one of the main targets of study, primarily focusing on political subjects in general newspapers (Iedema et al. 1994; White 1998; 2004; 2006; Martin & White 2005; Stenvall 2008). Appraisal Theory concentrates on developing Halliday's (1994) systemic functional linguistics (SFL) account of the interpersonal mode of meaning and how it is realized by the discourse system used for 'negotiating attitudes' through choices within the APPRAISAL system. (Martin & Rose 2003: 3–7; Martin & White 2005: 1–9.)

Appraisal Theory is concerned with the intersubjective positioning of writers, as well as with the subjective presence of writers constructed by the text. It approaches language as a way 'writers adopt a stance towards value positions being referenced by the text and with respect to those they address' (Martin & White 2005: 92). Appraisal Theory approaches language use as a system divided into three top-level interpersonal systems: APPRAISAL, NEGOTIATION (see Figure 1) and INVOLVEMENT (not discussed in this paper). The linguistic domain of APPRAISAL comprises the systems of ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION. While Appraisal Theory describes all kinds of stance-taking possibilities, this paper concentrates mainly on one subsystem, called ATTITUDE, that according to White (1998: 31–32) encompasses the semantic domain in which the language presents phenomena either negatively or positively. The system of ATTITUDE is a semantic domain based on the idea of institutionalized feelings, and it is divided further into resources for modalizing, emotionally

² It is noteworthy that the question of whether some economic development really occurs or not shifts the focus of argumentation from 'what should be in the society' to 'what is happening in the society', which is usually the focus of news reporting. These special functions of editorials of business newspapers might of course have effects on the meanings selected for the texts.

amplifying and reacting (called *Affect*), morally judging persons and their behaviour (called *Judgement*) and aesthetically evaluating ‘things’, products, processes or entities (called *Appreciation*). However, as the systems are rather axes that cross each other in language use, this paper also briefly discusses some notions concerning ENGAGEMENT. The theoretical foundation of the system of ENGAGEMENT is in Bahktin’s notions of dialogism and heteroglossia, according to which all communication is ‘dialogic’. In other words, any text repeats and reproduces meanings expressed before and addressed to audiences. Through their texts, the writers take part in the forming of ‘intersubjective stances’. Resources of ENGAGEMENT are applied for constructing audiences, alignment or disalignment and solidarity with socially constituted communities. (White 1998: 57–58; Martin & White 2005: 47–59, 92–95.) In addition to the APPRAISAL system, NEGOTIATION is one of the systems always in use while meanings are constructed. NEGOTIATION is concerned with speech acts and conversational interactions and therefore forms the basis for analysing directives. Within the system of NEGOTIATION, the writer makes the choice between a *proposition* (informational meaning) and a *proposal* (goods & services). When demanding goods or services, directives are given in order to achieve desired response: carrying out a command. Affect, Judgement and Appreciation might be constructed when giving information as well as when giving directives. (Halliday 1994: 68–89; White 1998: 78–79.) All these meanings are essential when trying to describe what types of meanings are typical of the genre of editorials from the interpersonal perspective.

Figure 1: NEGOTIATION and ATTITUDE in White (1998) and Martin & White (2005)



ATTITUDE can be realized through attitudinal lexis, that is, words for expressing attitude (adjectives, modal verb chains, but also nouns and verbs with explicitly positive or negative

meanings). These are categorized as explicit means of expressing evaluative meanings (*in-scription*). Moreover, ATTITUDE can be realized implicitly by selecting ideational meanings, which in the context could be linked to the shared cultural attitudinal norms. These implicit meanings are called also *tokens* or *invoked*, divided into *evoked experiential tokens* that are ideational meanings that invoke evaluation and *provoked tokens* that invoke with attitudinal connotations, such as lexical and comparable metaphors³ and intensification. (White 1998: 105–106; Martin & White 2005: 42–68.)

3. Data

The data have been derived from a specific type of editorial, i.e. editorials of development of two Finnish business newspapers *Kauppalehti* and *Taloussanomat* that at the moment of data gathering were the only business-oriented dailies in Finland. Both papers are published in Finnish, and they target basically the same discourse community sharing institutional values. There are some minor differences in editorial policies, the expertise of journalists and even in target groups, but the data is analysed as a whole because the focus is on genre-level affordances.

‘Editorials of development’ were identified based on their communicative purpose (see Bhatia 1993) claiming that there has been, is, or will be some kind of economic development. Altogether 32 such editorials were found in the papers published in September in years 2001, 2005 and 2015. The data consists of 20 editorials from both newspapers in 2001 and 2005, supplemented with 12 editorials from *Kauppalehti* in 2015, all published in September⁴. September was chosen because it is a time when economic and political institutions are getting active after the summer break. The data of 2015 only covers *Kauppalehti*, because *Taloussanomat* eliminated editorials in 2008 in connection with becoming an online-only publication. The total number of words in the data is circa 10,000 words. (See Table 1.) The editorials chosen as data were written by several writers discussing multiple topics (see Appendix 1). As in general newspapers, editorials of business newspapers are texts produced in groups in which journalists have different roles. Irrespective of their role, i.e. to invent a subject or a communicative purpose, write, rewrite or check up, I refer to all authors as *editorial writers*. The editorials discuss multiple topics varying from economic to political. However, all topics, even the political ones, are approached as economic or economic-political issues, and the perspective is more macro than micro-economic.

In the field of economy, reporting on development is one of the core purposes, and therefore editorials of development are an important subject for closer analysis. Not taking a stand for or against some current (political) issue but instead presenting a view of past, ongoing or future changes in the economic field, editorials of development come close to what Iedema

³ While this paper is focusing on describing explicit means of expressing evaluative meanings, the PhD research also contains analysis of lexical metaphors that are considered as provoked tokens (see Katajamäki and Koskela (forthcoming) and Appendix 2).

⁴ Two editorials of development published in July 2001 were included in the data because both newspapers had covered the same topic in their editorials. The years were selected because of practical reasons of the PhD project, but still offer sufficient data for describing constraints in editorials of Finnish business newspapers at the beginning of 21th century.

et al. (1994: 78) call *media expositions*, i.e. argumentative texts presenting a view regarding an issue. Some researchers see editorials of this kind as informative (see Pak & Acevedo 2008: 134) but like financial news, editorials are always highly argumentative texts (e.g. Palmieri & Miecznikowski 2016).

Table 1: Description of the data

Newspaper & features	September 2001 Editorials/ words	September 2005 Editorials/ words	September 2015 Editorials/ words	In total
Kauppalehti (founded 1989) Media house: Alma Media Different writers: group writing, roles vary	6/1804	4/949	12/3415	22/6168
Taloussanomat (founded 1997) Media house: Sanoma Oy Different writers: group writing, roles vary	6/1920	4/1121	Online, no editorials since 2008	10/3041
In total	12/3724	8/2070	12/3415	32/9209

Discourses in editorials of development tend to belong to either economic or political discourse. Economic discourse is based on the ideals of economic growth, globalism and stakeholder value, whereas the foundation of political discourse lies in the ideals of neoliberalism, the security of western countries and protectionism⁵. (Katajamäki 2013.) Generally, editorials of business newspapers seem to convey the ideology of economic welfare and neoliberalism (depending on the value placed on economic welfare, global and free markets). In this respect, editorials are similar to the rest of Finnish business journalism in the 21st century (see Ainamo et al. 2006: 630). The ideology of neoliberalism is a basic feature of the discourse of globalization. Therefore, the discourses in Finnish business newspapers can be seen as one vehicle mediating the nodal globalization discourse (Fairclough 2006). The discourse of business journalism seems to have an ideological background that can be clearly identified and that can be seen as the context for appraisal meanings (White 2006).

4. Methods of the Analysis

The discourse-semantic analysis of the data is carried out by applying context-driven categories (see also Lipovsky 2013: 313). Attitudinal meanings are always contextual, irrespective of the linguistic way they are expressed, even when the study concentrates on inscribed meanings. The attitudinal meanings of the same words may also vary when contexts change.

