Evaluation in Late Modern English History Writing

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I hereby confirm that my thesis entitled *Evaluation in Late Modern English History Writing* is the result of my own work. All sources and/or materials applied are listed and specified in the thesis. Furthermore, I confirm that this thesis has not yet been submitted as part of another examination process neither in identical nor in similar form.

Augsburg, 17 June 2019

Sebastian Matthias Wagner

to Katinka

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> "Historians cannot recreate the past […] when we study history, we are merely studying historiography: the past as seen in the words of historians. We then end up with the problem of what historians do to the past. This means that the past is in the hands of people who are going to shape it to reflect their own political, social, cultural, religious and educational stances." (Warren 1998: 12)

1. Introduction

Compared to the various exhaustive studies conducted in the areas of scientific and academic discourse (e.g. Hunston 1993; Hyland 1999; Hyland & Tse 2004; Hood 2010; Degaetano-Ortlieb & Teich 2014), the field of historiography[1] has not received much attention with regard to its constitutive linguistic features. This is astonishing considering that our understanding of 'the past' is almost exclusively based on (written) historical discourse (e.g. Jenkins 2003; Munslow 2007). Since there is still no comprehensive diachronic research and since particularly the use of lexico-grammatical means in this field is still quite under-researched (in spite of the pioneering contributions of Martin 2003, Coffin 2006; Bondi & Mazzi 2009), it is the aim of the present study to shed light on the development of history writing in Great Britain within the Late Modern period.

The period in focus (c. 1700-1914) is chosen with deliberation. On the one hand, there is an emerging interest in history by a diversifying British readership that demanded for a broadening of the thematic and generic scope. On the other hand, the period exhibits a variety of ideals and perceptions concerning the purpose and style of history writing, which range from those informed by the philosophy of Enlightenment to those shaped by Romanticism. As one consequence of these conceptual discrepancies, historical researchers recognise a tension between an educational 'moral' and an impartial 'scientific' ideal of how to write history (e.g. Hesketh 2011a). These formative developments perceptibly changed the way in which historiographers[2] composed their historical accounts as they, for instance, urged emerging academic historical scholars to clearly dissociate history writing from the

[1] Note that in the following the term *historiography* refers to 'the writing of history' and not to 'the study of history-writing'.
[2] It is for the sake of brevity that in the context of this study the term *historiographer*, first and foremost, comprises history writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century and must not be understood as a universal generalisation of the profession that extends beyond the period under consideration.

historical narratives produced by non-scientific 'amateur' historiographers. Their accounts are believed to reflect these tendencies in their linguistic choices which enact different readings of the past-as-history (Martin 2003: 23). These choices can have a substantial impact since the works of British historians have shaped and are believed to still shape their readers' view on the past. Since the historiographical text reflects its author's subjective political, social, cultural, religious and educational stances (Warren 1998), it is the main objective of the present study to analyse historiographical data with regards to the evaluation of historical events, personae and their actions. It does so by examining selected lexical items and grammatical structures chosen by historiographers for their evaluation of historical phenomena. These observations give rise to two general research questions that will guide the analysis:

1. Which linguistic items realise explicit evaluation in Late Modern historiography and in which contexts does their *evaluative meaning potential* become manifest?

2. Which evaluative strategies and patterns do individual historiographers of the period prefer and which (discoursal) functions do these strategies serve?

In order to provide answers to those questions, the analysis is conducted on the basis of a corpus (c. 1.5m words) which was exclusively built for the study's research objective. The corpus data comprises samples from the works of 50 British historiographers writing in the period and contains the accounts of renowned historians, such as David Hume, Edward Gibbon, Thomas Macaulay, whose relevance can be seen as transcending epochs. Thus constructed, the corpus allows for the exposure of findings which can be deemed characteristic for history writing in the Late Modern period.

While a corpus allows for the identification of specific forms typically associated with the explicit realisation of evaluative meaning and further enables the detection of their patterns (Hunston 2011), the items' discoursal significance often remains concealed (Goźdź-Roszkowski & Hunston 2016: 135). To meet this challenge, the present study strives for a methodological 'synergy' (Goźdź-Roszkowski & Hunston 2016: 135), combining the potential of corpus study techniques, especially examining frequencies for significant patterns, with a 'discourse-sensitive' approach, viz. interpreting and examining selected examples within their extended co(n)text to take into account their specific function. Embedding the investigated items in their spatio-temporal (discursive) context is further

believed to prevent a premature interpretation of evaluative choices on the basis of the analyst's twenty-first century reading, especially if the conditions of text production and potential reception are also taken into consideration (cf. Wodak 2002). Due to the exploratory nature of the study, it is assumed that such a "corpus-based" approach represents the best synthesis of "breadth of coverage" and "depth of detail".

Aims and outline of the study

The present study aims to analyse evaluative patterns in historiography and to explore the potential role of evaluation in the marking of 'historical significance'. Ahead of this analysis, the study problematises a methodological issue concerned with subjectivity and arbitrariness involved in the process of determining and classifying instances of explicit evaluation. It puts forward an automatised approach that allows for the intersubjective replicability of the classification with the help of semantic groups.

The study's aims are explored in the following chapters, an overview of which is given below.

Chapter 2 provides a broad overview of the changing notions of historiography. The chapter focuses specifically on the ideals and self-conception of the historiographer writing in the period. The second sub-chapter addresses the question of whether historiographers are beginning to constitute an emergent "Community of Practice" (Wenger 1998) with a shared linguistic repertoire. Next, the make-up of the corpus is introduced, on the basis of which the analyses will be conducted.

In **Chapter 3**, the different approaches to studying evaluation will be sketched out, before the method adopted for the current study, namely Appraisal theory (Martin & White 2005), is introduced. Moreover, the chapter proposes a novel classification scheme that allows for the dual encoding of particular instances of indirect evaluation. Furthermore, the chapter provides an overview of studies that apply the tools of the Appraisal framework for conducting (historical) discourse studies. Finally, the modifications and extensions of the tools of the framework that are deemed to be relevant for the present study are discussed.

Chapter 4 explores the connection between historical significance and evaluation. It is argued that evaluation plays a vital role in signalling what historians deem historically significant. The different strategies used to align readers with the historian's interpretation of the past are classified using the Engagement Framework (Martin & White 2005). The

alignment strategies' persuasive potential is illustrated on the basis of examples drawn from the corpus.

The various conceptions of linguistic scholars concerning the constituents underlying the notion of 'attitudinal lexis' along with a discussion of methods that allow for a more systematic and replicable identification of evaluative lexis, are presented in the first sections of **Chapter 5**. The next section starts with an analysis of the adjectives retrieved from the corpus. In order to organise them for a closer inspection of the resulting frequencies, the adjectives are tagged semantically. The chapter continues with a discussion of a selection of salient findings. In the last section of the chapter, an experimental approach is presented, in which the whole corpus data is semantically tagged with respect to evaluative lexis.

Chapter 6 introduces postmodification as one possibility to investigate the historiographers' establishment of historical significance, as it often comprises discursive resources typically used to evaluate past actors, phenomena and events. The sub-chapters shed light on the various functions that post-nominal modifiers, such as *wh-pronouns*, *which-relativizers* and *apposition*, realise.

Chapter 7 is concerned with the investigation of the discoursal functions of lexico-grammatical resources that adjust the intensity and precision of evaluative meanings. The chapter's focus lies primarily on the dimension concerned with scaling with respect to intensity of qualities on the one hand, and with respect to quantity on the other.

Chapter 8 advocates the extension of the judgement subsystem of Martin and White's (2005) *Appraisal framework*. This allows for a classification of moral and ethical evaluations that is not limited to human goals. Subsequently, an exploratory application is presented that demonstrates the classificatory advantage of the extended system.

The final chapter, **Chapter 9**, gives an overview of the study's main findings, discusses their relevance and provides a brief outlook.

2. Late Modern British historiography

Twenty-first century scholars of historiography seem to have fairly well-defined ideas about the ideals of history writing. There are numerous recent theoretical works, predominantly written by historical or analytical philosophers, that discuss how the past is or has been studied (e.g. Carr 1961; Collingwood 1962; Elton 1967; Tosh 1984; Bentley 1999; Fulbrook 2003; Jenkins 2003; Berger et al. 2003; Lambert & Schofield 2004; Rüsen 2005; Munslow 2007; Donnelly & Norton 2012; Davies 2016). What most of these explorations of the practice of history writing take as their axiomatic foundation is the notion of historiography as emanating from an established (academic) discipline. This view typically supposes that "knowledge is produced and managed by specialists professionally trained to follow the cognitive and administrative procedures their discipline requires." (Davies 2016: 121). The resulting concept of the "specialist" could be condensed to the historiographer as a trained and specialised administrator of past resources, which he/she objectively records and critically evaluates in order to finally arrange them in a systematic order into universally valid representations of 'the past'. Hence, it is often considered a consequence of disciplinary/institutional regulations that, for instance, veracity and, ultimately, historical credibility are established and maintained (Davies 2016). If this is the case, then what is to be expected of history writing that precedes the establishment of this - more or less uniform - authoritative professionalised historical scholarship? Looking at the period in focus it becomes apparent that historians hold various, often strongly diverging, views about the purpose and, consequentially, about the organisation of historical knowledge transmission.[3] Given these pre-institutionalised, heterogenous conceptions and inter-authorial differences, is it at all possible to talk about historiography, historiographers and history as though they follow universal regularities? Are there indicators pointing at traditions or conventions that might confirm shared practices inherent in historiographical accounts of the period in focus? Ahead of examining how evaluation manifests itself in Late Modern history writing, it is thus indispensable to establish latent universal, discourse-specific and divergent forms of historical knowledge construction, since it is these forms which are assumed to predominantly inform the historians' evaluative choices.

The following sections attempt to provide answers to these questions. It should be noted that they do not claim to present a comprehensive overview of Late Modern historiography,

[3] O'Brien, for instance, suggests that eighteenth-century historians adopted "a more dynamical sense of historical writing as an arena in which both historian and reader exercise political, emotional and aesthetic choices"(1997: 5).

but to present selective accounts of relevant facts that are attuned to the linguistic questions discussed in the following chapters.[4]

2.1 The development of the Late Modern historian's craft

Before turning to an examination of the evaluative devices used in British history writing, it is indispensable to fathom the ideals and (self-)conceptions shared by those who consider themselves historiographers.[5] At first glance, ascertaining these unifying principles appears to be fairly straightforward. Upon closer inspection, however, it emerges that the socio-political positioning of the heterogeneous multitude of eighteenth-century historians might only be inferred either from their self-representation or from their reaction to shifting fashions/philosophies. By implication, it is rather in the reassessment of the earlier Christian erudite practices of historiography as conducted by the philosophical historians of the Enlightenment, that one might discover not only a transformation of scholarly demands but, simultaneously, the emergence of a novel approach on how to write history. Indeed, not until the emerging academic professionalisation of the practice in the course of the 19th century do we see the introduction of a codified/curricular repertoire of historiographical principles and guidelines, especially with regard to 'accurate', i.e. scientific, historical research Understanding the different ideals that historians have of their craft is thus considered key to classifying the way they construct their respective narratives: Text type-specific characteristics, such as the degree of emotional attachment, the amount of references, the degree of abstractness, etc., are most likely determined by the historiographical ideals prevalent in the period in which they were written.

Research on Late Modern British historiography has been concentrating almost exclusively on the lives, party-political affiliations and (master)works of its most prominent authors (cf. Burrow 2007; see also Trevor-Roper 2010; Kenyon 1983; Breisach 1983). Typically, history writing of that period is studied with a narrow focus, and an increasing amount of literature is devoted, for instance, to the shaping of historical methods, political and diplomatic agendas, the development of philosophical ideas, or to the representatives of the Scottish Enlightenment (e.g. Allan 2012). Support for this observation comes from Phillips (2000). For studies on the subject of eighteenth-century historiography, he notes a

[4] The subsequent, fairly condensed account of historiographical developments should not be mistaken to present but one universally valid perspective, despite its occasional succumbing to the "temptation in historical studies to seek out and canonize some key doctrine, which appears to be capable of giving a coherent identity to the thought of an earlier period"(Phillips 2000: 172).

[5] In the following the term *historiographer* will be used synonymously with "a writer of history" (OED).

lack of interest in "narratological issues" and especially in the examination of "the particular textual features that distinguishes historical writing as a body of literature" (Phillips 2000: 9). The outline of the generic 'evolution' of historiography is thus intended to enable the identification of those genre-typical linguistic features that are considered to be essentially shaped by prevailing conventions, analytical categories and procedures, and the (self-imposed) efforts of the individual historian by revealing ideal conceptions of the practice of historiography and of (transmitted and adapted) conventions.[6]

The following sub-chapters aim to provide a brief overview of the development of the principles of historical scholarship. They are divided into the traditionally acknowledged, broad periodisation of historical philosophy: 'Humanist/Antiquarian history', 'Enlightenment history' and 'Romantic history' (e.g. Bentley 1999; Okie 1991). Finally, the chapter addresses those disciplinary developments in this period that led to what researchers commonly refer to as "scientific" or "academic" historiography.[7]

'Humanist' and Antiquarian historiography

From the sixteenth century onward, historiographers employed textual methods of Renaissance humanism. The transition from grounding one's work on the accounts of eyewitness chroniclers to "archival historical research" (Burrow 2007: 283), allowed for explorations beyond ancient written historiographical documents. Stylistically, Antiquarian scholars did not pursue the writing of "enjoyable narratives" but rather that of "commentaries on highly specific philological and antiquarian topics" (Burrow 2007: 284). Imitating what they considered the best ancient models (e.g. Herodotus, Thucydides), antiquaries placed rhetorical effectiveness and prescriptive examples of appropriate (authoritative) conduct[8] over accurately researched, well-balanced texts (cf. Kenyon 1983: 33; Burrow 2007: 284). History writing, in the tradition of Herodotus, meant linking balanced investigation and commemoration. Many of the historical narratives written up to the sixteenth century focused more on the commemorative aspect aiming to record events

[6] For it does not suffice to solemnly rely, for instance, on 'competing party' approaches (Whigs vs. Tories) which were widely accepted to illuminate "eighteenth-century political and contested historical interpretations", as "these approaches did not go far enough in explaining the changing features of historiography" (Looser 2000: 10).

[7] It goes without saying that a rough periodisation of this kind, while utilitarian, is arbitrary and should be seen as a dynamic "signpost" (as trenchantly conceptualised by Williams 1967:1, quoted in Reinhard 1997: 281).

[8] Kenyon (1983: 33) presents a quotation by Gilbert Burnet in which the historian addresses the English upper classes in the conclusion of his *History of My Own Time*, suggesting that for the sake of education they should be introduced to "Plutarch's Lives with the Greek and Roman history" so as to "form just reflections and sound principles of religion and virtue".

and thus preserve the past from oblivion. Burrow (2007: 287f.) proposes that it was primarily the methodological techniques adapted by humanist historians that created an impulse to approach history writing in an investigative fashion. This 'critical investigative' approach essentially involved detecting anachronisms in ancient texts in order to find 'authentic' material. Consequently, the historiographer had to be highly sophisticated and well-versed in the craft of spotting potentially suspicious discrepancies in the Latin/Greek phraseology, grammar and style of the texts or sources under observation. The result of this analytical process, quite suitably termed "literary archaeology" (Burrow 2007: 289), which involved an extensive collection and inspection of classical sources, has been judged by later historians to be less than elegant (Trevor-Roper 2010: 8; Phillips 2000: 56). Apart from strictly adhering to the novel analytical methodologies, British antiquaries were considerably affected by the Reformation (cf. Breisach 1983: 199). In the context of the present study, it should be noted that the emerging Protestant view of the past led to considerable reappraisals of the past. Burrow emphasises the shift in perspective by exemplarily pointing out the re-evaluation of former rulers of the kingdom: Henry II is stylised as "defender of clerical privileges", while Henry IV is condemned as "persecutor […] of proto-Protestants" (2008: 297). To take one illustrative example, one might turn to the work of one of the most prominent historians of the seventeenth-century and to its underlying historiographical ideal informed by a "traditional Christian humanist framework of history" (Okie 1991: 10). The form of Edward Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* is a mixture of an autobiography (containing in part the informal features typical of memoirs) and a comprehensive account of events (both those remote in time and space and those in which he was personally involved) (Burrow 2007: 303). It is worth mentioning here that, according to Burrow, Clarendon does not conceal his measured partisanship since "he writes to judge as well as to recount" (2007: 303). The focus of this assessment, however, was rather restricted. In contrast to the emerging preoccupation of their successors with social and economic factors, most humanist historians shared a narrow political orientation and tended to focus on the actions of individual great men (princes, generals, kings, etc.), whom they regarded as "agents of change" (Okie 1991: 11).