⁵ These ideologies were identified by applying discourse analysis for exploring editorials of business newspapers and described further in Katajamäki 2013. The results seem to be in line with representations expressed by the interviewed editorial writers, who seemed to position themselves as 'for-speakers of healthy economy and society (seemingly associated to wealth), fair competition (within the legal boundaries), market economy, Finnish entrepreneurship and national interests' (Katajamäki 2005).

(Martin & White 2005: 52.) Hence, an analysis of APPRAISAL always means an analysis of 'reading', which is dependent on an interpreter's cultural and ideological positioning (White 1998: 35–36; Martin & White 2005: 163–164). The analysis in this study was carried out as presented in Table 2.

Table 2: The methodological approach

Phases of analysis	Motivation = "Result"
Extracting directives and assessments from text	Directives (own-voiced vs. other-voiced) Explicit assessments
Identifying types of assessments (excluding directives) -1. Assessment according to Target -2. Subtypes of meaning	1. Affect, Judgement vs. Appreciation 2. Affect, Judgement (e.g. capacity, tenacity), Appreciation (e.g. manageability, balance, usefulness)
Categorizing targets of assessments and directives	Political, economical, general

Extracting directives and assessments from text: The analysis recorded directives and assessments in each text as outlined in the Appraisal Theory. The analysis of directives is based on the system of NEGOTIATION, and the analysis of inscribed assessments on the sub-system of ATTITUDE. (White 1998: 39, 78–79, 105–106; Martin & White 2005: 42–68.) Meanings were approached iteratively combining Appraisal Theory with bottom up analysis with a focus on lexical and syntactic meanings in order to avoid the disadvantages of a top-down analysis and the risk of circular arguments (Thompson & Hunston 2000: 5–14). In the analysis directives and inscribed assessments were treated separately. The reason for this is that directives tend to concentrate on certain passages within the texts, which makes them analytically separate units of analysis. Each assessment was categorized as either positively or negatively evaluative, while directives were coded as positive when someone was ordered to do something and negative when there was an order not to do something.

While analysing, it became evident that in the case of **directives**, attributing was occurring regularly. Because own-voiced, unattributed directives are possible only in texts applying commentator voice (White 1998: 143) and thus form an analytically significant category, directives were classified into two groups depending on whether they were expressed as own-voiced or other-voiced. In the analysis of the own or otherness of the voices, both the clause and text level were taken into account. On the contrary, editorial writers tend to take direct responsibility for **assessments** they choose to use, and do not often attribute attitude to other sources (see also White 2004: 231; Lihua 2011: 97). Therefore, this paper concentrates on main resources and excludes the few exceptions of attributed inscribed assessments.

Identifying types of assessments: In this study, APPRAISAL system is seen as a general framework, which offers a ground for analysis of ATTITUDE. However, for the analysis of this data it needed to be modified by adding some subcategories. Classifying meanings into semantic categories Affect, Judgement or Appreciation was carried out by interpreting whether an assessment dealt with feelings (Affect), attitudes towards behaviour (Judgement) or towards

objects (Appreciation). Because each assessment has a target, they were analysed subsequently. The target of Affect can be either a person or a thing. When categorizing Judgement and Appreciation, a crucial point in the classification of meanings was whether the target of assessment was a person (human or institution) or a thing (inanimate entity). (Martin & Rose 2003: 22–37; Martin & White 2005: 42–91.) In the editorials, the word company can refer to an institution (community of people, some of them owners, some employees, who are working in the goal of making a profit), a place (where one can buy goods and go shopping) or a product (which investors can buy from the stock market). In order to be categorized as a judgement, either an explicit or implicit human target had to be identified. After identifying the types, identification of subtypes of meanings was carried out following the principles of APPRAISAL analysis (Martin & Rose 2003: 22–37; Martin & White 2005: 42–91).

Categorizing targets: Because my data contains texts with multiple topics, the analysis of the targets of directives and assessments was done at the micro-level instead of the macro-level (see Hood 2004: 104). Restricting the study to the micro-level meant that although the co-text sensitivity was not disregarded (Martin & Rose 2003: 35–36) and the analysis proceeded linearly from one sentence to the next, the emphasis was still on meanings constructed within a complete sentence (see Halliday 1994: 43). In the case of tightly connected meanings, like adjectives, coding is relatively easy. If the connection is loose, the targets are implicit (Martin & White 2005: 42–68). The nearest possible meaning that made sense was interpreted as a target, which in many cases was in the same sentence or at least stated in the text. While coding targets of directives, the coding concerned the ones who were ordered to do something instead of what they were ordered to do. Judgements and appreciations may overlap in the cases where evaluation relates to human actions (Painter 2003: 201; Hood 2004: 119; Martin & White 2005: 60). In order to be able to describe the micro-level analysis statistically, I coded meanings to only one class rather than double-coding, although the coding into one class sometimes simplifies the description (see White 1998: 101–108; Martin & White 2005: 67–68). In the cases of two logical targets, either human beings or inanimate targets, I coded the target presented as new, whether it was in the theme or rheme of a text, relying on the analysis of Halliday's (1994: 34–38, 41, 54, 295–302) information structure. The coding was done in order to keep the statistical information as accurate as possible based on the principle that the text linearly generates new information that also constructs meanings by emphasising the most explicit target of the assessment.

The targets were classified into economic or political actors (humans) or economic, political and generic entities ('things'). Usually the targets were realized by nouns that formed the basis for the classification, but, in the case of more implicit targets, longer utterances were also considered. Economic actors or entities refer to companies, economic situations, procedures and development (*discount store chain, OP-group, finance department store, company, cut list, contract, concept, purchase system, unemployment*). Political actors or entities refer to political actors or actions with the aim to influence the economy or society (*Schröder, trade union, central bank, taxes, interest rate policy, reformation, considering legal issues*) but also to public institutions, like nations, which were described as objects rather than actors making political decisions (*China, municipality*). Economic and political entities could often be identified based on specialized terms, unlike generic entities (e.g. *point in time, contradiction, solution, time, option*) which are also used in fields other than economics and politics (Martin & Rose 2003: 107–108).

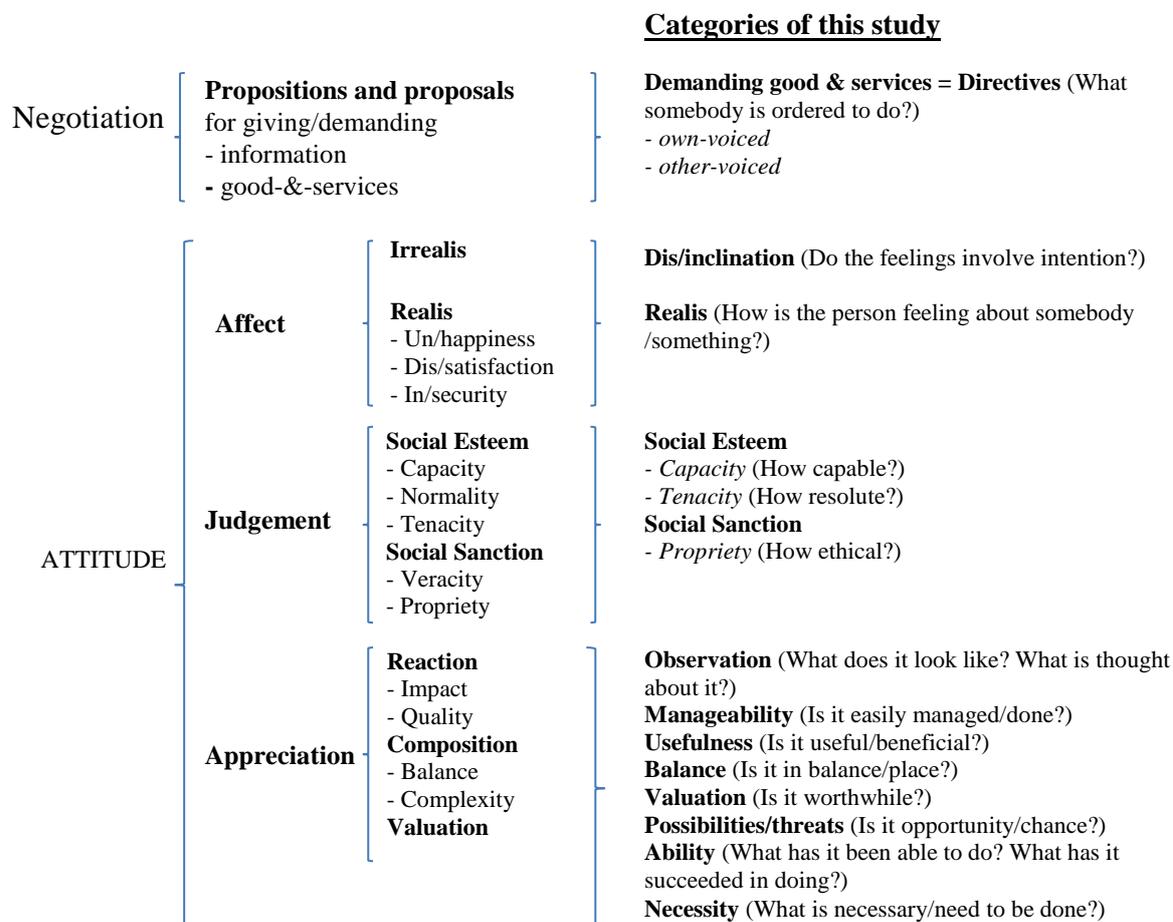
5. Results of the analysis

This paper aims to describe the findings in terms of meaning categories that provide possibilities for developing the analysis of attitudinal meanings also in other languages than Finnish even though grammatical differences exist. While the description brings to the fore mainly meaning categories, it should be emphasized that grammatical issues cannot be bypassed while applying APPRAISAL analysis for exploring ATTITUDE, because ideas of SF form the basis for the analyses (applications of SF in Finnish see e.g. Shore 1992)⁶. Moreover, it must be born in mind that the results of this study – as any analysis of ATTITUDE – tend to reflect contextual variables, such as cultural and ideological context. The results of the preliminary analysis revealed that the data required some alterations in the APPRAISAL system and thus, the system of ATTITUDE was slightly modified. The modification will be briefly described below and an overall picture of the meanings discovered in the data will be given. After this, I will describe each category in a more detailed manner in subsections, also giving examples of typical expressions constructing the meanings. The section ends with a description of the targets of directives and evaluations, as the targets are inevitably part of ordering and evaluating, and probably essential also when considering who may be ordered and what may be evaluated and how when trying to establish solidarity with readers.

The analysis of NEGOTIATION concentrated on directives in the data dividing them into own-voiced or other-voiced. In the analysis of ATTITUDE, Affect was described by making a general distinction between meanings of feelings that involve intention with respect to a stimulus, that is *irrealis*, and that involve a reaction with respect to a stimulus, that is *realis*. (Martin & White 2005: 48). For a description of Judgement, the classifications taken from Appraisal Theory turned out to be rich and sufficiently appropriate. However, because realizations of ‘*normality*’ and ‘*veracity*’ were not identified, these categories were disregarded. Within the category of Appreciation, modification was made, because Appreciation is sensitive to the context, field and discourse in question (White 1998: 36–37; Painter 2003: 202; Martin & White 2005: 57). First, instead of emphasizing aesthetics as a basis for Appreciation (White 1998: 36), it is proposed in this study that in the discourse of business journalism, the most fundamental basis is *economic welfare*. Economic welfare is associated with social values, which in turn are connected to the ideology of neoliberalism, which is hegemonically accepted in Finnish business journalism. Second, the categories of ‘*reaction*’ and ‘*composition*’ were modified to better illustrate meanings that were realized in data, labelled as ‘*observation*’, ‘*manageability*’, ‘*usefulness*’, and ‘*balance*’. Third, three categories were added to efficiently describe the meanings realized in the data: ‘*possibilities vs. threats*’, ‘*ability*’ (see Halliday 1994: 359) and ‘*necessity*’. The modifications are described in Figure 2.

⁶ The grammatical classifications of the words expressing attitude (inscribed assessments) in the data are illustrated in Appendix 3.

Figure 2: NEGOTIATION and ATTITUDE in Martin & White (2005) and the modifications for this study (on the right)



The editorials of development in the Finnish business newspapers were constructed by selecting meanings from the APPRAISAL system in the following way: Overall, there were 478 directives and inscribed assessments in the data (see Table 3 and Appendix 2). Directives were usually given in the author's own voice (40/49). For Affect, meanings of 'dis/inclination' and 'realis' were equally typical. Of meanings of Judgement, 'capacity', 'tenacity' and 'propriety' were highlighted. The category of Appreciation was the largest (345) and the most versatile. Thus, editorials of development maybe characterized as texts concentrating on appreciating things (see Martin 1999: 42–43). Considering the general function of the editorials of development, the typicality of Appreciation in the data is hardly surprising.

In the next sections, examples of each category will be given in order to illustrate how evaluative meanings bring to front the authorial voice in the discourse of business journalism.

Table 3: Directives and assessments in the data classified by meaning types

Type	Positive	Negative	Number of instances
NEGOTIATION: Directives			
DIRECTIVES	43	6	49
Own-voiced directives	34	6	40
Other-voiced directives	9	0	9
ATTITUDE: Assessments			
AFFECT	24	24	48
Dis/inclination	21	7	28
Realis	3	17	20
JUDGEMENT	19	17	36
Capacity	16	8	24
Tenacity	3	1	4
Propriety	0	8	8
APPRECIATION	156	189	345
Observation	8	10	18
Manageability	33	49	82
Usefulness	32	22	54
Balance	28	68	96
Valuation	32	12	44
Ability	10	3	13
Necessity	4	10	14
Possibilities/threats	9	15	24
Total	242	236	478

5.1 Directives

One of the main choices in the NEGOTIATION system is whether to provide or demand information (*proposition*) or goods and services (*proposal*). In this section, the focus is on proposals, and especially on directives. In media texts in general, directives rarely contain direct commands, and because they usually are formed as statements in terms of their grammatical structure, they can be described as ‘indirect realisations of commands’ (White 1998: 79–80; Martin & White 2005: 178). Compared to other assessments (429), directives were quite rare in the data (49). These included directives in the writers’ own voice (40) as well as attributed directives (9). In fact, attributed directives can be considered to be reported speech of given directives. However, both types are similar in that directives are always directed at those who should do what is ordered. When describing others’ directives, authors themselves might share the point of view. In this case, they use attributed directives for supporting their own view. In other cases, the authors disalign themselves from the attributed directive and present arguments for why acting as directed is not possible or sensible.

Own-voiced directives are often expressed by means of grammatical metaphors, and meanings of ‘*obligation*’ often function as directives. Obligations express what somebody wants, demands, expects or permits. Depending on the intensity, something is presented as either obligatory or necessary. (Halliday 1994: 89, 362.) Obligations express for a reader what somebody, e.g. a politician, should do. For the politician, they function as directives through grammatical metaphors (White 1998: 79–80). In media texts, grammatical metaphors are used when giving directives because of ‘the nature of the writer/audience relationship by which actual interaction is always only prospective or hypothetical’ (White 1998: 80). Furthermore, directives in media texts are often rhetorical (White 1998: 79), and, because media texts are targeted to a large group of readers, their purpose is to give information rather than demand actions (cf. White 1998: 80). However, in this paper, the rhetorical directives were classified as directives in order to avoid double-coding, because the nature of directives is to form meanings at the text-level rather than at sentence-level. In addition, from the point of view of interpretation, it could be argued that interpreting directives as rhetorical is one part of the genre-knowledge that the readers of media texts have. Therefore, the readers are interpreting directives as giving information and are either sharing the viewpoint or not, rather than accepting or rejecting the action (White 1998: 78).