'Philosophical historians' of the Enlightenment

Stimulated by the views of French philosophes, such as Voltaire and Montesquieu, as well as by the re-discovery of classical works and ever-expanding geographical explorations into

the (new) world, British historiographers gradually began to reassess the prevailing conceptions of history writing (Breisach 1983: 199; Burrow 2007: 313). While the previous generation of historians systematically reflected on the past from a Christian theological perspective and accepted, for example, the concept of divine providence and did not doubt the accuracy of the Old Testament (Breisach 1983: 199), scholars now turned to a "philosophical" (O'Brien 2012: 518) view of the purpose of historiography: The perception of history as 'continuous progress' became a central feature in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment narratives.[9]

Philosophical historians often rejected the diligent fact-gathering of the antiquarians and instead oriented themselves towards finding secularised explanations to replace those of the earlier theological accounts. George Thompson, in his lecture *The Spirit of General History* (published 1791), made no pretence about his critical view on the partiality of those scholars who merely "gratify an idle curiosity" (1791: 4). Thompson took the view that the person whose interest in history is merely to learn the mere facts and figures and who is "ignorant of the causes which produced them [rising nations and admired conquerors], or not to think them worth attending to, is to read history to no good purpose." (1791: 5). Accordingly, in his Letters on the Study and Use of History, written as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, Lord Bolingbroke recommended refraining from consuming antiquarian literature:

> I persuade you to hasten down from the broken traditions of antiquity, to the more entire as well as more authentic histories of ages more modern. In the study of these we shall find many a complete series of events, preceded by a deduction of their immediate and remote causes, related in their full extent, and accompanied with such a detail of circumstances, and characters, as may transport the attentive reader back to the very time, make him a party to the councils, and an actor in the whole scene of affairs. Such draughts as these, either found in history or extracted by our own application from it, and such alone, are truly useful. Thus history becomes what she ought to be, and what she has been sometimes called, 'magistra vitae', the mistress, like philosophy, of human life. If she is not this, she is at best 'nuntia vetustatis', the gazette of antiquity, or a dry register of useless anecdotes. (Bolingbroke 1752: 122f.)

It was believed that 'authenticity' was generated through an enhanced causal reading of historical events and above all through a 'time travel-like' reading experience. The quote nicely illustrates the emerging change in historiographical conceptions: Henceforth, a broader, universal view of history was to serve as a moral guide, as well as a meaningful

[9] According to Trevor-Roper, the ideas governing the eighteenth-century intellectual revolution gradually developed out of a combination of "seventeenth-century heresy", the "scepticism of Bayle and Le Clerc" and "the ideas of Locke and Newton" (2010: 4), viz. the precursors of the 'Age of Reason'.

source of insight into human nature and behaviour. Praising the style of Hume, Robertson and Gibbon, the rhetorician Hugh Blair deemed this progress-oriented, comprehensive universal perspective an improvement of historical composition. In his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783), Blair considered it the "business of the able historian" to favour the more expedient presentation of changing manners, over "the detail of sieges and battles". To achieve this, historiographers had to expand on their methodology. Grafton (2007: 250) points to the increase of "sophisticated scholarly tools", such as the publication of "elaborate formal manuals of diplomatics, palaeography, numismatics", which supported historians in their quest to dispute controversial religious views and to measure up to the ambitious expectations with regards to the philosophical historian's endeavour. These tools marked a considerable transformation in historical method (Grafton 2007: 250-251).

Before turning to the historiographical ideals disseminated mainly by the small group of well-known historians of the British Enlightenment, it is instructive to look more closely at a valuable body of work which, in its divergence from previous conceptions of history writing, helps to trace the impact of change in the representation of the past. Robert Henry's *History of Great Britain from the Invasion by the Romans under Julius Caesar* (1771-93) carries the attention-grabbing subtitle *Written on a new plan*.[10] The Scottish historian begins his six-volume history by introducing the reader to his innovative idea of writing a history that he believes is more in line with contemporary philosophical conceptions. His intent to "draw a faithful picture of the characters and circumstances of our ancestors from age to age, both in public and in private life" was backed by a detailed description (markedly void of "digressions and repetitions"[11]) of the various aspects of the lives of the "inhabitants of Britain" throughout the ages (Henry 1771: v). In order to cater for the needs of a narrative of this unusual kind, Henry arranged the content of the volumes thematically:

> Each book begins and ends at some remarkable revolution, and contains the' history and delineation of the first of these revolutions, and of the intervening period. Every one of these ten books is uniformly divided into seven chapters, which do not carry on the thread of the history one after another, as in other works of this kind; but all the seven chapters of the same book begin at the same point of time, run parallel to one another, and end together; each chapter presenting the reader with the history of one particular object. (Henry 1771: v)

[10] Phillips' rendition of the subtitle as "selling point" might be conceived as an allusion to a proactive prevention countering the economic risk that Henry took, by publishing "the first edition at his own expense" (2000: 3).

[11] This statement appears to be of significance since the review of Thomas Smollett's *Complete History of England* (1757-58), published in the *Critical Review* (3/1757), also emphasises that the author avoided unnecessary digressions and superfluities (O'Brien 2001: 115).

The division of the chapters into the topics "civil and military history", "ecclesiastical history and the history of religion", "history of our constitution, governments, laws and court", "history of learning, of learned men, and of the chief seminaries of learning", "arts, useful and ornamental", "history of commerce, and of prices and commodities", "manners, virtues, vices, remarkable customs, language, dress, diet, and diversion", appears to be profoundly driven by what Phillips identifies as "two strong, but contradictory impulses" (2000: 4), namely the desire to include a range of social activities beyond established humanist conventions while still maintaining some semblance of a traditional linear narrative (Phillips 2000: 4). The gradual and rather cautious process of broadening the view on the past by implementing social alongside traditional political and military themes manifested in Henry's agenda is fascinating insofar as it illustrates a shift in conventions through slight modifications of both the thematic and stylistic structure of the historical text. Moreover, the expansion of topics seems to reflect a growing awareness among the readership. Until then, it was primarily an elite circle of predominantly intellectual scholars who consumed antiquarian histories.[12] In the middle of the 18th century, however, the publication of historical works increased radically (cf. O'Brien 2001: 115). The diligent English printing industry produced a saturation of the London book market (O'Brien 2012: 520). Owing to the massive increase in "serial publication, multi-author productions, republications and continuations" the "boundaries between 'high' and popular histories remained blurred" (O'Brien 2012: 520). It can be assumed that, consequently, the historiographer's need to position his/her work within the growing book market had a considerable influence on the way the narratives were structured. It thus became a major challenge for historiographers in the mid-eighteenth century to balance the expectations of the growing, diverse target audience without compromising the prestigious image of history (cf. O'Brien 2001).

Kenyon unconvincingly assesses Henry's *History of England* as "dull and conventional", still he underscores the sum of £3,300 (alongside a pension of £100 per annum), which Henry received for the copyright (1983: 58).[13] The commercial success of Henry's experimental approach appears to indicate a good sense of his target audiences' needs. David Hume's *History of England* (1754-62)[14] displays yet another unusual way of presenting the past: His *History*, which begins with the seventeenth-century revolution, is

[12] O'Brien remarks that "professional and clerical acquirers of personal libraries" remained the main "audience for narrative histories" throughout the early eighteenth century (2001: 106).
[13] The exceptional proceeds might be taken likewise as an indicator of the general popularity of Scottish Enlightenment history in Great Britain (cf. O'Brien 2012).
[14] It is worth the mention that the work was originally entitled *History of Great Britain* before the venture was handed over to London publishers (cf. O'Brien 2001).

written and published chronologically backwards, yet remains "classical in its sense of decorum and annalistic in its arrangement" (Burrow 2007: 315). The presence of extensive discursive appendices in Hume's six volumes may indicate the historian's attempt to avoid lengthy treatises, in keeping with the emerging narrative historiographical ideal that promoted diversity of subject matter with a view to comprehensive yet concise exposition. It is noteworthy, particularly with respect to the later analysis, that Hume, in order to circumvent the traditional convention of inventing speeches, decided to represent the opinions of many in preference to those of an individual (Burrow 2007: 315). Moreover, Hume's use of the "sentimental", which Burrow (2008: 316) considers a "consciously" applied technique, illustrates what can be seen as one of the most fundamental commitments of Enlightenment intellectual historiographers: the importance of emotional engagement in history-writing (Phillips 2003: 436). A justification for this assumption is exemplified in Hume's account of the character of Mary Queen of Scots.[15] It is argued that the writing of an effective morality-didactic work by engaging the reader's emotions in order to promote sympathy with historical characters can be achieved as an effect of (linguistic) immediacy/proximity (Phillips 2003).[16] The *involved* reading experience, analogous to that envisioned by Lord Bolingbroke above, was a technique central to the instructive historiography of the early nineteenth century. At first glance, this narratological proximity seems diametrically opposed to the ideals of both the "scientific" historians of the 19th century ("facts and objectivity") and the producers of neoclassical works ("impartiality") of the preceding period. Closer inspection, however, reveals that most philosophical historians actually presented selected objects of historical research with a greater degree of detachment. Against this background, it seems useful to take a closer look at the changing use and function of *historical distance* (cf. Phillips 2003) as an instrument of historiography. Not least because the shift in perception and the reassessment of the concept of distance on the

[15] Hume writes: "Thus perished, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and nineteenth of her captivity in England, Mary, queen of Scots; a woman of great accomplishments both of body and mind, natural as well as acquired; but unfortunate in her life, and during one period very unhappy in her conduct. The beauties of her person and graces of her air combined to make her the most amiable of women; and the charms of her address and conversation aided the impression which her lovely figure made on the hearts of all beholders. Ambitious and active in her temper, yet inclined to cheerfulness and society; of a lofty spirit, constant and even vehement in her purpose, yet polite, and gentle, and affable in her demeanour; she seemed to partake only so much of the male virtues as to render her estimable, without relinquishing those soft graces which compose the proper ornament of her sex. […] An enumeration of her qualities might carry the appearance of a panegyric; an account of her conduct must, in some parts, wear the aspect of severe satire and invective." (Hume Vol. V 1754 [1826]: 280f.)

[16] The linguistic dimension is explicitly brought up: "The force of language consists in raising complete images; which have the effect to transport the reader as by magic into the very place and time of the important action, and to convert him as it were into a spectator, beholding every thing that passes" (Lord Kames 1765 as quoted in Phillips 2003: 445).

one hand and the general purpose of historiography on the other are reflected in the statements of historiographers at the turn of the century. Above all, however, it played an important role in distinguishing their successors from the historiographers of the Enlightenment by once again criticising and reshaping the prevailing conventions.

'Romantic' historiography – evocative literary style and "affective proximity"

In the eyes of some 'Romantic' [17] historians, the historical narratives produced by Enlightenment historiographers lacked "sensibility" and empathy (cf. Phillips 2003; Bentley 1999). Many scholars were convinced that it was crucial to engage the reader's imagination in order to make past experiences 'feasible'. The self-imposed ideal to mediate between reason and imagination pursued by Romantic historians is sketched out in Thomas Babington Macaulay's essay History (1828):

> History, it has been said, is philosophy teaching by examples. Unhappily, what the philosophy gains in soundness and depth the examples generally lose in vividness. A perfect historian must possess an imagination sufficiently powerful to make his narrative affecting and picturesque. Yet he must control it so absolutely as to content himself with the materials which he finds, and to refrain from supplying deficiencies by additions of his own. He must be a profound and ingenious reasoner. Yet he must possess sufficient self-command to abstain from casting his facts in the mould of his hypothesis.

Simultaneously, Romantic historiographers tended to concentrate mainly on the singularity of unique national characteristics, thus diverging from their predecessors' emphasis on historical universality as defined by human nature. Hence the attempt of an emerging group of scholars to connect their ideal conceptions for the composition of history with their nationalistic orientation suggests a strong link between form and function of historiography. As it is conveyed in the subsequent declarations, as from now, the historian was considered to provide a more detailed and, likewise, utilitarian perspective of the past: Arguing from a cognitive angle, the English journalist William Godwin, in his unpublished essay Of History and Romance (1797), discussed the significance of providing tangible, instructive examples gained from the study of personal history. He took the view that "[t]he mind of man does not love abstractions. […] He who would study the history of nations abstracted from individuals whose passions and peculiarities are interesting to our minds, will find it a dry and frigid science. It will supply him with no clear ideas." (360). Godwin criticised

[17] It should be understood that the term *Romantic* is used only for convenience in order to classify the group of 'literary' historiographers writing in this period, which roughly spans from the French Revolution to the mid-nineteenth century.

historiographers who, in his view, condensed history by shifting the focus from the detailed description of a character (observed over a short time period) to a superficially abbreviated generalisation. He was convinced that the "genuine scholar" needed to supply his audience with an "exchange of real sentiments" for the purpose of conveying the respective character's virtues. Meaningful historical writing, thus, ought to inspire moral feelings, situated in the reader's mind. This experience, by implication, required what Budd (2009: 86) describes as "imaginative sympathy" on behalf of the reader.

Another factor that can be seen as crucial in reinforcing sentimentality is the view that history should only be read for its educational value.[18] In order to realise "concrete immediacy", a carefully substantiated presentation of facts was therefore largely dispensed with. One reason for the scholarly acceptance of this change in established practice probably lies in the view of historical accounts as fables/narratives, or at least as the equivalent of the historical novel (Budd 2009: 122). Indeed, Thomas Carlyle employed typical novelistic conventions such as "characterization and intensely atmospheric description", which turned his account of the French Revolution into "a novel in which the omniscient narrator describes and dooms his characters" (Budd 2009: 123f.). Budd's slightly exaggerated reading is interesting in that it leads to the question of how dissociation *from* and proximity *to* the past are realised in the compositional process of the individual historiographer. Moreover, it might provide an understanding of how epoch-specific compositional tendencies were controversially assessed by other schools of history writers.

In order to understand the above-mentioned alteration in narrative style, one must look more closely at one of its main motivations, namely the expansion of the established readership.[19] By the end of the eighteenth century, middle class women constituted a significant part of the readership, who were generally accustomed to a tone and a form that differed from the traditional historical narrative. Writers of history began to accommodate female interest in the subject by diversifying the arrangement of their writings. Thus, in many cases, epistolary or biographical formats took the place of strictly linearly composed narratives (cf. Phillips 1997; O'Brien 2001). O'Brien underlines the encouraging influence that the "general expansion of the subject matter of history beyond political narratives

[18] Godwin states that he would not be interested in whether the accounts of ancient history (which he considers to be 'fables') were true or false. His first enquiry is simply epistemic "Can I derive instruction from it?" (1797 [1988: 370]).

[19] Following Looser (2000:15), the increase of middle and even working-class readers can be linked to the rise of literacy rates. Looser further argues that the idea that history could serve as a moral guide for women readers was imported to England from France, pointing to the moral works of the French archbishop François Fénelon, who believed that the involvement of women in historiography would not only "elevate their minds" but "stimulate them to noble thoughts" (2000: 17).

towards a social and cultural life" exerted on female readers (2001: 126). The reading habits of the emerging target audience were mainly informed by contemporary novelistic conventions. This insight is crucial, since the (sub)genres that were composed in accordance with those conventions might have served, as Phillips (2000: 103) argues, as a means for the reading public to contrast and thus to re-define the genre of history writing. In this respect, examining the far-reaching consequences of what Fermanis and Regan (2014: 1) refer to as the "troubled relationship between history and literature" that was already beginning to manifest itself in the practice of late Enlightenment historiography, could be deemed highly significant for deducing cautious preliminary generic classifications. A prerequisite for an investigation of this kind is the realisation that, at least until the end of the eighteenth century, the boundary between fiction and history was anything but blurred. An apt illustration of this generic fuzziness is provided in Braudy's (1970: 3f.) comparison of the narrative structure of the two famous prose accounts, at the end of which he observes that "*The History of Tom Jones, A Foundling* has more than a merely verbal similarity to […] *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*". Nevertheless, as it is argued by Looser (2000: 22), most readers were able to distinguish between history and fiction, despite the many ostensible thematic and stylistic similarities.

In addition to the historiographers' reaction to the market's demand for a 'literary turn' and the subsequent disassociation from those historical scholars who allegedly did not pay attention to narrative form and moral purpose, it should be taken into account that numerous notable historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, in fact, pursued a literary profession. The style of novelists, essayists, playwrights, and poets, such as Daniel Defoe, Jonathan Swift, Samuel Johnson, Tobias Smollett, Oliver Goldsmith, Edmund Burke and Thomas Carlyle can be held accountable for a continuity of a 'novelistic' way of writing history across epochs. In contrast to the conventions that governed Hume and Gibbon's rather detached, universal historical narratives, many of the 'literary' historians mentioned above pursued an imaginative identification with the past.[20] This endeavour inevitably led to a compositional challenge: as outlined above, the ideal of the early eighteenth-century historian was traditionally to be impartial, truthful and instructive. Seeking to combine these requirements with a more vivid, affective portrayal of the "revived" individual historical phenomenon, historiographers endeavoured to distinguish their works markedly from the

[20] It has been argued that universal 'exemplar theories' of history no longer conformed to an evolving conception of historiography (triggered primarily by the technological, economic and social revolutions), which now began to emphasise the qualitative differences between eras and the uniqueness of each historical age.