Directives were given by using the form of necessity *on -TAVA* (*is + passive present participle*). Contextual knowledge of the political system of Finland helps to interpret example 1 as directing ‘politicians who are in charge of reforms of government and structures’. Also, the Finnish modal verbs *kannattaa/be worth*, *täytyä/have to* and *pitää/have to + infinitive verb* were used to form directives, as in example 2, in which the author gives a directive to readers as citizens who have to form “correct” opinion concerning the political decisions and changes needed to save the economy of Finland. However, not all utterances conveying meanings of ‘*necessity*’ were used for giving directives, but also for describing what “is not possible not to do”, i.e. indicating dynamic necessity (Kangasniemi 1991: 52–66).

- (1) Taloudelliset syyt eivät enää salli kauan palloteltujen hallinto- ja rakenneuudistusten lykkäämistä, vaan muutosvaihtoehtoja on alettava tosimelessä pohtia. (TS10092005)⁷
[Financial reasons no longer permit the postponement of administrative and structural reforms that have long been juggled around, but alternatives for change must begin to be seriously considered.]
- (2) Mikäli Sipilän sanat eivät kuulostaneet uskottavilta, **kannattaa kuunnella** luottoluoittajia ja muita kansainvälisiä arvioitsijoita. (KL17092015)
[If the words of Sipilä did not sound believable, **it is worth listening** to credit rating agencies and other international evaluators.]

Other-voiced directives are attributed directives in which someone else and not the author is giving the order. While other-voice directives give information on what someone other than the author is ordering, they nevertheless express that some actions are either preferred or to be avoided. In the texts studied, they might also have same function as the author’s rhetorical

⁷ Examples have been translated by the author, and they are coded as follows: [PAPER (KL or TS) DDM-MYEAR].

demands, because after stating what someone else is ordering, it is possible that authors are arguing for the same actions in their own voice. Other-voiced directives were mainly realized in the data with performative verbs (Austin 1976 [1962]: 5, 25–26). Sources were stated explicitly or implicitly, in which case some other source was implied excluding the author. Such a source could be a generic group of people, i.e. ‘those who demand’ as in example 3.

- (3) Kylmän sodan päätyttyä nämä perustelut ovat kadonneet ja *kaikilta toiminnoilta yhteiskunnassa vaaditaan kustannusvastaavuutta*. (TS14092001)
[Since the end of the Cold War, these justifications have disappeared and cost relatedness is demanded from *all actions in society*.]

From a discourse-semantic perspective, directives can be seen as a way to construct an authorial position of a person who knows and who can tell others what to do. White (1998: 39–41) and Martin and White (2005: 178) situate directives within the commentator voice, which is typical of editorials. In this respect, the journalistic voice in the editorials of development also seems to be similar to editorials of general newspapers.

5.2 Affect

In the lexis of feelings, Affect was expressed 48 times in the data. Approximately half of the cases belong to the ‘*dis/inclination*’ category (28) and the half to the ‘*realis*’ category (20). Meanings of ‘*dis/inclination*’ were expressed when someone wanted or was trying to achieve some goal, presumably because s/he is keen or determined to do it (Halliday 1994: 89). Thus, they indicate feelings more than Judgement as they describe someone as ‘determined’ (Iedema et al. 1994: 209; Martin and White 2005: 55, 80–81). Usually the feelings involve an intention to have something and thus, imply that there is also a trigger (Martin & White 2005: 48). With verbs like *want/haluta* the authorial voice was presented as knowing that some economic or political actor wanted something. Thus, the authors seemed to project the others’ feelings, as if they knew how they felt (Hood 2004: 208). These types of meanings are allowed because in this community every actor in the field of economics is supposed to have interests (e.g. in example 4, one company would have preferred to buy another one, but did not succeed). While inclination was presented as a self-evident right (everybody has a right to want what is in their interest), at times the writers positioned themselves on the side of an emoter. However, at other times they disaligned themselves from other possible emoters and presented the desire as an interest which leads to trouble. The economic and political actors whose feelings were presented were either institutional actors or a group of people, like companies or politicians.

- (4) Sparin **olisi halunnut** [+AFF: dis/inclination] myös *Kesko*, mutta ruotsalaisomistaja Axfood myi parhaan tarjouksen tehneelle. (KL08092005)
[*Kesko would have also wanted Spar*, but the Swedish owner Axfood sold it to the party with the best offer.]

Like ‘wanting’, also ‘hoping’ and ‘fearing’ involve intention with respect to an irrealis stimulus. In example 5, the target of the ‘fears’ is *oversupply*, which might actualize in the future.

The author might be interpreted as one of the ‘fearers’, because ‘fear’ is expressed with the noun, and the target of ‘fears’ (*oversupply/ylitarjonta*) refers to the economic situation of Finland, which is—quite naturally—a shared subject of concern in the Finnish economic newspapers. Instead, in the editorial concerning economic development of the United States, the author is not one of the ‘fearing’ emoters but rather a spectator who is reporting a development abroad (example 6). Feelings described with nouns are in Halliday’s (1994) terms grammatical metaphors, and as such, they are abstract and impersonal. Therefore, even though contextual knowledge guides to interpret the author as one of the emoters, it does not seem possible to interpret the author as the only emoter. However, there are four realizations which are metatextual, i.e. author’s comments of the stated claim, and therefore the feelings of ‘hope’ may be interpreted as the author’s own, even though an impersonal adverb *Toivottavasti/Hopefully* is used, like in example 7.

- (5) **Pelko** [-AFF: dis/inclination] ylitarjonnasta muuttuu todelliseksi, jos yritysten vaikeudet johtavat laajoihin irtisanomisiin. (KL11092001)
[**The fear of overproduction** will become reality if companies’ difficulties lead to massive layoffs.]
- (6) Osakekurssit ovat nousseet lähes yhtäjaksoisesti vuodesta 2009 lähtien, mikä on herättänyt **pelkoja** [-AFF: dis/inclination] kuplasta. (KL14092015)
[Stock prices have risen almost continuously from year 2009 which has awoken **fears of a bubble**.]
- (7) **Toivottavasti** [+AFF: dis/inclination] Tsipras kumppaneineen pitää kiinni antamistaan lupauksistaan. (KL22092015)
[**Hopefully** Tsipras with his companions is going to hold on to the promises he has given.]

The category of ‘*realis*’ was constructed with the words referring to feelings of (un)astonishment, like *cultural shock* (*kulttuurishokki*), *shock* (*shokki*), surprising (*yllätyksellinen*), be boring (*kyllästyttää*) and be astonished (*hämmästellä*), or feelings of (un)happiness, like *joyful* (*ilahduttava*), *suffering* (*kärsimys*), *painful* (*tuskainen*) and *sorrow* (*murhe*), and seemed mostly to be strong on the scale of intensity. A few of the meanings were reactions to some economic issue (example 8), to a political issue, or a more general entity. Example 9 presents an exceptional case in the data. The astonishment is targeted on people, or more accurately, on citizens of “other countries”, and their lack of understanding.

- (8) -- SOK:n ketjuohjausmalli voi olla **kulttuurišokki** [-AFF: realis] osalle *Spar-kauppiasta*. (KL08092005)
[- - SOK’s chain management model may be a **culture shock** to some of *the Spar retailers*.]
- (9) Euroalueen kriisimaita seuratessa Suomessakin **hämmästelltiin** [-AFF: realis], mikseivät kyseisten maiden kansalaiset ymmärrä itse maansa tilannetta, -- (KL17092015)
[When following the countries in crises within the Euro region, also in Finland people **were astonished** why the people of these countries themselves did not understand the situation of their own country, --

Some feelings were descriptions of an ongoing mood, and the emoter was either an institutional actor (the field of transportation (example 10)), an unnamed group of politicians or, in one case, Minister of Finance Niinistö. In the field of economics, knowledge of present or future trends is highly respected and desired in such a manner that information gathering is institutionalized. In order to be able to operate and make the right decisions, it is better to know whether to take the optimistic or pessimistic view in different situations. Because of these presupposed valuations, negative meanings of feelings were also constructed with the nouns *uncertainty* (*epävarmuus*) and *nervousness* (*hermostuneisuus*), which were debated as being reactions to something that had happened and ongoing moods which might change. At the same time, the meanings can be interpreted as stating that ‘nobody knows what is going to happen’, i.e. construing meanings of ‘*entertain*’ and nominalizing them as if they were objective facts (see also Martin & White 2005: 104).