"fictional truths" (Phillips 1989:125) of the early novels. This claim of veracity by the novelists, many of whom presented themselves as editors or mere collectors of other people's true stories, may have been further reinforced by the use of historiographical evidence devices such as extensive footnotes and references to (fictional) sources. It is the novelists' imitative approach that echoes what, according to O'Brien, can be understood as the novel's approximation to "empirical norms and authoritative voice of historical writing" (2005: 389). Accordingly, several early novelists regarded their fictional stories to be "as instructive as history" (Lamarque & Olsen 1996: 289).

A closer look at the composition of a series of historical novels by Sir Walter Scott, however, reveals that the above-mentioned accuracy and reliability of the novelists with regard to the (re)presentation of historical knowledge was evidently by no means self-evident and had to be actively consolidated. In the preface to Waverley (1814), for instance, Scott makes his information-gathering techniques transparent to the reader, as if to emphasise the enhanced educational value of his imagined narration:

> I had been a good deal in the Highlands […], and was acquainted with many of the old warriors of 1745, who were, like most veterans, easily induced to fight their battles over again for the benefit of a willing listener like myself. It naturally occurred to me that the ancient traditions and high spirit of a people who, living in a civilised age and country, retained so strong a tincture of manners belonging to an early period of society, must afford a subject favourable for romance, if it should not prove a curious tale marred in the telling. (Scott 1814/1829 Waverley)

This strategy of placing a fictional story against a supposedly well-researched historical background seems to be a means of defending against the accusation of altering historical facts ad libitum. Similarly, Scott's reflection on the choice of his protagonist's name at the beginning of the first chapter of Waverley seems to support the claim that the author is cautiously aware of the reciprocal influence of literature on history. His considerations are intriguing in that they point to an awareness of an assumed prosody that Scott associates with several surnames (e.g. Howard, Mortimer, Stanley, Belmour, Belville). So, in order to prevent the reader from entertaining a preconceived notion of his character, Scott explains that "I, therefore, like a maiden knight with his white shield, assumed for my hero, WAVERLEY, an uncontaminated name, bearing with its sound little of good or evil, excepting what the reader shall hereafter be pleased to affix to it." (Scott 1829 Waverley CH. I, 1). This articulated, potentially (historical) evaluative, 'contamination' of names appears to suggest a perception of the constraining influence that reality/history exerted on the fiction-writer's stylistic choices. At the same time, the quote subliminally hints at what

is considered essential for the typical historical novel and what might be considered a differentiating, thus genre-specific factor: The emphasis is not so much on the truthful representation of historical events, but rather on the invention of characters placed directly into those events, intending to make the reader "re-experience" (Lukács 1937, transl. 1962: 42) the conditions, that affected the way people acted in a particular historical period. Based on these observations, it can be hypothesised that both the expectations and the personal experiences of the readership made it imperative to provide the audience with a justification for the intended fictional (re)invention of the past. And indeed, Scott employs a protracted narrative strategy at the beginning of *Waverley*, setting his novel in its historical context while simultaneously attuning the reader's expectations to the narrative period:

> By fixing, then, the date of my story Sixty Years before this present 1st November, 1805, I would have my readers understand, that they will meet in the following pages neither a romance of chivalry nor a tale of modern manners; that my hero will neither have iron on his shoulders, as of yore, nor on the heels of his boots, as is the present fashion of Bond Street.[21] (Scott 1814/1829 Waverley)

In contrast, it can be assumed that historiographers rarely had to justify their motivation for the subjective selection of their topics and the resulting narrative. However, owing to the unspoken obligation to portray 'the past' as accurately as possible, historians' abilities to affect the reader were viewed as being limited (cf. Phillips 1989: 119). Reflecting upon this affective impediment, Joseph Priestley argued that, despite their shared access to "the springs of human passion", authors of fictional literature - unlike the "faithful historian" - unsurprisingly benefitted from their ability to utilise the "choice of every circumstance" in order to move the readership (Priestley 1777, Lectures XII: 80). Priestley's contemporary Godwin even went so far as to call romance a "species of history", if not "real history", and based this provocative claim primarily on the writers' thorough understanding and carefully composed portrayal of their invented characters (Godwin 1797, Of History and Romance). According to Godwin, the historiographers' confinement to "individual incident and individual man" could have the potential to lead to misconceptions about their motives (1797).

Acknowledging the ongoing debate revolving around this "poet-historian binary" (de Groot 2010: 18), which essentially contrasted the novelist's creativity with the restricted abilities of the historian committed to faithfully chronicling 'the past', Macaulay, in his

[21] Scott then continues with a lengthy justification for his decision to place his story in the recent past.

Critical and Historical Essays (1828) endeavoured a more fine-grained, rather conciliatory segmentation of the scope of duties:

> Sir Walter Scott gives us a novel; Mr. Hallam a critical and argumentative history. Both are occupied with the same matter. But the former looks at it with the eye of a sculptor. His intention is to give an express and lively image of its external form. The latter is an anatomist. His task is to dissect the subject to its inmost recesses, and to lay bare before us all the springs of motion and all the causes of decay. (Macaulay 1828 *Critical and Historical Essays I "Hallam"* 116).

The quotation offers persuasive evidence for Macaulay's acceptance of the co-existence of literary imagination alongside historiographical material. He appreciated the fictional authors' imaginative approach and especially their vivid narratives. This is not surprising when one considers that for Macaulay, history "in its ideal state of perfection" was composed of "poetry and philosophy"[22] and that "[i]t impresses general truths on the mind by a vivid representation of particular characters and incidents." (Macaulay 1828: 113, quoted in Phillips 1989). Commenting on the Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay, his late nineteenth-century colleague John Seeley, who commented on the life and letters of Lord Macaulay, was rather dismissive of the approach of the then despised writings of the "man of letters" (Howsam 2004: 525).[23] It might be argued that Seeley's somewhat derogatory remarks strongly reflect the ideals of 'academic' historiography that deemed it essential to create and enforce a boundary between amateurs and professionals, i.e. between "literature on one side and science on the other" (Howsam 2004: 525).

Notwithstanding the strong link between the genres, history held a higher prestige than other related forms of literature, at least for the majority of the political elite in Britain (cf. O'Brien 2005). This hierarchical superiority seems to be based above all on their highly regarded claim for 'truth'. The truthfulness of this claim could thus be exploited against political opponents in what Hicks (1996: 11) calls "generic warfare": As soon as a historical work was viewed as not conforming to a reader's (political) affiliation, the writer could employ a strategy whereby she or he deprived the work of its defining quality of veracity (Hicks 1996: 11).[24] Thus, by contrasting, the historiographical practice was denigrated and

[22] Even though Macaulay subsequently added that the poetry and philosophy represented "hostile elements" and had been "at length […] completely and professedly separated" (Macaulay 1828).

[23] The commentary reads: "Macaulay tells us himself that in his rambles about the streets of London his brain was commonly busy in **composing imaginary conversations among historical persons**; these conversations, he says, were like those in the **Waverly Novels**. Thus trained he became naturally possessed by the idea […] that it was quiet possible **to make a history as interesting as a romance**." (Seeley 1879 History and Politics I, Macmillan's Magazine 41, my emphasis)

[24] The examples presented by Hicks (1996: 11) trenchantly illustrate the linguistic strategies used to attack and simultaneously devalue the adversary's history: "The title page was deemed fraudulent, renamed libel or satire

the work devalued to lower sections of the assumed literary hierarchy. And while these extraordinary procedures suggest that strict adherence to veracity is an exclusive feature of historiography, it would be short-sighted to ascribe to the historical truth claim the status of a central distinguishing feature between the two genres. The importance of "factual accuracy" (O'Brien 2005: 404) appears to be equally relevant in novel-writing. O'Brien (2005) quotes a review of Henry Fielding's *Amelia* (1751), which convincingly shows that it was felt obligatory to place historical markers correctly in one's (fictional) story in order to adhere to what is called *vraisemblance*, i.e. the "criterion of an artistically satisfying appearance of truth" (O'Brien 2005: 406). The reviewer takes the view that "[a] novel, like an epic poem, shou'd at least have the appearance of truth; and for this reason notorious anachronisms ought to be carefully avoided." (Review of Fielding' *Amelia* as quoted in O'Brien 2005:405). The review then continues to emphasise the narratological discrepancies, which apparently resulted from an inaccurate chronological integration of the siege of Gibraltar (O'Brien 2005:405).

However, despite of the ongoing debate of the relationship between history and fiction (for a detailed overview of the history/fiction debate, see Macfie 2015), scholars of the emerging professionalised discipline mostly rejected a style of history writing which resembled that of novelists (i.e. exhibiting a literary/artistic/aesthetic diction) in favour of a more "methodological and truthful" historiographic method (Lorenz 1998: 398).

Subsequently, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the manner of history writing gradually changed from composing "grand narratives" towards producing series of "extended essays" that primarily aimed at a professional readership (O'Brien 2001: 123).

Towards a 'scientific' and professionalised historiography

The process of the professionalisation of historiography in Britain with its notion of 'scientific' (i.e. non-partisan, source-critical) history writing, is believed to be informed by the established and prestigious historical scholarship in nineteenth-century Germany (e.g. Burrow 2007; Lorenz 1998). From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, historiography turned into a professional discipline closely connected to academic institutions, whose members could distance themselves from 'amateur', hence, 'untrained', writers, not only in that they were able to make a living from their occupation (Lingelbach

if it criticized one's political friends, panegyric if it overrated one's political enemies."; "Gilbert Burnet variously styled his opponent's untruthful 'histories' as 'Plays', 'Romances', 'Nouvelles,' and 'Fiction'." (Hicks 1996: Endnote 37).

2011), but also in that they largely subscribed to a novel methodological model advocated by Leopold von Ranke (Goldstein 1990; Lorenz 1998).

One key element which is believed to have furthered this process of professionalisation and that ultimately resulted in a gradual change of the historical landscape is the *institutionalisation* of 'history'. Lingelbach (2011: 78) provides a valuable distinction of the term's scope into "the material dimension of an organization" (covering its structures, committees, staff and funding) and into the second, "social and symbolic dimension", referring to the "norms and rules" which are established by institutions. Linked to this establishment of 'guidelines' is the assumption that institutions provide space for negotiations and further shape communicative and cognitive structures of the activities they accommodate (Lingelbach 2011: 78-79). These processes are considered particularly important for the development and maintenance of historiographical conventions, especially as an institutional environment of this kind forms the essential basis for mutual engagement between members of the emerging community of historiographers, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 2.2 below. Furthermore, those institutions in which historians are engaged in teaching and research (i.e. seminars, institutes, faculties) are considered "crucial for the historical discipline because they shaped the process of professionalization, influenced the choice of topics and methods, and set standards of historical writing and research." (Lingelbach 2011: 79).

Universities and the 'Rankean method'

Before the implementation of modern history into the English universities, administrators at both Oxford and Cambridge took the view that the principal task of the universities was to provide what was termed a "liberal education" (Slee 1986). This traditional form of educational activity focused on the skills that could be acquired through the study of, in particular, the methods of classical languages, the natural sciences, and mathematics. According to Slee (1986: 11-12), the core idea behind the teaching of these traditional subjects was the students' "mental training", since mastery of, for instance, Greek grammar and mathematical theorems required "effort and discipline". This was seen as vital to fulfil the widely accepted primary mission of Oxford and Cambridge universities, which was to "prepare young men for the leadership of church, state, and empire" (Soffer 1994: 1). History, on the other hand, despite its acknowledged importance, was not considered to be

the right subject for the intended "acquisition of dispassionate knowledge" (Bentley 2005: 177) by many early Victorians, deemed it not challenging enough (Slee (1986: 20).

The need to implement history as an autonomous, "single-focused subject" (Bentley 2005: 178) in the second half of the nineteenth century is said to have been stimulated primarily by the professionalisation of the discipline on the continent (Goldstein 1982: 193) and the ever-growing interest of British citizens in the past (Slee 1986: 20). Bishop William Stubbs was responsible for founding a historical school in Oxford whose aim was to train future historians. Originally trained in liberal studies, he only later became a self-taught historian (Goldstein 1990: 143). At Cambridge, it was John Robert Seeley who helped to establish history as an academic discipline. Both Regius professors turned to the scientific model of Leopold von Ranke, which they considered worthy of replicating (Hesketh 2011a: 3). Ranke's 'method' is frequently reduced to the main claim of its fact-based historiographical agenda, viz., to describe/present the past "as it actually happened" ("*wie es eigentlich gewesen*") (Hesketh 2011a: 3; also, Lorenz 1998: 394). The method emphasised impartiality, the relevance of source material (which should be drawn from the archives) combined with a critical stance towards primary sources ('*Quellenkritik*'), and the rejection of moral judgements (Goldstein 1982, 1990; Lorenz 1998; Hesketh 2011a). Now it could be assumed, that the claim to objectivity and the notion of "intersubjective validity" (Lorenz 1998: 394) resulting from this methodological rigor contributed to the emergence of a distinct historical profession that considered its own works superior to the narrative histories written by 'men of letters' (e.g. Goldstein 1990; Lorenz 1998). This appears to be only partially the case. Indeed, Hesketh (2011a: 30) notes that two influential advocates of the scientific idea, Seeley and Freeman, were divided on the question of whether Thomas Macaulay's popular *History of England* could be considered beneficial and even in line with the ideals of scientific historiography (since it was based on factual accuracy), or whether it 'corrupted' "the general reading public's historical sensibilities". This dispute is based on the question of the target group to which scientific historiography should be directed. Issues like these were also debated in emerging historical journals, such as the *English Historical Review* (founded in 1886). These "institutions of scholarly communication", not only provided historians with the possibility to present their own research and to critically assess that of others, but they were, above all, central for "stimulating a sense of identity for historians" and for "consolidating disciplinary standards" (Lingelbach 2011: 84). The latter is argued to be achieved primarily by publishing (book) reviews and by accepting and rejecting articles for publication (Lingelbach 2011; Goldstein 1982). Serving as a self-

proclaimed "training ground for young historians", in the words of its first editor, Mandel Creighton (quoted in Goldstein 1982: 183), the *English Historical Review* can be seen as a key instrument that promoted the professionalisation of the discipline by creating the notion of a professional community of historians with "shared scholarly attitudes and aims" (Goldstein 1982: 184). Professionalisation also requires an education that is based on "fixed curricula" with the help of which the profession defines and maintains the standards of historical knowledge acquisition (Lingelbach 2011: 88, also Soffer 1994). Despite some discernible differences in design, the curricula at both Oxford and Cambridge included 'constitutional' and later 'economic history', as these subject matters, in their different manifestations, were regarded as appropriate by conservative as well as by liberal historians (Soffer 1994: 61-64). Soffer (1994: 64f.) further remarks that research, teaching and writing were often informed by methods originally developed in the study of law. Hence, historians trained in modern history developed a sense of history writing which was essentially based on methodologies that largely adhered to the core principles of the Rankean model.

The aim of this brief overview was to show how the ideals of historiography changed over the course of about two hundred years. The ideal conceptions of historiography that preceded those of the advocates of professionalised 'scientific' historiography were guided by 'humanistic', 'philosophical' and 'romantic' views. In a highly simplified way, one could summarise that the historians of the first group focused primarily on 'great men' in their historiography and were relatively impartial, while the emerging historians influenced by the Enlightenment considered it more important to create a sense of 'authenticity' beyond the presentation of mere 'facts' and to adopt a more universal approach to historiography. Romantic historians aimed for a more detailed and instructive portrayal of the past in their respective accounts. They also resorted to novelistic conventions in order to narrate in a less detached manner. In contrast to the novelistic style of their 'amateur' colleagues, professional historians turned to the methodology propagated by Leopold von Ranke and trained their scholars in institutional frameworks based on more or less fixed curricula.

Finally, in order to summarise the most important epochal features, they are presented once again in tabular form below. Necessarily abbreviated, this overview of the development stages of historiography is intended to highlight their most salient differences before attempting the opposite in the next section, namely to determine a consistent, unified ideal of historiography that transcends these historical epochs.

Table 1. Main epochal features

Period	focus	historiographers' position	audience	objectivity/subjectivity
Humanist historiography	archival work, critical-investigative approach, focus strictly on politics	Historians express their views on selected topics	highly specialised audience	rather selective
Enlightenment historiography	rigorous focus on causality, embracing a universal perspective, increasing importance of emotional involvement	historians' interest expands beyond mere political history	larger, broader readership (might have a stronger influence on the nature of the hist. works)	the moral-didactic claim results in a distinctly subjective historiography
Romantic historiography	prevailing ideal of balancing reason and imagination, highlighting unique national characteristics, detailed and exemplary, individual-based narration	historians strive to achieve a moral and emotional impact on the reader	more female readers (who are accustomed to the narrative style of novels)	history writing is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish from fictional narration, historical accuracy is made secondary to the reader's moral and ethical instruction
Scientific historiography	influenced by Ranke's postulate of objectivity, history writing becomes increasingly institutionalised	Historians pursue a professionalised, source-critical approach that is clearly distinguished from amateur historiography	expert audience (fellow trained historians)	pursuing the claim of an empirical, objective historiography

The following chapter takes these tendencies and features into account and tries to establish whether there are generally accepted conventions and common resources used by all writers of history.

2.2 An evolving 'community of practice'?

Until the institutionalisation of historiography in the mid nineteenth-century, many historiographers received training that qualified them for vocations such as churchmen, politicians, physicists, moral philosophers, gentlemen of letters etc. Originally, history had

no fixed place in the curricula of most universities, but was subsumed under rhetoric (or occasionally grammar) and studied mainly in faculties of law or theology. On top of this, there is the constant change in the ideals and conventions described above that determined the representation of the past. However, these changes take place more at the level of what I call 'secondary' demands, goals and aspirations, since the works of most historians, although quite heterogeneous in their composition, seem to reflect the general characteristics of their respective epochs: These are, in simplified terms, the universal, philosophical focus of Enlightenment historiography, the literary, morally instructive enterprise of Romantic history-writing, and, ultimately, the empirical, scientific approach that sought a scholarly depiction of the past. Despite the evident disparity on the surface, the fundamental question is whether one can assume the existence of a core ideal of historiography that is passed on, transcends epochs, is unaffected by changing secondary claims and perhaps even characterises a community of history-writers.

Leaving aside the fact that almost all historians worked on their own, I would like to discuss whether they gradually evolved into what Wenger (1998) labelled a *community of practice* within the period under consideration.[25] Its constitutive conditions, however, need to be adapted to accommodate a non-synchronic examination of historical data (cf. Jucker & Kopazcyk 2013). Before discussing the viability of the framework for this study in more detail with regard to the individual components, these will be briefly outlined.

Originally, Wenger's (1998) concept comprises three criteria for identifying a community of practice: Mutual engagement, a jointly negotiated enterprise, and a shared repertoire. The first criterion relates to members getting together so as to engage in shared practices. It is noteworthy for the following discussion that mutual engagement does not necessarily have to be harmonious but may likewise be conflictual (Meyerhoff 2002: 527). At the heart of the second criterion lies the enterprise, which "is the result of a collective process of negotiation" and which is "defined by the participants in the very process of pursuing it" (Wenger 1998: 77). As a result of the process of negotiating, Meyerhoff (2002: 528) sees "some circularity" associated with the identification of the enterprise. Consequently, she considers it important that this shared enterprise should be "reasonably specific" (Meyerhoff 2002: 528). The last criterion, the development of a shared repertoire

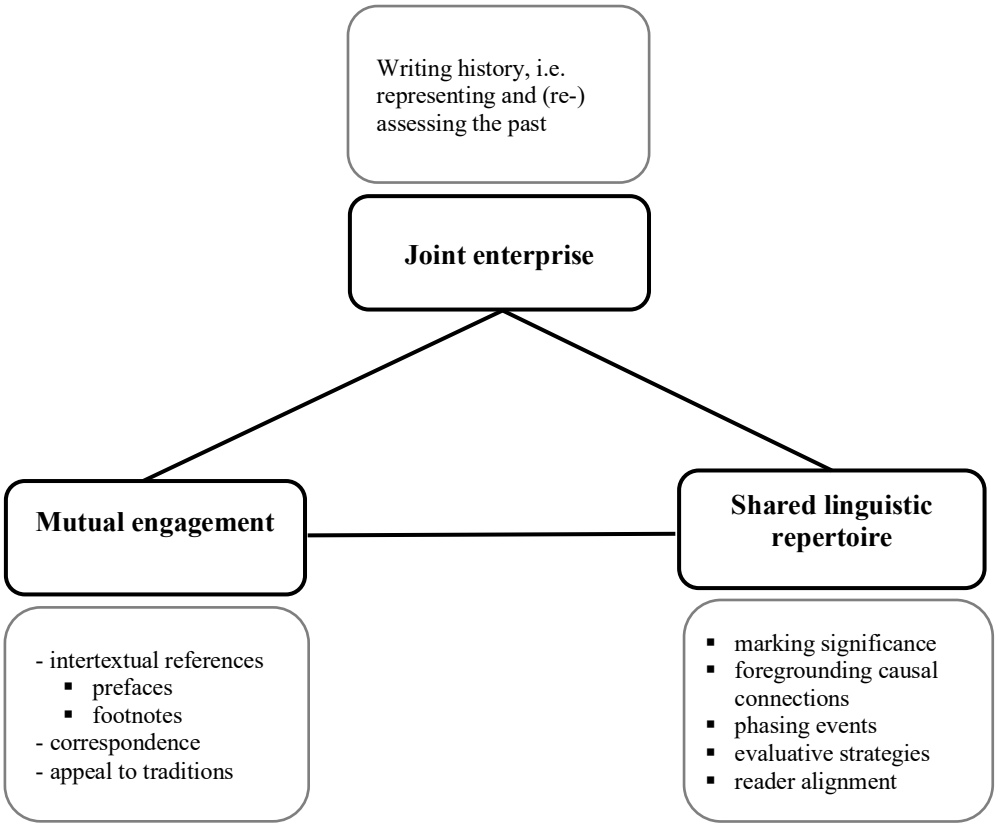
[25] An alternative concept to Wenger's (1998) *Community of Practice* is that of *discourse traditions* (Koch 1997). The concept encompasses textual traditions that refer not only to specific elements of content, but also to the lexical and grammatical elements that are predominantly used in that tradition. However, *discourse traditions* was introduced as a purely theoretical concept and intuitively applied to a number of textual traditions, but it lacks a developed methodology. In contrast, Wenger's (1998) approach provides the necessary systematic criteria to identify and compare the motivation of the lexical items used.

of "resources for negotiating meaning", results, according to Wenger (1998: 82), from the joint pursuit of an enterprise. The repertoire of a practice not only "reflects a history of mutual engagement" but it "remains inherently ambiguous" so that it can be "re-utilized" or "re-engaged" in new situations (Wenger 1998: 83). That these criteria underlying the concept can be rendered fruitful for historical observations of language use in the past, is corroborated by the contributions in Jucker and Kopazcyk's (2013) volume *Communities of practice in the history of English*. While the editors acknowledge applying the framework to historical data is challenging, they emphasise that it can reveal "a range of social driving forces" (Jucker & Kopazcyk 2013: 6). A close look at these *social driving forces* is considered particularly helpful for the present study in finding possible reasons for divergent evaluative choices or for the privileging of certain assessment goals by historians.

The following sections attempt to correlate what may best be described as an *imagined community* (Anderson 1991) of historiographers for most of the period under consideration, with the three constitutive criteria proposed by Wenger (1998), in order to discuss the applicability of the framework. Originally, Anderson's concept describes the nation as a socially constructed, 'imagined' community whose members will probably never know each other personally, but who may share similar interests or identify as part of the same nation (1991: 6-7). Anderson's idea can certainly be extended beyond this original context, for in the case of the present study, historiographers similarly see themselves as part of a community whose members they do not know personally, but whose identity they share and whose values they are committed to.

Figure 1 provides an overview of the dimensions of the practice of history writing.

Figure 1. Specific dimensions of historiographical practice



(adapted from Wenger 1998: 73 and Jucker & Kopaczyk 2013: 9)

Joint enterprise

Historiographers write history. More precisely, they all represent and (re-)assess the past-as-history in historical accounts (Carr 1961; Munslow 2007). Commonly, they draw on the works of other (earlier) historians and chroniclers, relying on their treatment and interpretation of the underlying material and immaterial sources. Beyond that, as will be shown in later chapters, historians position themselves in their texts vis-à-vis their colleagues (and their respective value systems). Of course, the enterprise is far from stable as both the concrete substance and the goal of history writing are constantly re-negotiated against the backdrop of changing ideals (as discussed in chapter 2.1). Its persistent epistemological core, however, remains - first and foremost - the construction of a narrative to create meaning for the past (cf. Jenkins 2003).

Mutual engagement

Before the advent of universities in which the exchange between members and the practice of history writing became institutionalised, the prerequisite notion of mutual engagement as defined in the original framework (Wenger 1998: 137) was not fully realised. In his discussion of whether grammar writers in eighteenth century Britain can be considered a community of practice, Watts (2008: 51) remarks that there was no "real" mutual engagement, i.e. no direct social interaction, among fellow grammarians and consequently rejects the applicability of the concept. Underlying this rejection is a fairly restricted notion of mutual engagement. For the purpose of my argument, I would like to expand on the constitutive components of this criterion in order to give space to alternative forms of social interaction and negotiations of the subject matter. Only in this way it becomes possible to show how a hypothetical incipient or 'proto'-community of practice (largely devoid e.g. of evidence of direct mutual engagement) gradually transforms into a community of practice 'proper' in the process of institutionalising historical knowledge transmission. Technically, historians did not collaboratively negotiate a joint enterprise, at least rarely in a direct communicative exchange. There is, however, evidence of correspondence between historians that can arguably be taken as proof of the existence of a communicative connection among members of the community (cf. Gotti 2013).[26] For instance, in a letter addressed to his contemporary Gibbon, David Hume gives critical stylistic advice:

> I have perused [your manuscript] with great pleasure and satisfaction. I have only one objection, derived from the language in which it is written. Why do you compose in French, and carry faggots into the wood, as Horace says with regard to Romans who wrote in Greek? […] Your use of the French tongue has also led you into a style more poetical and figurative, and more highly coloured, than our language seems to admit of in historical productions: for such is the practice of French writers, particularly the more recent ones, who illuminate their pictures more than custom will permit us. On the whole, your History, in my opinion, is written with spirit and judgement; and I exhort you very earnestly to continue it. (Letter from Mr. Hume to Mr. Gibbon; October 24, 1767)

It is instances like this discussion of stylistic choices and their appropriateness, in which the mutual engagement between historians becomes visible. These rather critical stances illustrate that engagement among historians was not necessarily characterised by a purely harmonious conformity and might therefore, in the joint arbitration of discrepancies, have

[26] Among the addressees of David Hume's correspondence are a number of fellow historians such as William Robertson, Adam Ferguson, Edward Gibbon, Tobias Smollett, Catharine Macaulay, Robert Walpole, who form an extensive network, suggesting that at least some of their correspondence served to discuss issues underlying their shared enterprise. This hypothesis is in part confirmed by Hume's apology to Walpole for his "negligence in not quoting my authorities".

exposed a more committed collaboration in negotiating the meaning of their practice (Wenger 1998: 76).[27] Since the mid-eighteenth century, there is evidence of the exchange of manuscripts among historians. Attempting to decipher the cryptic initial "Dr. R---", whose manuscript was favourably reviewed in one of Smollett's letters, Edward Noyes, the editor of *The Letters of Tobias Smollett*, after listing a number of reasons for his assumption, concludes that "Dr.---R was Dr. William Robertson" and "that Strahan had sent the MS. of the History to his friend Smollett for his opinion." (Note 2 – Letters 1926: 163). Attestations of document exchanges like this, occasionally accompanied by a review of the manuscripts[28], might be seen as confirming mutual engagement, as they are in some way similar to present-day 'peer-reviews'. Admittedly, these exchanges can better be considered a preoccupation with the material and, at first glance, lack the factor of personal collaboration. If, however, social complexity is taken into account, one could debate whether the indirect, mediated communication between members through the material, which is fundamental to their joint enterprise can be regarded as constituting mutual engagement.

At this point, it is useful to introduce a slightly expanded definition revised by Wenger and Snyder (2000), which might better fit the - originally rather loose - grouping of Late Modern historiographers. They state that the community of practice is "a group of people informally bound together by shared expertise and passion for a joint enterprise" (2000: 139). In this definition, the focus is less on the interactional component and more on the expertise about the practice in which the members are involved.

Beyond this, some letters from historians of the period indicate that the printers (such as Andrew Millar, William Strahan and Alexander Macmillan) played an important role as, what might be termed, 'intermediaries' between companions and clients (for further discussion of the close relationship of historians and their publishers see O'Brien 2001 and Howsam 2009).

In addition, there is an interactional component associated with intertextual references and, in particular, the important use of footnotes and marginalia in historiography (cf. Grafton 1999) which have been identified as elements used not only to provide evidence and elaboration but also, among other things, to assess the usefulness and veracity of sources (cf.

[27] As was shown in the previous sections, the orientation of shared practices was constantly re-negotiated through a clear distancing from the ideals and conventions of earlier generations of scholars. As a consequence, eighteenth-century English historians adopted the designation 'personae of studious, reflective gentlemen of letters' in marked contrast to the 'men of affairs' i.e. Bacon and Clarendon (cf. O'Brien 2001).

[28] In the present case, Smollett assesses Dr R.---'s document as "very Sensible & Correct" (letter 32 Oct. 24, 1757 - 1926: 49). Later, in the Victorian period, historians' letters to their publishers frequently included reports with the purpose of "passing judgement and criticism on the works of others" (Howsam 2009: xii).

Claridge & Wagner 2020). It might be argued that historians negotiated their shared practices through a process which Grafton (1999: 234) describes as "conversations through footnotes" (i.e. conversations between the modern scholars, their predecessors and their subjects). A selection of typical intertextual references drawn from the data of the present corpus, (1) and (2), reveals that historiographers readily expressed either endorsement or criticism directed at their colleagues' procedures or their entire works.[29]

(1) Echard pretends to have seen Deageant's Memoirs, but he takes not the least Notice of these Passages, which wou'd very much confirm the Belief of the Archbishop of Embrun's Negotiations (Oldmixon)

(2) Mr. Hume, in supposing that the birth and dignity of Severus were too much inferior to the Imperial crown, and that he marched into Italy as general only, has not considered this transaction with his usual accuracy, (Essay on the original contract.) (Gibbon)

Both Oldmixon and Gibbon, in their critical comments on Echard and Hume respectively, assess the work ethic of their colleagues as inadequate, while the following references (3), (4) and (5), in contrast, rather foreground the usefulness and structure of the individual, preparatory (ground)work.

(3) No passage has been more fiercely fought over than this, since the legists of the English court made it the groundwork of the claims which the English crown advanced on the allegiance of Scotland; and it has of late been elaborately discussed by Mr. Robertson on the one side (Scotland under her Early Kings, ii. 384) and Mr. Freeman on the other (Norm. Conq. i. Appendix) (Green)

(4) Mr. Lecky has noticed this in a note to one of the most beautiful and striking passages in the History of Rationalism, vol. i. p. 256, note. (Walpole)

(5) Mr. Skene (Celtic Scotland, i. 357) would fix it at Aldborough; but Mr. Freeman and Professor Stubbs abandon the effort to localize it in despair. (Green)

Assessments of that kind could be read as signalling to the ordinary reader, and simultaneously, to the entire community of historiographers, what the historian in question deemed (in)adequate or even exemplary compositions. Although these evaluations are not

[29] At times, historians and their works are discussed in correspondence. One such example is the comparison of Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall* with existing works, carried out by Horace Walpole, who had received a copy a few days before its official publication. Writing to William Mason, he states: "Lo, there is just appeared a truly classic work; a history, not majestic like Livy, nor compressed like Tacitus; not stamped with character like Clarendon; perhaps not so deep as Robertson's Scotland, but a thousand degrees above his Charles; not pointed like Voltaire, but as accurate as he is inexact; modest as he is tranchant, and sly as Montesquieu without being so recherché. The style is as smooth as a Flemish picture, and the muscles are concealed and only for natural uses, not exaggerated like Michael Angelo's to show the painter's skill in anatomy; nor composed of the limbs of clowns of different nations, like Dr. Johnson's heterogeneous monsters. This book is Mr. Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." (Walpole Letters, vii. 505).

purposive, they can easily be translated into impulses or even didactic instructions aimed at changing the practice of history writing.

An exceptional reference to the origin of the compositional procedures of a fellow historian can be found in Burke's *Reflection on the Revolution in France* in (6). In a process clearly affirms an immediate personal interaction and discussion of historiographical practices, Burke references Hume in a way that would nowadays - in academic terms - be labelled 'personal communication' (p.c.).

(6) Mr. Hume told me that he had from Rousseau himself the secret of his principles of composition. (Burke)

Meetings among historians, even across various nationalities, may have been encouraged by research trips to the archives. As a case in point, Thomas Macaulay's numerous references to foreign archives and private collections in his footnotes, while not explicitly mentioning interaction with colleagues, nevertheless strongly suggest the possibility of contact. A considerably better documented case is that of Adam Ferguson. Oz-Salzberger (2000: 52f.), who sketches a profile of Ferguson's early contacts, identifies not only the Scottish Enlightenment historians Robertson, Hume and Smith as his close acquaintances, but also intellectuals such as Paul-Henri d'Holbach and Voltaire, whom he met when travelling "widely in Europe".[30] This expansion of networks outside Britain is by no means the exception: a continuous exchange between British and German historians is captured in the seminal contributions collected in the comparative study on the relations between British and German historiography (cf. Stuchtey & Wende 2000). It is believed that through this inter-European exchange, the British community of practice was - at least occasionally - exposed to intellectual contestation that transcended national boundaries. [31]

Members of the community not only exchanged ideas with their contemporaries, but also repeatedly brought their Roman or Greek predecessors into the discourse. Throughout the period, there is constant reversion to ancient historiographers (i.e. Thucydides, Plutarch, Polybius, Herodotus etc.). It might thus be discussed whether the collective recollection of

[30] Apart from face-to-face meetings, he exchanged letters with Gibbon reflecting Ferguson's willingness to help revise his *History* and asking for feedback. In a letter to Gibbon, written on March 19, 1776, Ferguson modestly declared that: "I have not stayed to make any particular remarks. If any should occur on my second reading, I shall not fail to lay in my claim to a more needed and more useful admonition from you, in case I ever produce anything that merits your attention."