- (10) Pahiten kallistunut polttoaine koettelee kuljetusalaa, *jolle vuosi* on ollut muutenkin **tuskainen** [-AFF: realis]. (KL07092005)
 [The increase in fuel price puts the toughest strain on transport services *for which the year* has been **painful** as it is.]

In the data, the emoter was presented both explicitly and implicitly and may be interpreted as an institutional actor, a group of people, a generic ‘everybody’ or more rarely, a specific person. The feelings seemed to be more internal and long-lasting than in descriptions of behaviour (Martin & White 2005: 47). However, they were abstract feelings, mainly collective and linked to the general situation in the economy or political issues rather than individual issues in the field of economics or politics. As expressions of group feelings, they generalize description and function as rhetorical persuasion. In this respect, the editorials seem to be like news, in that they do not give an impression of being empathetic (Macken-Horarik 2003: 297; Stenvall 2008). In the editorials of development, authorial affect seemed to be highly improbable, as authors mainly observe others’ feelings, which Kornetzki (2011: 218) describes as a characteristic style of media discourse in general. However, there were four occurrences, which I interpreted as feelings of the author (see example 7). These few occurrences illustrate that authorial affect is after all allowed in editorials of development as is typical of the editorials as a genre enacting the commentator voice (see Martin & White 2005: 178).

5.3 Judgements

Judgements are evaluative meanings targeted at people and their character. More generally, judgements are made on the behaviour of conscious participants such as persons, human collectives and institutions. Judgements can be divided into those of social esteem: ‘*normality*’ (how normal/unusual someone is), ‘*capacity*’ (how capable they are), and ‘*tenacity*’ (how resolute they are). There are also judgements of sanction: ‘*veracity*’ (how truthful someone is) and ‘*propriety*’ (how ethical someone is). (Iedema et al. 1994: 210–211; Martin & White 2005: 52–59.) Judgements are based on general social criteria, not just feelings (Painter 2003: 190, 202).

The judgements detected in the data were mainly coded as ‘*capacity*’, because they described institutions as either capable or incapable of doing something effectively. In example 11, a discount store is described as “*aggressive*”, and thus judged positively for using more effective strategies than their competition. In addition to economic institutions, political institutions might have or lack capacity. In example 12, comparing Finland to other EU countries brings clearly in front that the capability of Finland as a state is questioned. Even when using the name of the country, the target might be interpreted rather as a group of people (like Japanese politicians in ex. 13) than an institution (like in ex. 11).

- (11) Kyseessä on ensimmäinen todella **aggressiivinen** [+JUD: capacity] halpaketju Suomessa, sillä - -. (TS11092001)
[This is the first truly **aggressive discount store chain** in Finland, because - -.]
- (12) Suomi on jäänyt pahasti [-JUD: capacity] jälkeen muusta EU:sta jo perinteisessä kierrätyksessä. (KL04092015)
[Finland is **badly left** behind the rest of EU even in traditional recycling.]
- (13) Japani on myös **huonosti** [-JUD: capacity] varautunut työttömyyteen, sillä työttömyyskorvaukset ovat pieniä ja niiden kesto on lyhyt. (KL04092001)
[Japan is also **poorly prepared** for unemployment, because the unemployment benefits are small and their duration is short.]

Meanings of ‘*tenacity*’ are not common (4 occurrences in the data). In example 14, ‘*tenacity*’ is constructed with the adjective ‘change-oriented’ and with the adverb ‘unprejudiced’ when Schröder is described as acting ‘resolutely’ (which is implied as abnormal for social democrats, and thus, the author distances himself from evaluating social democrats positively in general (see A ‘Beckett 2009: 109)) in order to keep the wheels of the economy rolling. Meanings of ‘*propriety*’ are targeted to political or economic actors, once to a politician (Minister of Finance) but also to groups of people (citizens, American economists) or political institutions (Ministry, Volkswagen). For example, Volkswagen as an institution (in ex. 15) was criticised. It should also be emphasized that the distinction of ‘*propriety*’ and ‘*veracity*’ is hard to make in this data because they are connected to each other. In example 15, coding as ‘*propriety*’ seemed more accurate because the meanings in texts always implied either unethical or illegal behaviour.

- (14) Schröder on ollut sosiaalidemokraatiksi hyvinkin **muutoshakuinen** [+JUD: tenacity] ja etsinyt ennakkoluulottomasti [-JUD: tenacity] keinoja ylläpitää Saksan kattavaa hyvinvointivaltiota. (TS15092005)
[For a social democrat, Schröder has been quite **change-oriented** and has open-mindedly sought after ways to uphold the comprehensive welfare state of Germany.]
- (15) Kun Volkswagen on tietoisesti ollut **epärehellinen** [-JUD: propriety] päästöissään, mitä muuta voi vielä tulla esiin? (KL15092005)
[When Volkswagen has been consciously **dishonest** of the emissions, what else might still come out?]

Overall, judgements were quite rare in the data (36 occurrences). Unlike appreciations which were constructed in every text of the total data set (32 texts), judgements were used only in half of the texts (16/32). According to White and Martin (2005: 17–24), interpersonal meanings are structured as prosodic realisation patterns in which appraisal “operates as an ongoing cumulative motif”. Thus, texts containing several judgements were obvious manifestations of prosody in that writers tended to return to judging someone after describing something else, often using judgements of the same category.

For example, *‘tenacity’* was used only in two, and *‘propriety’* in three, texts. Both *‘tenacity’* and *‘propriety’* were constructed for judging Social Democratic politicians. Moreover, it should be noted that a writer might assign blame for something such as economic development to someone through a judgemental meaning in a text. Evidently, even though there were a few occurrences, judgements were constructed when necessary in order to fulfil the communicative goals of a writer who is working in the discourse community and sharing the values of the right wing rather than the left in the political spectrum. In the cases targeted on an economic actor, it is also evident that illegal cheating like that by Volkswagen in 2015 is considered immoral; and in connection to this kind of scandals also economic actors as institutions can be judged. This reveals the ethical foundation of Finnish Business Newspapers. In this respect, it seems that even though judgements of social sanction (like *‘propriety’*) were rare, the writer could use inscribed judgements if needed in order to fulfil the communicative purpose, and therefore, operate in the commentator voice.

5.4 Appreciations

Appreciation is targeted on things and phenomena, concrete or abstract entities, processes and products. If evaluation relates to human actions, it could be emphasized that Appreciation foregrounds performance, the product of the behaviour. White and Martin (2005: 57) distinguish meanings of Appreciation in relation to mental processes, affection (emotions we feel), perception (our view of order) and cognition (opinions we think), drawing on their analysis of the aesthetic domain, such as an artwork, a sporting event or philosophy (see also Painter 2003: 202). In case of discourses in editorials of development, appreciations seemed to be constructed mainly in relation to perception (*‘observation’*, *‘manageability’*, *‘usefulness’* and *‘balance’*) and cognition (*‘valuation’*) instead of affection. Moreover, for the purposes of this analysis, three categories were added to describe the meanings found in the data: *‘possibilities vs. threats’*, *‘ability’* (see Halliday 1994: 359) and *‘necessity’*. In this section, I will briefly describe the distinct features of each category.