[31] For the German translation of Ferguson's *Roman Republic*, for example, there is evidence that the translator - supported by intellectual reviewers - significantly corrected and altered the text by adding primary sources, critical footnotes and a "running critique of Ferguson's interpretation" (Oz-Salzberger 2000: 58). It cannot be ruled out that modifications of this kind were at least recognised or even produced by British authors themselves; the latter would be an indication of what might be called a 'collaboratively negotiated incremental improvement'.

traditional historiographical virtues constitutes yet another integrative component whose constant (re-)negotiation shapes and stabilises the emerging historiographical community of practice. As a case in point one can refer to Oldmixon, who praises the exceptionalism of Burnet's work and compares the historiographer's disposition, moral reflections and style with those of a number of renowned history writers of the antiquity.

(7) Those of the Ancients, who wrote in this Bishop's [Burnet] way [...] were always held in the highest Esteem, as being both most useful and entertaining; such as Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Salust, Tacitus, Lactantius, Marcellinus. (Oldmixon)

In such cases, prominent historiographers can function as antique role models, as points of reference whose earlier, widely accepted, irrevocable practices (common sets of norms, values, stylistic choices etc.), are (re-)introduced or linked to the prevailing discourse. They may be seen as instantiations of a handed-down 'ancient tradition' to which historiographers appeal, in a manner that could very literally be considered an argumentum ad antiquitatem.

As has been postulated at the beginning of the discussion, there is little doubt that the emerging professionalisation of history writing has reshaped the historiographical community of practice. Particularly, the introduction of university faculties and institutions (e.g. *The Royal Historical Society*) and journals (such as the *English Historical Review*), fostered not only the cultivation of community but, ultimately, the negotiation of subject-specific and linguistic conventions by 'trained historians'. Conventions were enforced, for instance, by the the strict rules for participation and by the publication of reviews that critically commented on deviations from the academic standard. In the first edition of the *English Historical Review* the realignment of the incipient academic discipline becomes visible.

> Will the HISTORICAL REVIEW address itself to professed and, so to speak, professional students of history, or to the person called the 'general reader'? It will address itself to both, though its chief care will be for the former. It will, we hope and intend, contain no article which does not, in the Editor's judgment, add something to knowledge, i.e. which has not a value for the trained historian. (The English Historical Review 1.1 [1886])

The emergent self-conception now recognises the (aspiring) historian as a member of a group pursuing a common goal, while, at the same time, foregrounding the community's demand for exclusivity (cf. Hesketh 2011a: 106f.). Simultaneously, it becomes apparent that historiographical novices ("professional students") are familiarised with the core principles of the community so that they can gradually participate in the shared practice (as a "trained", hence, 'qualified' historians). In the subsequent editorial statement, the image of

contributing 'fellow-labourers' unmistakably evokes a sense of intra-communal communication.

> [...] and become the organ through which those who desire to make known the progress of their researches will address their fellow-labourers. ("Prefatory Note." *The English Historical Review* 1.1 [1886])

Within Victorian Historical Societies, institutionalisation, reflected in tutoring and curricular-based scholarship (Soffer 1994; Hesketh 2011a), fostered an increasingly harmonised engagement among historiographers and a strict, rule-governed negotiation of shared practice within firm boundaries. This demarcation from other literary disciplines repeatedly led to the exclusion and stigmatisation of historians who did not share the ideals of the professionally negotiated enterprise. Hesketh (2008), examines the role of James Anthony Froude as one of the most prominent remaining writers of provisional narrative history, whose rejection of scientific methods rendered him a 'target for criticism' by the emerging discipline. These observations are fascinating in so far as the 'scientific' historiographical community's handling of this deviation (branded as "Froude's disease") discloses the self-imposed constraints of mutual engagement. In proposing Froude's expulsion, Oxford Regius Professor Edward Freeman, who strongly denied Froude's qualification as a historian, warned the professional historical community that they "cannot welcome [Froude] as a partner in their labours, as a fellow-worker in the cause of historic truth." (as quoted in Hesketh 2008: 373). The constant attacks on Froude, led primarily by Freeman, who, according to Hesketh (2011b: 88), saw himself as a representative of his imagined historical community, show how aggressively (especially in distinction to so-called 'historical impostors') the negotiations about the joint enterprise and, above all, the ideal repertoire, i.e. the appropriate choice of scholarly tools for representing the past in terms of style and accuracy, were conducted in the formative period (cf. Hesketh 2011a). To regard Froude's methodological deviations as a threat to the discipline and even a danger to historical truth obviously reflects the somewhat fragile, not yet consolidated nature of the academic historiographical community of practice.

Shared linguistic repertoire

The constantly debated shared repertoire is at the heart of the framework, and its linguistic components are central to the present study's research agenda. Following Meyerhoff (2002: 528), the community's resources are considered the "cumulative result of internal

negotiations". This raises the question of whether historiographers share an exclusive repertoire that is distinctly different from other professions such as novelists or natural scientists.

Below, are five key linguistic resources which were found to be relevant to the various meaning-making processes of the emerging historiographic community of practice. They are the result of an examination of the recurring resources of historical knowledge transmission (discussed in Davies 2016; Fulbrook 2013; Rüsen 2005; Jenkins 2002, 2003; Coffin 2006; Martin 2003) in conjunction with samples from the corpus data and are finally abstracted so that they are no longer tied to a specific period. These characteristic resources can be specified as follows:

- marking significance
- foregrounding causal connections
- phasing events
- reader alignment
- evaluative strategies

It should be noted that these resources do not cover the entire linguistic repertoire of the community, but only exemplify the most salient means. These resources are by no means mutually exclusive, but are constitutive of the shared linguistic repertoire through their specific function, configuration and frequency.

As will be shown in subsequent chapters, the majority of texts contain lexical devices that point to the historian's need to justify the reasons for his or her subjective selection of certain events or historical actors. In order to achieve the goal of their joint enterprise, i.e. the representation and the (re-)assessment of the past, it is almost indispensable to mark a phenomenon as significant in order to highlight the relevance of its consequences. This evaluative strategy is found, for example, in the vicinity of historically relevant types of change, which are often realised as *turning-point*, *impact*, *prelude to* etc. (Davies 2016: 93). Moreover, both the emphasis on causal connections (Coffin 2006: 71) and the temporal ordering of events (Martin 2003: 23-28) are further means by which historians can direct the reader's focus towards their individual view of the context of certain events, for example, through causal or correlating verbs such as *decline*, *emerge*, *give way to*, *shape* etc. (Davies: 2016: 93), which show how one event unfolds in relation to another. Temporal phasing is commonly realised using terms such as *century*, *epoch*, *era*, *period* or *ahead of* that function

to indicate the coherence of historical time (Davies: 2016: 93). Despite the fact that reader alignment is crucial in almost every text type (see Hyland's 2005 seminal work on metadiscourse) it could be argued that the role it plays in history writing is somewhat exceptional. One reason for this claim lies in the special character of the construal of historical truth. As it is deemed fundamental that history is designed to convince the reader "of the truth of whatever message is transmitted" (Blanco & Rosa 1997: 197), historians frequently find themselves compelled to restrict or even to discredit alternative views on their focal topic in order to maintain 'interpretive sovereignty' (*Deutungshoheit*). It is above all the interpretative nature of historical discourse that requires historiographers to make assessments through stance-taking (cf. Martin 2003). Since these assessments are informed not only by the personal and disciplinary preferences of their authors, their socio-cultural environment, but furthermore by the prevailing ideological values, i.e. shared interpretive frameworks (cf. Thompson & Hunston 2000; also Hunston 1993), some of the resulting evaluative strategies can be seen as specific or even constitutive for historiography in its respective manifestations, as will be shown in the course of the present study.[32]

One feature that has already been mentioned above is the ambiguity of the repertoire. This non-imposition of meaning allows for the repertoire to be "re-engaged in new situations" (Wenger 1998: 83). Beyond its established meanings, the shared repertoire thus has the potential to develop in unpredictable directions and to generate new meanings (Wenger 1998: 84). This is interesting insofar as one can assume that this dynamic requires constant disambiguation. An examination of the consolidation of the different attitudinal choices could therefore be an indication of an adaptation to the changing ideals of the joint enterprise. For instance, while it is common for one group of historians to mark the significance of a historical event through intensifying premodification, other historians might emphasise certain historical phenomena through a 'more intense' lexical item, while still others scale with respect to quantity to obtain the same effect on the reader. Consequently, analysing the accumulation of these particular choices from the repertoire could allow the researcher to carefully draw inferences from these choices about the process of negotiating meaning across the (emergent) community.

Jucker and Kopaczyk suggest that "community creates genre" and, vice versa, that "genre creates community" (2013: 4). Observing the community's changing shared

[32] For example, there are ascertainable preferences for specific evaluative strategies in historiography, such as evaluating inanimate targets on the basis of social/institutional norms or the continued pervasive usage of inscribed moral judgement throughout the periods.

linguistic repertoire, could thus not only lead to identifying linguistic peculiarities constitutive for the genre of historiography in general, but it could, moreover, allow for tracing the particular changes that relate to the object of observation, viz. historiographical assessment, in particular. The data on the basis of which this observation can be conducted is comprised in the *Corpus of Late Modern English Historiography*. The subsequent section provides an overview of the characteristics of the corpus.

2.3 The Corpus of Late Modern English Historiography (CLMEH)

For the Late Modern period, a number of corpora exist whose data contributes to the study of language variation and change. For instance, the material contained in the Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts (Siemund & Claridge 1997) extends into the early years of the eighteenth century. The ARCHER Corpus even covers the period from 1600 to 1999 (Biber et al. 1994). The data compiled in the three subcorpora of the Corpus of Nineteenth-Century English (Kytö et al. 2000) represent the beginning, middle and end of the nineteenth century, while the Corpus of Late Modern English Prose (Denison 1994) covers the later years of the nineteenth-century. The Corpus of Late Modern English texts, CLMET 3.0 (Diller, De Smet & Tyrkkö 2011), comprises documents published between the early eighteenth and the early twentieth century. These corpora are either specialist in their nature, as they give prominence to one particular genre, or they aim to represent a variety of different genres (cf. Kytö 2010). Notwithstanding their extensive coverage, there is only one, recently published, corpus which focuses exclusively on history writing. Indeed, both CONCE (Kytö et al. 2000) and CLMET3.0 (Diller, De Smet & Tyrkkö 2011) include historiographical documents, but their individual word counts (~10,000 words per author in CONCE) and, more importantly, their excessive over-inclusiveness (eight full-text monographs are found in CLMET3.0) rather qualify them as a basis for drawing samples. The thematically more specialised Corpus of History English Texts (CHET) (Moskowich et al. 2019), a subcorpus of the Coruña Corpus of English Scientific Writing (CC) (Moskowich & Crespo 2007), covers the period from 1700 - 1900 and includes a total of 404,424 words. The CHET is based on the CC's principles and its structural parameters (e.g. the files contain extensive sociolinguistic metadata), and takes into account the lack of a clear definition of the historiographical field in this period. In terms of size and composition, however, the Corpus of Late Modern English Historiography (CLMEH) differs significantly from the much smaller Coruña subcorpus, as the latter appears to be heavily constrained by the CC's

general compilation parameters (which are adapted to the characteristics of scientific writing in general) and consequently includes a rather inconclusive selection of historiographical samples. Given the purpose of the CHET, it is indeed surprising that the works of James Tyrell, John Oldmixon, Edward Gibbon are included, while those of the indisputably most distinguished representatives of the discipline such as David Hume, Thomas Macaulay, Edmund Burke, Thomas Carlyle, Edward Freeman, William Stubbs and John E. E. Acton are missing from the CHET samples. Furthermore, the CHET's inclusion of some North American historians makes it overly complicated to distinguish the results not only according to their temporal but also their geographical specificities. In conjunction with its limited size, it can be doubted whether the corpus meets the requirements for comprehensive research comprehensive research into Late Modern historiography.

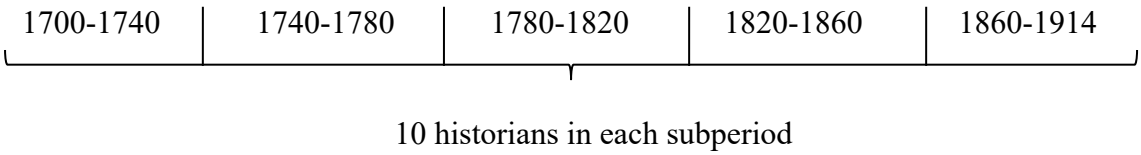
Due to the absence of an adequate data set as outlined above, the following section will therefore first present some features of an alternative corpus and considerations on the structure of the CLMEH before outlining its structure.

Corpus sample size and make-up

For a comprehensive study of the intricate field of evaluation in historiography, it was deemed important to control all the steps in the process of corpus compilation. Autonomy in the process of creation was considered important because, firstly, the corpus was compiled prior to any previous findings or hypotheses that could have been indicative of particular specificities of history writing and that could have informed its scope. Secondly, the degree of thematic unobtrusiveness of the extracts - within their environment - could be assessed to ensure the representativeness of the corpus. Thus, the extracts were not to contain an unusually large number of tables, lists and illustrations, nor were they to contain page-long sections in Greek and Latin if this was considered uncharacteristic of the volume as a whole. Care was also taken to ensure that not all extracts from a work contain only data with a particular narratological focus (e.g. battles, biographical descriptions, architectural overviews, etc.) if the work offered a more diverse selection of topics. The freedom of text selection associated with these specifications required systematic data collection. Therefore, it was decided not to include the prefaces of the works. Consequently, any form of reader alignment undertaken by the author that preceded the main text could not be analysed, so that possible acts of prospective evaluation and naturalisation of attitudes towards historical events and persons remain hidden.

Initial deliberations led to a division of the period (cf. CH.2) (stretching from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the beginning of World War I), into five units of equal duration[33] to obtain a balanced distribution of the data. Finally, each sub-epoch was assigned examples from the works of ten different historians.

Figure 2. Time spans



This preliminary design was intended to reduce analytical bias while allowing for an easy rearrangement in line with the clusters that become transparent both in the present corpus-assisted discourse study and in future corpus enquiries.[34]

The CLMEH comprises historiographical texts, written mainly by English and Scottish historiographers. While the majority of the historians included are well-known beyond the time of their work (David Hume, Edward Gibbon, Thomas Macaulay, John E. E. Acton), others, such as Charles Hardwick, William Marsden and John R. Curry could be considered more as representatives of the communities' 'periphery'. A key criterion for inclusion in the corpus was the representativeness of the historiographers (i.e. taking into account their social background, popularity, reach and potential influence). Various sources were consulted in order to identify the historians who met this criterion. In the first instance, the most popular out of the ten historiographers for each sub-period were determined largely on the basis of their occurrence and frequency in the contributions of the authoritative volumes *The Oxford History of Historical Writing Vol. 3: 1400-1800* (Rabasa et al. 2012) and *Vol. 4: 1800-1945* (Macintyre et al. 2011) along with those published in *The Blackwell Dictionary of Historians* (Cannon et al. 1988)[35], Bentley's (2006) *Compendium to Historiography* and Phillips'

[33] Due to the original intention to conclude the period with the beginning of the First World War, the last sub-period covers another 14 years. Notwithstanding this extension, the last example (i.e. Acton's "The History of Freedom") was published as early as 1909.

[34] The flexibility this affords is crucial, as the corpus will eventually be integrated into the *Corpus of English Historiography* (Claridge forthcoming), a comprehensive corpus that supports the study of what is characterised in the project's mission statement as "the development of British vernacular history writing from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to the English Historical Review".

[35] It is worth noting that on the back cover of the dictionary, the reader is advised that the 450 people included "have not necessarily been chosen on account of the importance of their own research but rather for their interest in, and influence on, the theory and practice of history and the role of the historian." (Cannon et al. 1988).