Meanings of *‘observation’* express that ‘a target is viewed to be or not to be of some kind’. Such meanings construct a position for the author as a viewer who evaluates appearances of the targets, like consequences for the economy (ex. 16), the value of a company or the aims or words of politicians. Meanings of *‘manageability’* again express that ‘something is or is not controllable’. The targets (objects) were rarely described as unmanageable for some actor and never for the writer (cf. Painter 2003: 201), but more generally out of control, like in example 17 in which ‘many of them’ refers to developing economies. Meanings of *‘usefulness’* express ‘something in a target that causes (un)wanted effects’ or that ‘something in a

target is or is not functioning well'. They were often connected to what helps or prevents a company from achieving its goals, like the repeatedly mentioned 'efficiency' (ex. 18).

- (16) Kuntaliitto on jo koko 1990-luvun lopun nousukauden ajan antanut kuntataloudesta **synkkää** [-APP: observation] kuva. (TS07092001)
[The Association of Finnish Local and Regional Authorities has already throughout the economic boom at the end of the 1990s portrayed a **bleak image** of the municipal economy.]
- (17) Monet niistä ovat jo **vaikeuksissa** [-APP: manageability]. (KL14092015)
[Many of them are already in **trouble**.]
- (18) Lidlin ja muiden raskaan sarjan halpaketjujen ytimenä ovat erittäin alhaiset kulut ja **tehokas** [+APP: usefulness] sisäänostojärjestelmä. (TS11092001, kpl7)
[At the core of Lidl and other heavyweight low price stores are extremely low costs and an **effective purchasing system**.]

In economics, it is a keen concern whether the economy is being or not 'in balance'. This seems to lead to assessing through meanings of 'balance' that were most often activated in the data. Meanings of 'balance' are tightly connected to targets, because 'balance' seems to be an inner feature of the target and refers either to economic or societal situations. These meanings mainly target economic entities (e.g. *situation, development or prospects*) with adjectives like *good/hyvä, bad/huono, slow/hidas, weak/heikko, healthy/terve, strong/vahva* or *gloomy/synkkä*, or verbs or nouns that are grammatical metaphors of these adjectives, like in ex. 19. Meanings of 'valuation' refer to meanings used for assessing the worth of a process or product, and either highlight or diminish the importance of a matter (White 1998: 37; Rothery & Stenglin 2000: 238–239; Martin & White 2005: 56–57). They were realized in the data with words like *important/tärkeä, significant/merkittävä, crucial/keskeinen, unique/ainutlaatuinen* or *remarkable/huomattava* targeting mostly generic entities, such as *a day (päivä)* in example 20. 'Possibilities vs. threats' are a category clearly connected to future meanings, often with the nouns *possibilities/mahdollisuuksia, chances/tilaisuuksia, threat/uhka* and *risk/riski*. Possibility was used in a positive sense, implying that there are opportunities for e.g. achieving better economic results. Threats were expressed as a probable state of affairs and realized also through the verb chains containing the word *threaten/uhata* + INF.

- (19) Pörssikurssit ovat laskeneet ja valuutat **heikentyneet** [-APP: balance]. (KL14092015)
[Stock prices have gone down and the value of currencies **has weakened**.]
- (20) Huominen on Suomen taloudelle **tärkeä** [+APP: valuation] päivä. (KL17092015)
[Tomorrow will be an important day for the economy of Finland.]

While Martin and White (2005: 54) describe modal verbs functioning as judgements (e.g. 'capacity' or 'propriety') or as grammatical metaphors, in the editorial data, modal verbs used for assessing tended to target things but sometimes even humans. When presented as new and therefore with emphasis (Halliday 1994: 299) on a thing, meanings were coded as realizations of Appreciation, 'ability' or 'necessity', implying that someone has the capacity or necessity to do something. The idea of the categories of 'ability' and 'necessity' relies on

Halliday's (1994: 357–359) definition of modalization ('ability' and 'obligation'). 'Ability' expresses an actor's possibility to achieve some state of affairs in the given circumstances (Halliday 1994). 'Ability' was realized with the verbs *is capable of/kykenee* and *managed/onnistua*, with a thing as a target. In example 21, the main message is that restraining inflation is not possible, even though it is desirable, due to some external reason, not because of the lack of ability of the central bank. Meanings of 'necessity' describe how someone has to do something undesirable because of some external cause. These meanings were expressed with *have to/joutuu* or *is/on + verb suffix -VA*. In unpleasant and unwanted situations, an actor is presented as being in charge of doing something, e.g. solving a problem, with an emphasis on doing. Doing something is presented as self-evident. Therefore, there is no reason to order someone to do it. In addition to the meaning of 'necessity', the Finnish verb JOUTUA also conveys 'motivation', which is usually caused by external motivating factors but sometimes also by the actor's internal factors (Kangasniemi 1992: 52–58). In example 22, a material process (laying off) is presented as the result of an unpleasant situation (external motivating factor), without the actor's inclination or willingness to make profit.

- (21) Tähän sisältyy vaikea ristiriita, sillä keskuspankit **eivät** nyt **kykene** [(-)+APP: ability] hillitsemään mahdollista inflaatiota korkojen korotuksilla. (TS13092001)
[This involves a difficult contradiction, because central banks **are not** now **able to curb possible inflation through increases in interest rates**.]
- (22) Vanha malli ei enää toimi, vaan työntekijöitä **on jouduttu** [-APP: necessity] irtisanomaan. (KL04092001)
[The old model no longer works so employees **have had to be laid off**.]

In the editorials, realisations of Appreciation were the most frequent form of evaluative expression, which seems logical in subject-oriented texts. Evidently, in this genre, logical arguments are seen as more reasonable and valuable than *argumentum ad hominem* (see e.g. Eemeren, Meuffels & Verbugg 2000). Moreover, in the studies of Martin and White (2005) and White (1998), differences of Appreciation between different journalistic voices have not been recognized. In the discourse of business journalism, it seems that Appreciation is highly typical of both editorials and news (Katajamäki 2009). However, one could expect differences between editorials and news especially in meanings of 'ability' and 'necessity', because these meanings are often construing clearly subjective positions for the writers. While they are estimating things, they are also implying that there is someone who is (not) able to act, or has (not) to act.

5.5 Types of Targets in the Editorials

The analysis of NEGOTIATION and ATTITUDE also contained the coding of the type of targets. Like directives and inscribed assessments, their targets could also be seen as meanings that may have constraints in the discourse or the genre in question. Table 4 illustrates the coded targets of directives and assessments.

Directives most often targeted political actors. Own-voiced directives targeted political or economic actors, including three cases, in which the directive targeted all readers (coded either as economic actors ('consumers') or political actors ('citizens')). Economic actors

were generally guided toward more efficient economic activity, but in one case, employees were directed not to disturb the economic activity. Political actors were directed to make changes that improve or not to make changes which disturb the economic situation. The directives to readers have a highly rhetorical function, because they mainly support arguments supplied by the author. Directed actions are either material, mental or verbal activities. Other-voiced directives targeted political actors either explicitly or implicitly, except for one case, which targeted an economic actor.

Table 4: The type of targets in the data

	Economic actor	Political actor	Economic entity	Political entity	Generic entity	Total
Own-voiced directives	6*	34**				40
Other-voiced directives	1	8				9
Affect		1	26	17	4	48
Tenacity	1	3				4
Capacity	13	11				24
Propriety	3	5				8
Observation			6	1	11	18
Manageability			32	26	24	82
Usefulness			30	11	13	54
Balance			91	3	2	96
Valuation			12	5	27	44
Ability			10	3		13
Necessity			5	9		14
Possibilities/ threats			21	3		24
Total	25	61	233	78	81	478

* One of the directives targeted to economic actors was targeted to a generic actor, readers as a consumer.

** Two of the directives targeted to political actors was targeted to generic actors, readers as a citizen.

Affect targeted a political actor (as shown in ex. 9) only once and all the other times entities, usually economic ones, which were connected to economic welfare. Judgements were targeted both at economic and political actors. Of judgements, ‘*tenacity*’ and ‘*propriety*’ targeted more often political actors, while ‘*capacity*’ targeted more often economic actors. Political actors as targets are unique in that they could refer to specific individuals (politicians) rather than institutions. Targets of Appreciation were typically economic entities, but quite often could also be political or generic entities.