(2000) *Society and sentiment: genres of historical writing in Britain, 1740-1820*. Two complementary sources consulted were O'Brien's (2001) account of the history market in eighteenth-century England and Howsam's (2009) portrayal of the publication processes of British historiography from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, as both provided valuable information not only about the circulation but also the social recognition of historians' works. Moreover, it was always accounted for when historians received praise or criticism in the writings of their contemporaries. This was the case with Burnet, Hume, Robertson and Gibbon, who are mentioned by Hugh Blair in his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783). Secondly, those historiographers were added to the sub-epochs whose work evidently showcased distinctive potential, such as the large-scale, multi-authored 65-volume, *Universal History* (Sale et al. 1947), or rather exotic accounts, viz. Marsden's (1810) *History of Sumatra* and Duff's (1826) *History of the Mahrattas.* The integration of these rather unusual historiographical writings essentially served to explore the contingent general framework. Moreover, the expanded selection was also a reaction to the lack of a clearly defined notion of what historiography actually comprises (cf. CH.2.1). Yet, it is common practice to take the genre parameter into account when compiling a corpus (Smitterberg & Kytö 2015:119). This poses a challenge for the study of history writing. Developing a clear, operational definition of a 'genre of historiography' is almost impossible due to the many forms it takes, ranging from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* to Ian Kershaw's two volume *Hitler* biography. Smitterberg and Kytö (2015: 119) make a compelling proposal by assuming a "genre prototype". They suggest that there are central members of a genre category whose form is closer to that of the prototype and more peripheral members who "deviate from the prototypical pattern" (Smitterberg & Kytö 2015:118). Smitterberg and Kytö (2015:119) present the novel and academic writing with their respective prototypical features as two convincing examples. Text types belonging to the latter genre prototypically contain "a relatively large numbers of linking adverbs, prepositional phrases and passive sentences", while a non-prototypical (historical fantasy) novel "contains numerous footnotes". Unfortunately, the epoch-transcending, prototypical (linguistic) criteria associated with the writing of history have not yet been established. Of course, one can cautiously assume that the overwhelming majority of the works thematically function to provide a description of 'the past'. However, there are also text types such as historical novels (compare the discussion of *Waverley* in 2.1), which have strong formal similarities with 'genuine' historiographical works. If one looks for further extra-linguistic or text-external criteria for genre membership, it is striking that a total of 42 titles of the 50 works

in the corpus contain the terms "history" or "historical". From this, one could derive the hypothesis that the authors (un)consciously signal their orientation towards (or affiliation with) the (emerging) discipline and its prevailing conventions through their use of this designation. Besides, the choice of these titles is probably also strongly oriented towards "audience expectation", which represents another criterion for genre membership (Smitterberg & Kytö 2015:119). While it is possible to identify shifting extralinguistic features of genres in different periods of late modern English historiography (cf. CH.2.1), these are never so distinct as to be considered (sub)genres in their own right, nor does the present study produce a comprehensive, overarching set of prototypical features that constitute a genre of historiography. For this reason, the term *genre-preferential* will only be used occasionally and in the following the present study will mainly resort to the term *text types* to avoid conveying the impression of a clearly circumscribed 'genre of historiography'.

In line with Verschueren's (2012: 26) demand for "horizontally varied" types of data, different historical text types were incorporated into the corpus. Hence, in addition to the classic thematic monograph, the corpus also comprises historical recounts in epistolary form, biographies, extended historical essays and treatises. Since this corpus is naturally incapable of covering the works of the entire historiographical community, measures were taken that ultimately constrained the scope of the corpus without, however, compromising the comprehensive, stratified and balanced representation of the historiographical discourse. Thus, the CLMEH does not contain history books specifically designed for children or for the purpose of school education, as they were thought to represent an approach to historiography that was markedly different from the works originally selected (e.g. in their audience design and pedagogical accentuation). Accordingly, educational works such as Charlotte Mary Yonge's *Young folks' history of England* (1879), Maria Callcott's *Little Arthur's history of England* (1835), or Edward Freeman's *Old English History for Children* (1871) have not been subject to analysis.

Whenever possible, data was taken from the earliest publication of a work to limit the number of authorial or editorial interventions in the original text. This aspiration had an effect on the intricacy of the compilation process. While a large number of the nineteenth-century works have been made publicly available as OCR scans of varying quality, many excerpts from the early eighteenth-century editions had to be digitised manually. To ensure that the corpus reflects a representative cross-section of each author's work, the corresponding data is made up of unconnected - self-contained - chapters, amounting to

roughly 30,000 words per author. It should be noted that the notions of *balance* and *representativeness* are to be understood as mere approximations, as these terms are based on the compilers' subjective decisions and thus "remain largely heuristic notions" (McEnery & Hardy 2011: 10).

In the case of multi-volume works, samples were drawn from at least two different volumes; a decision guided by the intention of capturing the historian's choices in the accumulation of random, widely dispersed text extracts, regardless of the subject matter covered in the volume. Footnotes received a special mark-up as they fulfil a number of important functions in historiography (for a more in-depth treatment of these functions see e.g. Grafton 1999; Claridge & Wagner 2020). The cut-off point for the extracts (approximately 30,000 words per historian) was based on a careful consideration of the optimal balance between the size of the sample and its representativeness with respect to the historiographical document in question. The final corpus comprises a total of 1,504,335 tokens. Table 2 below gives an overview of the authors included, the works from which the samples were taken, their date of publication and the amount of text within the samples. For the purpose of incorporating a *corpus-driven* perspective (Tognini-Bonelli 2001, Lee 2008), the corpus was automatically tagged with additional information (i.e. *part-of-speech tags* and *lemmatisation*).[36]

This labelling procedure not only enabled the visualisation of recurring grammatical patterns, but it also allowed for an extension of the regular corpus queries. For an automated division of its data into evaluative semantic domains, a copy of the corpus was annotated via *Wmatrix* (Rayson 2009) and the *Historical Thesaurus Semantic Tagger* (HTST) (Alexander et al. 2015; Piao et al. 2017). The HTST is specially adapted to process historical data, thus enabling precise annotation - beyond the contemporary core semantic information - on the basis of historically valid categories informed by the *Oxford English Dictionary Historical Thesaurus* (OEDHT) (for a detailed survey of the HTST, see Piao et al. 2017).

In the following chapters, it will be shown that annotations of this kind form the starting point for investigations that go beyond the observation of the inscribed evaluative surface structures of the text and thus enable, for example, the deconstruction of the still insufficiently studied strategic potential of implicit evaluative patterns (cf. CH.3.3).

[36] POS tagging was initially done via TagAnt (Anthony 2015). Later, the corpus was automatically annotated in the process of corpus generation using the LancsBox 4.0 software (Brezina et al. 2015).

Table 2. Historians and works in the corpus

year[37]	author	title	tokens
1702	**Boyer, Abel**	The history of King William the Third	30,180
1704	**Tyrell, James**	The General History of England, Both Ecclesiastical and Civil.	30,124
1707	**Daniel, Defoe**	The History of the Union between England and Scotland	29,429
1715	**Burnet, Gilbert**	History of the Reformation of the Church of England	30,549
1719	**Hughes, John**	A Complete History of England	30,325
1720	**Echard, Laurence**	The History of England	29,127
1721	**Strype, John**	The Ecclesiastical Memorials	29,827
1730	**Oldmixon, John**	Critical History of England	29,757
1731	**Kimber, Isaac**	Life of Oliver Cromwell	28,338
1736	**Salmon, Thomas**	Modern History Or the Present State of All Nations	30,658
1742	**North, Roger**	The Life of the right honourable Francis North	29,009
1747	**Sale et al.**	An Universal history, from the earliest account of time	29,593
1747+'57	**Carte, Thomas**	A General History of England	29,312
1759	**Smollett, Tobias**	A Complete History of England: from the descent of Julius Caesar, to the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle	30,379
1767	**Ferguson, Adam**	An Essay on the History of Civil Society	29,648
1769	**Robertson, William**	The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V.	30,018
1770	**Hume, David**	History of England	28,660
1776	**Goldsmith, Oliver**	The history of England, from the earliest times to the death of George the Second	29,930
1777	**Gibbon, Edward**	The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire	29,200
1778	**Macaulay, Catharine**	History of England from the Revolution to the Present Time, in a Series of Letters to the Reverend Doctor Wilson	30,897
1786	**Curry, John R.**	An historical and critical review of the civil wars in Ireland, from the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to the settlement under King William	31,029

[37] In cases in which two dates are given, the samples were drawn from volumes published consecutively.

1789	**Millar, John**	Historical View of the English Government from the Settlement of the Saxons in Britain to the Accession of the House of Stewart	30,265
1790	**Burke, Edmund**	Reflections on the Revolution in France	31,978
1797	**Hasted, Edward**	The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent	30,025
1802	**Adams, John**	A new history of Great Britain; from the invasion of Julius Caesar to the present time	29,894
1802	**Priestly, Joseph**	A general history of the Christian church	29,531
1805+'08	**Belsham, William**	History of Great Britain, from the Revolution, 1688, to the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, 1802	30,683
1810	**Marsden, William**	History of Sumatra: Containing an Account of the Government, Laws, Customs, and Manners of the Native Inhabitants	30,513
1813	**Bigland, John**	The History of England, from the Earliest Period, to the Close of the Year 1812	30,131
1814	**Henry, Robert**	The history of Great Britain: from the first invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Cæsar. Written on a new plan	29,932
1819	**Lingard, John**	The History of England, From the First Invasion by the Romans to the Accession of Henry VIII	30,365
1826	**Duff, James**	History of the Mahrattas	29,768
1827	**Hallam, Henry**	Constitutional History of England, Henry VII to George II	30,870
1833	**Waddington, George**	A History of the Church, from the Earliest Ages to the Reformation	29,971
1834	**Cobbett, William**	History of the Protestant "Reformation" in England and Ireland	29,493
1837	**Carlyle, Thomas**	The French Revolution	30,274
1848	**Whewell, William**	The History of the Inductive Sciences, from the Earliest to the Present Time	30,297
1849	**Wakefield, Edward**	A View of the Art of Colonization, with Present Reference to the British Empire	29,630
1855	**Macaulay, Thomas**	The History of England from the Accession of James II	30,705
1859	**Hardwick, Charles**	A History of the Articles of Religion	30,914
1873	**Freeman, Edward**	The History of the Norman Conquest of England - Its Causes and its Results	30,479
1878	**Buckle, Henry T.**	History of Civilization in England	30,929
1878	**Lecky, William E. H.**	A History of England in the Eighteenth Century	29,076
1884	**Green, John R.**	The Conquest of England	31,008

1889	**Bury, John B.**	A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene, 395 AD to 800 AD	29,254
1890	**Walpole, Spencer**	A History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in 1815	29,371
1891	**Stubbs, William**	The Constitutional History of England in Its Origin and Development	29,947
1893	**Gardiner, Samuel R.**	History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649	31,103
1895	**Seeley, John R.**	The Growth of British Policy: An Historical Essay	28,967
1909	**Acton, John E. E.**	The History of Freedom and Other Essays	30,496

Concluding this overview, it is reasonable to argue that its compilation renders the CLMEH into a comprehensive and representative corpus of historical writings, which offers researchers the possibility to trace and contrast lexico-grammatical peculiarities of historiography in Late Modern Britain, both within and beyond the present study.

3. Approaches to evaluation

The centrality of evaluation in historiography is underlined by Martin's (2003: 35) elucidation of the constitutive stages of history writing: "beyond chronicling […] there is explaining; and beyond explaining there is interpretation - because saying why things happened as they did necessarily involves a stance - an evaluative orientation to what is going on". This section attempts to provide an overview of the different approaches that, from various angles, address the complexity of mapping the concept underlying this "evaluative orientation" before setting out the rationale for the method adopted in this study.

3.1 Research traditions

Evaluative language is studied under headings such as *stance* (Biber & Finegan 1989; Biber et al. 1999; Conrad & Biber 2000; Englebretson 2007), *appraisal* (Martin 2000; Martin & White 2005; Martin & Rose 2008), more recently, under *sentiment analysis* (Wiebe et al. 2005; Liu 2010) and *opinion mining* (Pang & Lee 2008; Liu 2012), or simply under the general term *evaluation* (Thompson & Hunston 2000; Hunston & Sinclair 2000; Bednarek 2006; Alba-Juez & Thompson 2014). Those research traditions are united in their general objective: They seek to systematically identify the language resources used to (implicitly or explicitly) express evaluative meaning. At the same time, they try to determine which role different contexts play in the realisation of evaluative meaning. Synthesising a range of views, Thompson and Hunston (2000: 6) propose three non-exclusive functions of *evaluation* in discourse: According to them, *evaluation* functions i) to express the speaker's or writer's opinion, and in so doing to reflect the value-system of that person and their community, ii) to construct and maintain relations between the speaker or writer and hearer or reader and iii) to organise the discourse. Apart from the fact that Thompson and Hunston's proposal establishes a clear link between evaluative actions and the expression of value systems, which is essential for the present study, the second function only gains significance on closer examination. The traditional understanding of those studying evaluation, expressed in the view that the "human urge to externalize values verbally" is primarily motivated by the individual's urge to express himself or herself, has given way to a view that sees valuation as "essentially interpersonal", i.e. it is primarily designed to establish solidarity with the addressee (Alba-Juez and Thompson 2014: 4). This change in perspective can be considered the reason why values are no longer seen as fixed and universally valid, but as a dynamic, interpersonal matter that is negotiable and context-dependent (Martin 2003). In an

enhancement of Thompson and Hunston's (2000) original concept, Alba-Juez and Thompson (2014) provide a valuable definition of *evaluation*, which serves as a suitable starting point for its specification.

> We […] define evaluation as a dynamical subsystem of language, permeating all linguistic levels and involving the expression of the speaker's or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that s/he is talking about, which entails relational work including the (possible and prototypically expected and subsequent) response of the hearer or (potential) audience. The relational work is generally related to the speaker's and hearer's personal, group, or cultural set of values. (Alba-Juez and Thompson 2014: 4)

It has been pointed out that *evaluation* is frequently used as a cover term for the various terms introduced above (Goźdź-Roszkowski & Hunston 2016: 133). Despite the above-mentioned similarities, the differences between the most important concepts that are summarised under the term *evaluation* should be outlined in order to clarify their respective research orientation. The need to elaborate on this arises from the constant overlaps that result from synonymous use of the terms. Mauranen (2004: 204), for example, in her summary of the roundtable discussion on evaluation in academic discourse, observes a "lack of clarity in the conceptualisation of the object of research" and remarks that particularly *stance* was used interchangeably with *evaluation* and *appraisal*. It is consequently important to distinguish specifically *stance* from the other terms. In recent studies, the term *stance* is predominantly associated with the concept originally proposed by Biber and Finegan (1989). They define *stance* as "the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgments, or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message" (Biber and Finegan 1989: 92). It is worth noting, however, that their concept of *stance* focuses on taking a position in relation to the message's proposition. Other theories use the term *modality* to dissociate this particular process from the evaluation of entities (see e.g. Fairclough 2003: 164-190).[38] Building on the aforementioned definition of *stance*, Conrad and Biber (2000: 57) further differentiate stance semantically into the three domains: i) *epistemic stance* (encompassing modality and source attribution), ii) *attitudinal stance* (referring to speakers' feelings and value judgements), and iii) *style stance* (commenting on the way in which the information is presented). The combination of the semantic domains with a grammatical subdivision of "stance meanings" (Biber et al. 1999: 966) into adverbs, verbs, modals, adjectives, nouns and their respective pattern with clauses and phrases is intended to

[38] In line with Bednarek's (2006: 21) claim that approaches to modality are "far too manifold and complex", I will address what is traditionally understood as *epistemic modality* in the section that is concerned with Martin and White's (2005) expansion of the term within their *Engagement* subsystem (CH.4.2).

facilitate comparative corpus queries among the registers by calculating the relative frequencies of defined sets of words and phrases of each category (Goźdź-Roszkowski & Hunston 2016: 133). Research on *stance* can thus be considered to substantially contribute to the systematic analysis of evaluative language. The grammatical classification component could be the reason for the widespread use of *stance* particularly in the area of academic discourse studies (e.g. Hyland & Tse 2005; Degaetano & Teich 2011; Hyland & Guinda 2012; Gray & Biber 2012). Irrespective of its merits, especially for large-scale corpus studies, the concept of *stance* has been criticised for its broad, predominantly grammatical focus (cf. e.g. Bednarek 2006). In fact, the short paragraph on the "lexical marking of stance" turns out to be too short to provide a useful recommendation for the efficient analysis of "value laden words" (Biber et al. 1999: 968).

In line with the terminological disambiguation called for above, there is a thought-provoking proposal for distinguishing the terms *stance* and *evaluation*. Alba-Juez and Thompson (2014: 10) argue that *stance* should be considered the broader of the concepts, as it not only contains the "textualized phase", but also its "pre-realization". This means, in effect, that a *stance* can be interpreted as 'neutral' when speakers/writers choose not to make an explicit *evaluation* (i.e. the verbal realisation or manifestation of the *stance*) (Alba-Juez and Thompson 2014: 10).