The analysis of targets revealed that the author is usually assessing economic actors or entities. Table 4 illustrates possible types of targets connected with different types of assess-

ments. Unrealized meanings may be considered as hypothetical constraints on meaning making. In conclusion, the use of evaluative options, as illustrated by the modifications made to the categories of the APPRAISAL system for the data (see also Figure 2), combined with the type of targets describe a meaning-making resource that is probable in editorials of development.

Moreover, it is likely that directives are given more often to political than economic actors, both when the directive concerns what is allowed (positive) and what is not (negative). The tendency of targeting directives towards political rather than economic actors is interesting. It seems that political actors were commanded to take actions considered beneficial for the economy by the authors, and the economic actors were simultaneously commanded to do the same. These kinds of assumptions can be connected to the ideology of economic welfare and neoliberalism, which guides stance-taking when writing in this context (see Katajamäki 2013).

Making assessments is connected to economy or politics. In case of meanings of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation, both economic and political targets are assessed positively and negatively. A few explanations might be offered for this. Firstly, it is typical of business journalism that both good and bad news are newsworthy. Secondly, in editorials of development positive and negative assessments seem to be often part of the argumentative structures, that is, combinations of arguments and counter-arguments. If even more detailed notions are taken into consideration, a few constraints can be added. It seems that it is **not** at all possible to construct an Affect targeting economic actors. What is more, feelings of Affect towards human beings as individuals or institutions are not possible either. As meanings of *'tenacity'* and *'capacity'* are realized, they are both positive and negative. Beside this, it seems that whereas political actors are assessed as individuals, economic actors as individuals or groups of people are not assessed, and even when economic actors are assessed as institutions, there seems to be a tendency to do it positively. Realized meanings of *'propriety'* are always negative, and may be targeted to political and economic actors. Only in one text, the target is an individual.

However, it seems that the notions at this level do not illustrate how rhetorically assessments, their targets and positivity or negativity are selected in order to fulfil the communicative purposes and the line of argumentation. Therefore, combining the analysis of argumentation and APPRAISAL analysis is needed in order to illustrate the kinds of constraints which are connected with the social context of the editorials, in which subject-oriented argumentation is highly valued and the readers consist of economic actors who might have a close connection to the topic discussed.

6. Conclusions

This paper set out to describe how subjectivity is constructed in the editorials of two Finnish business newspapers. Drawing on Appraisal Theory, linguistic choices which have the potential to reveal social constraints restricting expressions of subjectivity and attitudes were focused on. These include directives and inscribed assessments realized through attitudinal lexis which tend to construct a subjective authorial voice.

The results of the analysis indicate that authorial modulated directives occur repeatedly in the data. This is a clear indication of the commentator voice, which seems to be the dominant authorial voice in editorials of development. Although the author's own voice prevails in the genre, expressing authorial affect seems to be highly improbable, as the authors mainly observe others' feelings. The authorial voice is positioned as an interpreter of '*dis/inclinations*' in particular, but also other feelings, such as knowing what sensors other than the author feel (see Hood 2004: 208). Few exceptions to this tendency occur in the data of 2015; there were four occurrences which were interpreted as feelings (only) of the author. However, even the rare realizations are crucial. As Kornetzki (2011: 217) claims, media discourse is characterised by the impersonal mode of textuality because authorial affect is rare even in editorials and in commentaries. Judgements of social esteem ('*capacity*' and '*tenacity*') were more commonly realized, mostly by adjectives or adverbs. Also these meanings are described to be resources of the writer voice, but not the reporter voice (Martin & White 2005: 178). In addition, judgements of sanctions ('*propriety*', 8 occurrences) were found in several texts. Appreciations were meanings conveyed all over the data. In conclusion, the authorial voice of the editorials of development may be described as the voice of the commentator, as described by White (1998) and Martin and White (2005). To summarize, it seems that in the discourse of business journalism the editorial writer tries to form a writer identity by constructing an authorial voice, with which events and happenings of economic life are described, economic and political actors are directed, and often evaluated with inscribed assessments. As shown above, inscribed assessments realized in the data are commonly made in the author's own voice and constructed mainly as certain with monoglossic clauses. While pertaining the author's own voice, also heteroglossic clauses are used when it serves the communicative purpose of the editorial. In Katajamäki (2012) it is illustrated that in these cases, authorial voice is often constructed with meanings of '*entertain*' (Martin & White 2005: 98–110), especially when making predictions of future events. These kinds of meanings could be described as speculative, and as such, they make it possible for a writer to describe events which are highly unlikely or even impossible. (Katajamäki 2012.)

Meanings of '*entertain*' and directives, but possibly also meanings of Affect and judgements, are characteristic in editorials and participate in forming their essence as a genre, because appreciations are a highly typical feature also in business news journalism (Katajamäki 2009). At expression level, the differences between editorials and news are sometimes smaller than in whole texts or genres, because Appreciation in particular is a widely used feature also in news in business journalism (Katajamäki 2009). As appreciations are characteristic of all journalistic voices, analysing appreciations might not be productive for identifying restrictions. However, fine-grained analysis of appreciations, including e.g. categories of '*ability*' and '*necessity*', might turn out to be useful as we move from one language or genre to another. Moreover, it should be emphasised that in order to get a complete picture, comparisons of the genres need to be done between whole patterns of the evaluative meanings (Martin & White 2005; Thomson et al. 2008: 220), and not only with a few types of evaluative meanings.

As also absent meanings construct meaning (Fairclough 1995: 5), they can be seen as a way to construct the authorial voice as that of a cool professional, without feelings (although in some rare cases, a sensor of feelings) who is debating and concentrating on the topic. Authorial voice is usually realized through a third-person, passive or sometimes zero-person

form, unlike the editorials of the French newspaper *Le Monde* (see Le 2010: 29, 215–219). These kinds of absent meanings strengthen the impression that editorials are similar to news reports, while they are considered as the commentary of the institution, often written collectively by editors-in-chief. They also leave more space for a reader to decode sentences incorrectly, and thus a reader's decoding is more heavily dependent on one's knowledge of the genre. One thing that leads a reader to a more correct interpretation is that, unlike with the reporter voice, subjectivity is emphasised with resources of ENGAGEMENT.

The chosen appraisal meanings of editorials can be seen as manifestations of the culture in which they are produced (Martin & Rose 2003). As expected, in business journalism, it seems to be essential to describe with inscribed linguistic realizations whether happenings and developments are positive or negative, and thus, report to readers who and what is being appreciated. As inscribed, the assessments probably guide an unprofessional reader to understand what is appreciated in this 'world'. However, even though editorials of development lean towards the norm of economic welfare and the ideology of neoliberalism, these base meanings are left implicit in the sense that there are no manifestations of what is considered ideal to whom and who benefits and why. Consequently, further research is needed on how attitude and ideology are intertwined with each other. In the analysis of encounter, it is methodically important to note that an analysis of communicative purposes is essential for the analysis of meanings, because even inscribed meanings can be very indirect—where something is said unintentionally—and therefore might lead a reader astray from the perspective of ideology. Further research is also needed on the possibilities and constraints of appraisal in the discourse of business journalism.

Genres are not stabilized conventions, and changes in conventions are reflected in language. Thus, an analysis of APPRAISAL might be used to identify changes. In case of the editorials of development, there appear to be a slight shift in focus of evaluation. For example, expressing authorial affect occurred only in the data of 2015. Interestingly, in the editorials of 2015, when compared to the editorials of 2001 and 2005, meanings of '*propriety*' (5/3) and '*observation*' (13/5) were constructed more often and meanings of '*usefulness*' (24/30) and '*valuation*' (19/25) almost as often, even though the editorials of 2015 form a data that is almost half smaller than the data of editorials of 2001 and 2005 (words: 3415/5794). Especially the meanings of '*observation*', '*valuation*', '*ability*' and '*necessity*' appear to bring to front a sense of presence of the author at some level. Moreover, using the same data for the analysis, the author (forthcoming) noted that assessments, especially judgements targeted to politicians through lexical metaphors were realized more frequently in the newer data. In addition, meanings of propriety signaling social acceptance through lexical metaphors were realized only in the data of 2015.