Prior to this view that it constitutes the expression of a *stance*, the concept of *evaluation* was rooted in the study of text structure. Labov (1972), for instance, employs *'Evaluation'* as one of six elements which he deemed vital for fully formed oral narratives and which provide a reasonable answer to the question 'so what?', indicating the "point of the narrative" (Labov 1972: 366). Moreover, *evaluation* is linked to the analysis of clause relations insofar as it is supposed to play a fundamental role in discourse organisation. For instance, the strategic placement of evaluative elements in the clause structure, as investigated by Hoey (2000), might facilitate the construal of ideology in texts (Thompson & Hunston 2000: 26). While these aspects of evaluation, notwithstanding their discourse-analytical potential, are not deemed to be essential to the present study, Hunston's (1993) contribution to the notion of *evaluation*, on the other hand, is considered undeniably relevant. Investigating primarily implicit evaluation (i.e. the absence of attitudinal language) in experimental research articles, her tripartite approach focuses first on the "identification and classification of an object to be evaluated", before "ascribing a value to that object" and finally determining "the significance of the information" (Hunston 2011: 21). Hunston distinguishes between *epistemic objects* and *discoursal objects*, thereby labelling all propositions in a text. The

value given to the objects is context-dependent and cumulative, whereas significance is signalled only infrequently in the text (Hunston 2011: 22). These three 'moves' are identified as three functions of evaluation: *Status*, *Value* and *Relevance* (Hunston 1993: 60-68). While the first turns propositions into objects, the second "gives a value to both objects external to the text and to propositions in the text" (Hunston 2011: 22). The *Relevance* function "occasionally marks the relevance to the discussion of stretches of texts, typically paragraphs" (Hunston 2011: 22). In addition to classifying types and functions, Hunston's model makes an invaluable contribution to the study of those acts of evaluation in which the expression of values is not made explicit. She argues that "the perception of goodness and badness in human activity depends on the goal of that activity. Anything which enables the achievement of a goal is good; anything which hinders this achievement is a problem which must be overcome" (Hunston 1993: 63). The classification scheme resulting from this simple yet compelling premise is referred to as *goal-achievement* throughout the present study.[39] The goals can either be inscribed in the text, or they have to be inferred from the underlying ideology and from the *Status* (i.e. the writers' use of e.g. modal constructions or reporting verbs to express their degree of certainty and commitment towards the proposition) of the target of evaluation (Hunston 1993: 63). To cite one example, Hunston (1993: 65) suggests that, in using the reporting verb *claim* instead of *show* in a sentence such as "Connell and Slatyer claim that facilitation is most common in harsh environments", the status of the proposition is downgraded to 'unlikely' and "subsequent evaluation would be most likely to be negative". One of the key techniques for identifying and categorising these linguistic resources that authors use to either *endorse* or to *distance* themselves from the voices introduced to their text, and which is believed to support Hunston's approach in a more systematic way, will be discussed in the following section under *Engagement* (Martin & White 2005).

Bednarek (2006: 34) decided to develop a "new parameter-based framework of evaluation" for her research on evaluation in media discourse, which can be regarded as an extension of the 'parameter-based' approaches established by Biber and Finegan (1989), Hunston and Thompson (2000), and Lemke (1998). Bednarek's methodology for establishing her framework combines a synthesis of previous research into types of

[39] It is important not to overlook the fact that Hunston (1993) only associates this strategy with scientific writing and at no point suggests a more generic view (see also Hunston 2011: 22). History writing, as will be shown in the following chapters, is guided - at least in part - by quasi-conventional principles that could be assumed to invoke commonly accepted goals and thus justify the transfer of Hunston's approach to the analysis of this study's central topic.

evaluation with the analysis of naturally occurring data. The nine resulting *evaluative parameters* are divided into *core evaluative parameters* (indicating qualitative evaluation of entities, situations or propositions) viz. *Comprehensibility*, *Emotivity*, *Expectedness*, *Importance*, *Possibility*/*Necessity*, *Reliability*, and *peripheral evaluative parameters* (covering marginal evaluation): *Evidentiality*, *Mental State* and *Style* (Bednarek 2006: 42). Most of the core parameters feature two opposing poles. Hence, for the parameter *Comprehensibility* either the values *Comprehensible* (plain, clear) or *Incomprehensible* (mysterious, unclear) can be specified. Some parameters, such as *Reliability,* also include "potential intermediate stages" between the two poles of the evaluative scale. Hence, apart from the values *Genuine* (real) and *Fake* (choreographed), there are *High*, *Medium*, *Low* which "refer to the likelihood of propositions being true" (Bednarek 2006: 52). Despite the fact that these parameters are primarily tailored to the characteristics of news discourse, Bednarek's well-grounded approach, particularly in its response to the extension and further development of the rather generic, sometimes hypothetical and overly detailed Appraisal theory (Martin & White 2005), allows, for one thing, research detached from a specific theoretical orientation and, for another, the use of those parameters that are considered more precise in their classification of specific evaluative phenomena. Given that the parameter of *Expectedness*, for example, is crucial in media discourse[40], it can be argued that its notion in Bednarek's (2006) framework is more fine-grained and methodologically sound than that established by Appraisal theory. Bednarek (2006: 33) corroborates this assertion when she remarks that "evaluations of expectedness are fundamentally different from evaluations of Judgement (although they can evoke it), since they do not automatically carry with them meanings of approval or disapproval (that something is surprising can be good or bad)".

Before presenting the approach which, despite its minor shortcomings mentioned above, is the focus of the present study, it is necessary to briefly introduce two related computational approaches to language assessment. Ignoring them is not possible, despite their inherent pragmatic imprecision, as these approaches are gaining more and more attention in academia. Both *sentiment analysis* (Wiebe et al. 2005; Liu 2010) as well as *opinion mining* (Pang & Lee 2008; Liu 2012) gain more and more influence in the field, as the algorithmic tools which researchers derive from sentiment analytical studies are especially relevant to

[40] For a discussion on the relevance of the news value *Unexpectedness* in news shared on social media platforms, see e.g. Bednarek (2016).

the service-led economy and e-commerce marketplaces.[41] Both approaches are united in the aim to identify positive and negative evaluation in very large collections of text via automatic, dictionary-based identification of evaluative language. Instances of attitudinal lexis are each given a numerical value indicating the item's *strength* (typically ranging from -1,0 to +1,0) and its *polarity* (positive/negative) (cf. e.g. Alessia et al. 2015; Kim & Hovy 2004). It is common to calculate a total value for each sentence by adding or subtracting the individual numerical values of its components. Unfortunately, many studies neglect the need to include contextual cues in order to disambiguate polysemous items or the pragmatic construal of sarcasm or irony. So, for example, in comments in which the author marks her sarcasm with either a series of exaggerated, positive expressions or, as in the case of "being stranded in traffic is the best way to start a week" with an *embedded sentiment incongruity*, can only rare cases be adequately categorised using computational methods (for an overview of the most salient pitfalls of sentiment analysis accuracy, see Eremyan 2018).[42] There have been studies in sentiment classification which combine features of Appraisal theory with computational modelling (Whitelaw et al. 2005). However, scholars of the field see an advantage mainly in the use of less accurate "Appraisal clusters" (Fletcher & Patrick 2005:141), which they derive from grouping the evaluative semantic orientation of individual words. In this way, they hope to specify analyses of the ways in which rhetorical structure is implemented differently in positive and negative sentiment bearing expressions.

These approaches to sentiment analysis show that research is being done on how to model linguistic realisations of linguistic phenomena computationally, in immensely large data sets. However, their inaccuracies also show the importance of consulting other methods to integrate them with the existing computational processes for sentiment classification.

3.2 The Appraisal framework

Martin and White's *Appraisal framework* (2005) serves as the theoretical backbone of this study. Their model is intended to provide the researcher with a way of systematically capture the evaluative patterns that occur within a particular text or institutional discourse, along with a comprehensive typology of attitude types. The approach is situated within the

[41] There are a number of free and commercial online platforms that offer sentiment scoring, primarily by calculating the overall attitudinal leaning of a text or review. See Alessia et al. 2015 for an overview of a selection of online tools.

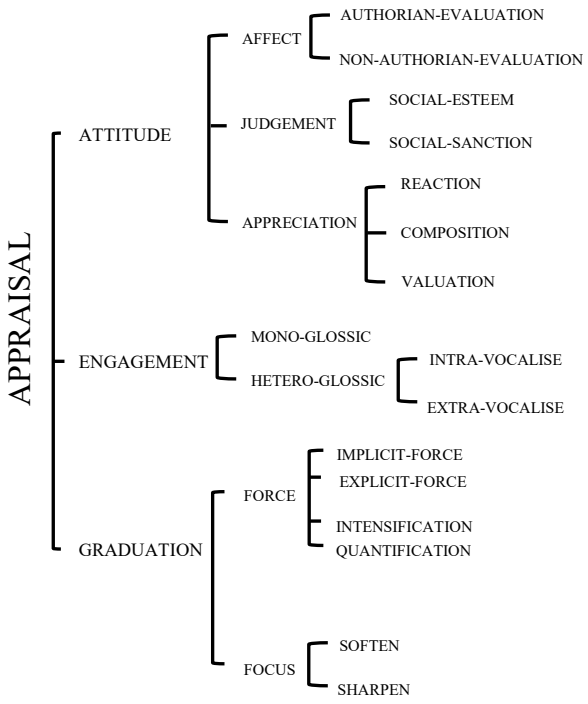
[42] As for the near future, however, better training methods and deep learning, neural network approaches point to a rapid improvement in computational methods. In their paper, Ghosh and Veale (2016), for instance, use a combination of a convolutional neural network (CNN), a long short-term memory network (LSTM) and a deep neural network (DNN), which outperformed various other approaches to sarcasm detection.

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) paradigm (Halliday 1978; Halliday & Matthiessen 2014), so that it allows the researcher to focus on meaningful choices (or "systems") in language without having to think about the structure that realises them (Young 2011: 627). The Appraisal framework (as outlined in Figure 3) is subdivided into three appraisal types: *Attitude*, *Engagement* and *Graduation*.[43] The first subsystem of the framework, within which feelings are mapped as they are construed in (English) texts, is referred to as *Attitude*. It covers the categories of *emotion*, *ethics*, and *aesthetics*. Its first subsystem, *Affect*, encodes positive and negative emotions of *(un)happiness*, *anxiousness*, *(in)security*, and *(dis)satisfaction*. The second, *Judgement*, focuses on forms that encode an author's positive and negative ethical evaluations of behaviours in terms of their *normality*, *capacity*, *tenacity*, *veracity*, and *propriety* (in relation to rules and regulations). The last category, *Appreciation*, marks aesthetic evaluations of *things*, *processes* and *states of affairs* (Martin & White 2005: 42f.). The contents of the writing that can be grouped under the term historiographical texts rarely have remarks that can be classified with the help of the first subsystem (*Affect*). This is mainly due to the mindset of many historians, which forces them to avoid commenting on events from a decidedly emotional perspective. A rare example of *Affect* taken from the corpus is a quote from a letter that is embedded in a footnote "(albeit **I loved him well**)" (Lingard) and as such clearly does not reflect the historian's preferences.

The third subsystem (*Appreciation*), which in its original form focuses on both the evaluation of pure aesthetics and the institutionalisation of feeling, comprises a set of resources subsumed under the heading *(social) valuation* (Martin & White 2005: 56, 172), which categorise the normative evaluation of processes and products: "It was a **great** and **powerful** *estate*" (Cobbett). Examining these resources is therefore useful in determining what historiographers considered to be socially and historically significant (cf. Ch.4).

[43] Small capitals are used to distinguish the framework's components as part of a semantic system.

Figure 3. Main attributes of APPRAISAL and their highest-level options



(adapted from Martin & White 2005: 38, 42-159; Coffin 2006: 142; Macken-Horarik & Isaac 2014: 79)

Out of all three *Attitude* types, however, the subsystem *Judgement* is considered crucial for the present study (CH.8), as it subsumes the evaluative resources needed for two of the historiographer's principal tasks, viz. the elucidation and construal of historical phenomena, historical actors and their general conduct (e.g. Bondi & Mazzi 2009). For this reason, its components are listed in Table 3.

Table 3. Martin & White's (2005) framework for analysing Judgement in English

Social esteem	positive (admire)	negative (criticize)
normality (custom/fate) 'is the person's behaviour and/or way of life unusual or special?	lucky, fortunate, charismatic, magical, talented, normal, cool, stable, predictable…	unlucky, unfortunate, tragic, odd, strange, maverick, erratic, daggy, dated, obscure…
capacity (competence) 'is the person competent, capable?'	able, successful, (politically) skilled, astute, effective, powerful, strong, enterprising, tactical, shrewd, pragmatic, intelligent…	incompetent, failure, flawed, weak, short- sighted, lacking judgement, foolish, crippled, childish…

tenacity (resolve) 'is the person dependable, well disposed, committed?'	brave, heroic, courageous, hardworking, willing, well disciplined, daring, risk taking, vigorous, formidable, dedicated, genial, determined, passionate, self-reliant …	cowardly, badly organized, stubborn, arrogant, cowardly, rigid, inflexible, despondent, low morale, timid, weak, unreliable, disloyal…
Social sanction	positive (praise)	negative (condemn)
veracity (truth) 'is the person honest?'	genuine, honest, truthful, credible, frank, discrete, tactful…	hypocritical, complicit, deceptive, deceitful, dishonest, manipulative, devious…
propriety (ethics) 'is the person ethical, beyond reproach?'	respectable, responsible, self-sacrificing, fair, just, law abiding, kind, sensitive, humble, polite, respectful…	ruthless, abusive, brutal, unjust, unfair, immoral, corrupt, cruel, heartless, oppressive, selfish, greedy, rude…

(adapted from Martin & White 2005: 53 and Coffin 2006: 145)

The system has both a negative and positive dimension, and the table contains a selection of possible realisations, which are taken from Coffin's (2006: 145) study.[44] It is worth bearing in mind that the terms are only intended to provide "a general guide to the meanings which are at stake" (Martin & White 2005: 52), as these lexical items may vary in their attitudinal meaning depending on the respective context.

Arguing that communication is essentially 'intersubjective', Martin and White (2005) consider texts to be assembled 'dialogically' and thus to express the influence of what has been said/written before, or even to "take up in some way, what has been said/written before, and simultaneously to anticipate the responses of actual, potential or imagined readers/listeners" (2005: 92). Accordingly, the subsystem ENGAGEMENT classifies utterances that make no reference to other viewpoints or voices as *monoglossic*, whereas utterances which recognise "dialogistic alternatives" are categorised as *heteroglossic* (Martin & White 2005: 100). These resources are particularly interesting for this study, since they allow the author to either "take up a position whereby their audience is construed as sharing the same, single world-view (*monogloss*). Or […] to adopt a stance which explicitly acknowledges diversity with its implication for conflict and struggle among diverse voices (*heterogloss*)" (Coffin 2006: 143). Propositions realised as 'unmodalised positive declaratives' are more likely to be interpreted as "unproblematic", thus implicitly

[44] The selections made by Coffin (2006) represent discourse-specific lexical realisations, as they were taken from a study dealing with historical discourse.

encouraging the reader to align with the author's monoglossic world view.[45] As opposed to this, modal resources (modal adjuncts, modal finites), for instance, explicitly invite the reader to believe that meaning is "contingent and subject to negotiation" (Coffin 2006: 143). *Extravocalise* describes another central resource for expressing heteroglossic potential. Through the grammar of indirectly or directly reported speech, propositions are "attributed" to external voices and thus "disassociated" from the author (Martin & White 2005: 111). The subsystem GRADUATION, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 7, contains two dimensions: The dimension of scaling with respect to intensity of qualities and processes on the one hand, and with respect to amount and extent on the other, is classified as FORCE. The up- and down-scaling of constructions by a single item in order to set the level of intensity, can, for instance, be applied to pre-modify adjectives. In the dimension labelled FOCUS, scaling operates in contexts that are not gradable and which are thus "sharpened" or "softened" by reference to prototypicality (Martin & White 2005: 137). In their critical assessment of the appraisal framework, Macken Horarik & Isaac (2014: 68) notice that it is particularly the "text-wide reach of appraisal" which, in contrast to more lexically focused concepts of evaluation, enables the analyst to uncover the connections of implicit forms and explicitly evaluative expressions.

ATTITUDE is most typically explicitly realised through "attitudinally loaded adjectives" (Munday 2012: 23), which are labelled *interpersonal*, or *attitudinal Epithets* in SFL terms (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 376). As will be shown in chapter 5, it is not always easy to clearly identify these "attitudinally loaded" lexical items and distinguish them from the more descriptive "experiential Epithets" (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 376). Thus, in the current study, I will use the concept of *evaluative meaning potential* to account for the different reading positions that are at play in the interpretation of evaluative acts (cf. Martin & White 2005, Hood 2019).

3.3 Implicit evaluation

In addition to the classification of explicit evaluation, the Appraisal framework also allows for a classification of implicit forms of evaluation. This implicit quality results from a particular selection or accumulation of non-attitudinal, viz. *ideational meanings*, whose potential to 'evoke' evaluation can be determined subjectively (e.g. Martin 2000; Thomson

[45] It is worth noting that Coffin's (2006) observations may be helpful in uncovering the ideological meaning thought to be evoked in some monoglossic grammatical realisations, since, according to Verschueren, ideological meaning is "rarely questioned" and perceived as "commonsensical" (2012: 10-12).

& White 2008). If these meanings are not clearly inscribed in a word or group of words, the reader or analyst needs to look for textual or extra-textual cues that they assume will influence their reading. One could turn to the analysis of those lexical items that have explicit *evaluative meaning potential* and which are placed in the textual environment, as they can inform the attitudinal reading of a particular item or pattern. At the same time, such cues can also be derived from individual expectations, cultural beliefs or subject-specific knowledge (cf. Thomson & White 2008). These indirect realisations are believed to construe ideational meanings with an interpersonal effect (Coffin 2002; Martin & White 2005) and to construe an illusion of 'objectivity' through their apparent non-evaluative character (cf. Coffin 2006). As a case in point, (8), can serve as an illustration of a rather implicit construal of evaluation. If readers are convinced that Christian burials are an important rite, they are likely to arrive at a negative evaluation of Andronicus. At the same time, they might draw on the larger co(n)text in which the clause is embedded to reveal its negative evaluative meaning potential.