It is possible that there is a shift in the key towards more editorial-like evaluations in general: authorial affect and social sanction as the typical keys of commentator voice (see Martin & White 2005: 178) seem to be increasing as a conventional feature in the editorials. The change might be connected to the topics discussed which have become more political, but also more widely to the communicative purposes, which might change if the authors feel that the economic and political situations are more challenging. In addition, the shift in the key could be explained with background information from the context of business journalism and more generally, from the context of Finnish journalism. During the 1990's and in the beginning of the 21st century, it was widely discussed in Finland whether the editorial genre

is necessary or not. Some newspapers even gave up publishing editorials. One of these papers was *Taloussanomati* which revised the publication in many ways in 2008 and transferred to online publishing. It seems that when some publications try out new conventions, others proceed by strengthening the unique characteristics of the editorials, i.e. the purpose of taking a stand. However, the constraints of the genre still exist, and this might explain why taking a stand even concerning political issues is done by writing editorials of development instead of being more clearly instructive. As the government of Finland represents right wing politics, thus sharing the ideologies of the business newspapers, the editorial writers seem to be reluctant to criticize politicians too directly. However, in order to maintain the interests of the discourse community of business journalism, they choose to enhance the views that the direction of the development is not right. And while choosing to describe the issues as developments, the editorial writers' linguistic choices for expressing themselves are still constrained while they are trying to fulfil their social roles.

This paper has proceeded from linguistic realizations to categories of meanings. In order to point out the uniqueness of the texts, adjustments were made in the categories of the APPRAISAL system. As especially appreciations are very context-bound and depend on the subject in question (Painter 2003: 202), specific categories were added as necessary in analysis. As a result, the category of Appreciation in the APPRAISAL system was adjusted with categories of meanings ('ability', 'necessity' and 'possibility vs. threats') familiar from Systemic Functional Grammar. The category of 'ability' was needed to clarify that meanings implying that 'someone is able / has been able to do something' were often clearly targeting things ('ability') rather than human beings ('capacity'). The category of 'necessity' was needed to clarify that some meanings that could be seen as a part of Halliday's concept of 'obligation' were not functioning as directives. Realizations of 'possibility vs. threats' were quite generic in the sense that they could not be classified into the more specific categories (like 'observation', 'manageability'). This analysis also demonstrated that the basis of evaluation and meanings is economic welfare rather than aesthetics (cf. White 1998: 36; Martin & White 2005: 44). Economic welfare could be seen as a moral code, which is based on the ideology of neoliberalism, forming a basis for the whole discourse of the editorials of development (Katajamäki 2013). As a conclusion, this paper suggests that expressions of appreciation are guided by subject-field specific values which are closely connected to the ideologies conveyed and reproduced by discourses within a discourse community. This is the case especially in highly abstract fields, such as business journalism.

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Appendix 1: Editorials of *Kauppalehti* (KL) and *Taloussanomat* (TS)

Abbreviated with date of publication: Headline

- KL19072001:** Budjettia laskusuhdanteessa
- KL03092001:** Uhkapelien monet uhat
- KL04092001:** Japani sukeltaa syvälle
- KL07092001:** Uusjako väistämätöntä
- KL11092001:** Valinnan varaa syntyy
- KL13092001:** Terrorista syvät haavat
- KL05092005:** Maksa ja itke
- KL07092005:** Kasvun selkä kestää
- KL08092005:** SOK nousee ykköseksi
- KL13092005:** Ympyrä sulkeutui
- KL01092015:** Sote-lypsy on lopettava
- KL04092015:** Raaka-aineiden kierto kuntoon
- KL07092015:** Kiina tähtää teknomahdiksi
- KL09092015:** Hallitus ottaa ohjat käsiinsä
- KL14092015:** Alhaisten korkojen aika pian ohi
- KL17092015:** Luottoluokittaja ei politikoi
- KL22092015:** Kreikka pysyy tapetilla
- KL23092015:** SAK maalaa itseään nurkkaan
- KL24092015:** Markkinat rankaisevat koijaria
- KL28092015:** Suomi hukkaa energiatrendejä
- KL29092015:** Rumia lukuja Suomen taloudesta
- KL30092015:** Raideliikenteessä edessä U-käännös
- TS19072001:** Talouden kasvulukuja tarkistetaan alaspäin
- TS04092001:** Kemiralle avautui mahdollisuuksia
- TS07092001:** Kuntatalouden ristiriitainen tilanne
- TS11092001:** Uusi muutosaalto uhkaa jo kauppaa
- TS13092001:** Terrori-iskut muuttivat maailman suhdannenäkymät kertaheitolla
- TS14092001:** Poliitiikan ajan paluu
- TS08092005:** Suomalaismiehistöt hupenevat
- TS10092005:** Hintalappu Heinäluoman parille piirulle
- TS13092005:** Suomen rahoitusala selkiytyy
- TS15092005:** Muutos etenee Saksassa

Appendix 2: Categories in the data, modifications based on Martin/White (2005)

Categories as described in Appraisal Theory

Categories and instances based on analysis of directives and inscribed assessments in the editorials of business newspapers
(see also Katajamäki & Koskela (forthcoming))

		<i>General types</i>	<i>Meaning types in the data</i>	<i>Explicit instances</i>	<i>Provoked metaphors</i>		
NEGOTIATION	Proposals for demanding good-&-services	Directives	DIRECTIVES	49	-		
			Own-voiced directives	40	-		
			Other-voiced directives	9	-		
	Affect for reacting emotionally, registering positive and negative feelings	Irrealis Inclination	Dis/inclination	Dis/inclination (Do the feelings involve intention?)	28	-	
			Realis	Realis (How is the person feeling about somebody/something?)	20	-	
		Realis	JUDGMENT		36	55	
			Social Esteem	Social Esteem	- Capacity (How capable?) *	24	33
				Social Esteem	- Tenacity (How resolute?) *	4	16
	Judgment for evaluating behavior	Social Sanction	Social Sanction	- Propriety (How ethical?) *	8	6	
		APPRECIATION		345	133		
ATTITUDE	Appreciation for evaluating objects, artefacts, processes, and states of affairs	Reaction	Reaction	- Observation (What does it look like? What is thought about it?)	18	-	
			Reaction	- Manageability (Is it easily managed/done?) *	82	41	
			Reaction	- Usefulness (Is it useful/beneficial?) *	54	27	
		Composition	Balance	Balance	Balance (Is it in balance/place?) *	96	48
			Valuation	Valuation	Valuation (Is it worthwhile?) *	44	17
		Valuation	New groups	Ability	Ability (What has it been able to do? What has it succeeded in doing?)	13	-
				Necessity	Necessity (What is necessary/needed to be done?)	14	-
				Possibilities/threats	Possibilities/threats (Is it opportunity/chance?)	24	-
		Total				478	188

* A meaning type also constructed through metaphors.

Appendix 1: Lexico-grammatical forms of the meaning types realized in the data

INSCRIBED ASSESSMENTS					
Meaning types	Adjectives, adverbs, participles as attributes	Verbal group (complexes)	Verbs	Nouns	Total
AFFECT	9	11	11	17	48
Dis/inclination	5	11	4	8	28
Realis	4	0	7	9	20
JUDGEMENT	19	8	4	5	36
Capacity	11	5	4	4	24
Tenacity	4	0	0	0	4
Propriety	4	3	0	1	8
APPRECIATION	180	36	51	78	345
Observation	18	0	0	0	18
Manageability	46	2	17	17	82
Usefulness	26	2	18	8	54
Balance	48	0	12	36	96
Valuation	42	0	0	2	44
Ability	0	10	3	0	13
Necessity	0	14	0	0	14
Possibilities/ threats	0	8	1	15	24
Total	208	55	66	100	429