(8) he [Andronicus] did not allow him the rights of a Christian burial. (Priestley)

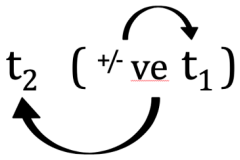
The Appraisal framework recognises a range of strategies that are described as sub-types of *attitudinal invocation*: When an attitude is *invoked*, it can either *provoke* or *invite* evaluation. *Provoked attitude* is realised via lexical metaphor (Martin & White 2005: 64), as in Carlyle's observation "Our church stands haltered [...] like a dumb ox". *Invited attitudes* are further sub-divided into *flag* and *afford* (Martin & White 2005: 67). *Flagging* is realised via intensifying "non-core lexis", i.e. using 'slaughtered' instead of 'killed' (Thomson & White 2008: 12; cf. also CH.7.3), whereas *afford* focuses on informational content, i.e. ideational meanings. For the present study, the instances of *afford* are classified as *evoked* evaluation (as suggested by Martin 2003; Coffin 2003; Thomson & White 2008). Though this taxonomy might be judged too specific for its application in an analysis, it is helpful in that it raises awareness for "a cline from 'inscribe' to 'afford' according to the degree of freedom allowed [to] readers in aligning with the values naturalised by the text" (Martin & White 2005: 67).

Relay evaluation

In the corpus data there is evidence for a pattern which can be deemed central to historiography. It describes instances in which the text construes a positive or negative evaluation of a target that can be classified as an impersonalised entity, an action or an event. The evaluation of this primary target simultaneously functions to evoke the evaluation of a

secondary target that is metonymically related to the first one. The visualisation in Figure 4 below, represents the process by which the positive or negative evaluation (+/- ve) of the primary target (t1) subsequently modifies the secondary target (t2). The assumption here is therefore that the primary target functions as a relay in that it 'forwards' the evaluative meaning.

Figure 4. Relay evaluation



ve t2 [human agent] ≙ (+/-ve t1[impersonalised entity/action/event])

This strategy is particularly effective in that it does not attribute agency to the human actor (e.g. *statesmen, emperors, revolutionaries, queens, generals, churchmen* etc) but shifts the focus to, for instance, *outcomes, results, consequences, effects, structural circumstances, actions, motivations, endeavours, ideas*. Bednarek (2009: 180-81) also recognises the potential of appreciation meanings to be read as metonymic judgements, as exemplified in her examples presented in (9) and (10).

(9) "his pity was genuine" ('genuineness' lexis used to appreciate, but also metonymically to judge the Emoter)

(10) "the question was unnecessary" ('necessity' lexis used to appreciate, but also metonymically to judge the 'asker' of the question)

Cobbett's criticism of the trustworthiness of his colleague David Hume serves as an illustration to demonstrate how this evaluative strategy contributes to increase the 'attitudinal saturation' over a stretch of text.

(11) To show how little reliance is to be placed on **HUME** I will here notice, that he says the marriage [of Philip of Spain and Queen Mary] took place at Westminster, and to this adds many facts equally false. **His account of the whole of this transaction** is a mere romance, made up from Protestant writers, even whose accounts he has shamefully distorted to the prejudice of the views and character of the Queen. (Cobbet)

In the third sentence, "His account..." constitutes the metonymic *primary target* of evaluation. Cobbett negatively evaluates the target via three tokens which accumulate evaluative meaning triggered rather indirectly ("mere romance", "made up from Protestant

writers", "shamefully distorted").[46] Even though the negative evaluation is directed at the impersonal target "account", the reader is likely to link it with the *secondary target*, viz. David Hume. In this example, then, *relay evaluation* functions to reinforce the negative evaluation of Hume's veracity by further substantiating the accusation.

There are two underlying 'forces' that could be seen as an incentive for historiographers to avoid an explicit, typically negative evaluation of historical actors and instead shift the evaluation towards their achievements, misdemeanours, actions or induced events.[47] First, there is the need to be 'objective' and 'generic'. As historians have increasingly felt the need to orient themselves towards principles that promoted scientific objectivity and a generic perspective (cf. Hesketh 2011a), they were likely to make increasing use of means other than the assessment of historical actors. Secondly, it may have been the aim not to alienate members of the widening target audience, who were likely to hold divergent opinions and may have had different sympathies for historical characters. Underlining the motivation for using this strategy, White (2004: 234) argues that "[w]e can expect assessments of humans to typically put more at stake than assessments of natural objects or generalised situations".

Since there is no methodology that allows for the systematic detection of instances of *implicit evaluation* in large data sets, *evoked* meaning will be discussed as one component in the analyses of the extracted examples in the subsequent chapters.

3.4 Appraisal and (historical) discourse studies

There is a large body of studies whose analysis of evaluation is based on the Appraisal framework (e.g. Martin 2000; Page 2003; Coffin 2002, 2006; Asher et al. 2009; Hood 2010, 2012; Gales 2011, Macken-Horarik & Isaac 2014; Oteíza 2017; Myskow 2018a; Su & Hunston 2019). These studies range from classifying evaluative meaning in literary texts or narratives to identifying instances of attitudinal language in (journalistic/political/academic/historiographical) discourse analysis. Contributions such as Hood's (2010) monograph, focusing on the analysis of evaluation in academic writing, or Coffin's (2006) chapters on appraisal in historical discourse, substantially expand on Martin & White's (2005) original framework in that they provide the analyst with the results of

[46] In their respective context, both 'Romance' and 'Protestant writers' are considered ideologically charged expressions. Cobbett's choice seems to be informed by the values he assumes his readers to share regarding the ideal historiographical representation [≠ romance] and their religious affiliation [pro-Catholic].

[47] For some historians, especially those who have composed works on contemporary history, one could assume (self-)censorship, fear of reprisal and/or prosecution as a third motivation for striving to assess selected, singular occurrences in order to avoid defaming reputable characters and thus damaging the face of their powerful descendants.

applying the framework's mapping of resources to specific examples from their respective fields of study, thereby illuminating the benefits of the theory as well as its limitations, while suggesting solutions and extensions that often go beyond addressing the framework's shortcomings. Coffin's (2006) seminal contribution to the field of historical discourse, despite its pedagogical approach to history writing, which essentially aims to improve students' awareness of the 'specialised language' of their school subject, contains elements which reach far beyond this instructive goal. Most notable is her chapter entitled "Responding to, judging and assessing past events", which contains the first comprehensive application of the Appraisal framework to historiography. Coffin (2006: 150-162; also 2002), for instance, expands Martin and White's (2005: 173-174) concepts of journalistic voices (*reporter voice*, *correspondent voice*, *commentator voice*) by adding *recorder voice* (reduced authorial intrusion) which she contrasts with *appraiser voice* (authorial intrusive in term of judging the past) which she further differentiates into interpreter voice (inscribed social esteem, absence of unmediated social sanction) and *adjudicator voice* (unmediated social sanction and social esteem). Moreover, she refines the definition of the Appreciation subcategory *social valuation*, which she understands as the "institutionalization of feeling but with reference to norms for valuing processes and products rather than behaviour" (Coffin 2006: 141-42). Her specifying approach underlines the particular necessity of such classifications for the analysis of the historical discourse, while her observation inspired the modification of the Judgement framework (cf. CH.3.2).

In her study, Hood rebuilds the Appraisal framework's original system network of GRADUATION and extends the network to represent "a clarification and further differentiation of options in graduation" (2010: 98). Consequently, her study provides a set of options that help other researchers to classify their findings on the basis of a much more fine-grained network. Here, Hood's extension is concerned with the semantic category of *extent*, which also represents an important contribution to the present research project (cf. CH.7.2).

Given its potential, particularly with regard to the investigation of ideology and moral values, it is surprising that there are only few historical discourse studies to date, which examine how values are construed on an interpersonal plane using the Appraisal framework (exceptions are Coffin 2006; Oteíza 2017 and Myskow 2017, 2018a, 2018b). In his valuable review of central linguistic resources used to interpret the past, Martin (2003: 23) makes explicit the relationship between choices and their interpretation by stating that "linguistic choices [...] construct different histories". In mapping these choices, Martin (2003) does not resort to the whole Appraisal framework (the prototype of which he already sketched out in

Martin 2000), but introduces the section "Value", in which he discusses, for example, the relevance of *recorder*, *interpreter* and *adjudicator voice*, for the construal of 'objective' and morally evaluative historical accounts in historical discourse. Observing their interplay in a text by Nelson Mandela, Martin (2003: 39) identifies a "drift" by which the author moves from an explicitly evaluative explanation and interpretation to a more concrete, source-based account. Combined with the discussion of other key resources, his contribution is of particular value to studies in the field of historical discourse analysis, as it distinguishes the techniques used to "naturalise a point of view, and to resist and subvert alternative readings" (Martin 2003: 54).

Myskow (2017, 2018a, 2018c) is yet another scholar whose research concentrates on the representation of historical discourse in (secondary school and university) history textbooks. In his work, several changes were made to the Appraisal framework, of which the ones that are most essential for this study will be briefly presented. A valuable addition to the existing classifications (cf. Coffin's 2006 'voices of history' framework outlined above) is his *Levels of Evaluation* framework (Myskow 2018a). The framework distinguishes four levels of evaluation in historical discourse, which he terms i) *inter-evaluation*, covering the attitudinal assessments of the historical actors or authorial descriptions of their thoughts and feelings; ii) *super-evaluation*, classifying evaluations which are sourced to the author's voice; iii) *extra-evaluation*, referring to the representation of the voices of other historians who are implicitly or explicitly mentioned in the text; and *meta-evaluation*, the "implicit evaluation of the discourse itself" (Myskow 2018c: 56). A classification scheme of this kind is considered particularly beneficial when used to trace the (strategic) interplay of these voices in larger stretches of text.[48]

In summary, the present study, in its attempt to make a further contribution to the exploration of historical discourse, draws primarily on the tools of the Appraisal framework, which will be further elaborated in the respective analytical chapters. Furthermore, it refers to attitudinal instantiations of evaluation as having *evaluative meaning potential*, thus acknowledging the spectrum of possible readings of the respective value attributed to the items. The possible double coding for *relay evaluation* will find use in those parts of the analysis in which the attitudinal assessment of one target might be interpreted as evoking the evaluation of the (metonymically) related historical agent.

[48] Myskow's (2017) detailed analysis, for instance, concentrates on a selection of four chapters taken from four different textbooks.

3.5 Corpus-assisted discourse studies

The task and the challenges outlined above, which result from the combination of a linguistically virtually unstudied field of late modern historiography with the complex field of evaluation research, led to the logical decision for an approach that provides the methodological superstructure for the following analyses, namely *Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies* (CADS) (Partington et al. 2013). This approach allows quantitative, empirical research to be carried out and thus, beyond a selective, exemplary analysis of a single document, to determine frequencies, trends and patterns in a large amount of data in order to substantiate results and to raise them, away from the choices of the individual author, to a generic level. However, supporters of this approach caution that it is necessary not to see the corpus as a "black box" in which the mass of data overshadows the content of the included texts (Partington et al. 2013: 12). Especially in the research of a novel field of discourse, the exact knowledge of the authors and their works collected in the corpus, of the process of corpus design and compilation, and of the spatio-temporal context from which the texts originate is imperative for conducting thorough analyses of the discourse. In essence, the greatest benefit for this study derives from the combination of a quantitative approach, i.e. statistical overviews of large amounts of the discourse in question, with a more qualitative approach, i.e. a close and more detailed analysis of specific parts of the discourse. These include, for example, evaluative patterns of historiography, which are identified in some sections of this study by means of an initial quantitative overview. These are, for example, evaluative patterns and strategies, which are identified in some parts of this study by means of initial quantitative, *corpus-driven*[49] (Tognini-Bonelli 2001, Lee 2008) queries designed to obtain an overview. The regularities and distinct irregularities that stand out in the overview are most often the starting point for a deeper investigation into the material.

Moreover, this study considers itself embedded in the comparative tradition of discourse analysis. In order to make reliable statements about the relevance of a phenomenon observed in one section of the corpus, it is essential to compare, where possible, how the phenomenon

[49] With regard to discourse analysis, Lee (2008: 87) makes a useful suggestion on how corpus data can be appropriated and how these approaches should be labelled; Under the umbrella term *corpus-based* he distinguishes the terms *corpus-informed*, *corpus-supported*, *corpus-driven* and *corpus-induced*. Lee (2008: 88) suggests to use *corpus-informed* when corpus data is used as the basis for careful, qualitative studies. In qualitative and quantitative work, he furthermore makes a distinction between *corpus-supported* research, which draws on prior linguistic intuitions or theoretical frameworks, and *corpus-driven* research which "approaches the task with fewer preconceptions". If the research is mainly based on quantitative, large-scale automatic analyses, he refers to it as *corpus-induced* (Lee 2008: 88). The present study leans on Lee's suggestions and thus neglects the original, delimiting dichotomy of the terms (for a critical discussion of the original notions of *corpus-driven* and *corpus-based,* see McEnery & Hardy 2011: 5-6, 122-164).

behaves elsewhere (Partington et al. 2013: 12). For this purpose, the study systematically uses a *reference corpus* at relevant points, against which the results can be compared. Due to its size and design, with its reliable repository of all the features of the discourse field, the *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts* (CLMET 3.0) (Diller et al. 2011) was chosen as the ideal reference corpus once the historical documents had been excluded. Because of this modification, the corpus is referred to in the context of this study as "CLMET 3.0 red." ('reduced''). In addition to using *frequency word lists* that give an indication of the absolute frequency of lexis in the corpus, the study resorts to *keyword analysis* (CH.5.4) to retrieve those lexical items that are central to the discourse of historiography. This approach enables the identification of words whose difference in frequency stands out as statistically significant in comparison with the CLMET 3.0 red. corpus (cf. McEnery & Hardy 2011: 41). In addition, texts of individual historians are compared with those of their fellow authors in a qualitative approach, typical of discourse analysis (cf. Partington et al. 2013), to identify particularities of specific sections of the texts in a close and detailed analysis. These specific passages are almost always identified by an initial *corpus-driven* overview (often by means of a *distribution analysis*).

Throughout the study, *clusters*, also known as *n-grams* (*n* stands for the number of words in the string) are being extracted because, for one thing, they emerge directly from the corpus data and thus prevent the biases inherent in subjective selections, and for another, these multi-word units facilitate evaluative disambiguation (cf. Partington et al. 2013: 18; McEnery & Hardy 2011: 110).

In contrast to forms, pragmatic functions (e.g. evaluation) cannot be retrieved automatically, which makes it difficult to find text passages that are particularly suitable and relevant for a detailed qualitative analysis. Thus, most analyses take forms as their starting point and obtain their insights by means of a so-called *form-to-function mapping* (adopting a semasiological perspective). In order to nevertheless cast light on the function the individual evaluative items take in their respective co-text, to highlight their discursive macro-functions or to trace phraseologies or evaluative meanings expressed in the corpus data, these are examined in concordances. Since these concordances are 'read' vertically, they reveal recurring patterns at a glance. For the analyst, the manual examination of a large number of concordances is often indispensable. It is the only way to detect and eliminate incongruous items, or to identify particular evaluative functions that are realised by various linguistic forms (for a detailed survey of concordances, see Tribble 2010). This procedure

of analysing a "node" or "key word" in its respective co-text is also referred to as "keyword-in-context" (KWIC) analysis (McEnery & Hardy 2011: 35).

Furthermore, the decision to annotate the CLMEH not only with part-of-speech (POS) tags, but also with semantic tags, enables both an extension beyond singular queries of the corpus and an automated, reproducible division of the data into predefined evaluative semantic domains. It was decided to use automatic annotation due to the size of the corpus. Needless to say, this decision for a rapid annotation is accompanied by a tolerable loss of accuracy, since diachronic texts in particular include terms that have undergone a grammatical, orthographic or semantic change in addition to those terms that are no longer used.

The methods and techniques outlined in this section are intended to harness the corpus for a thorough analysis of the evaluative strategies and resources entrenched in historiographical discourse. However, one must not forget that the approach of this work is tentative and exploratory in nature. Therefore, the analytical procedure is invariably guided by the affirmation or refutation of (non-linguistic) claims made about the discourse field.

> Evidence-driven research is highly likely to take the researcher into uncharted waters because the observations arising from the data will inevitably dictate to a considerable degree which next steps are taken. The present work is well punctuated with serendipities. (Partington et al. 2013: 9)

For this study, Partington et al.'s (2013) reference to serendipity and the heteronomous nature of the research due to the unknown data and the under-researched area of discourse is absolutely pertinent. In this respect, it is sensible to start where evaluation in historiography reaches its full potential, namely in directing the readers' gaze to what is considered historically significant.

4. Signalling (historical) significance

Historical significance has so far mainly been discussed at the 'macro level' (cf. Danto 1965; Jenkins 2003; Tosh 2010). The implication is that scholars of history often attribute significance to the overall purpose of the narrative. The following four types proposed by Danto (2007: 132 ff.) aptly represent this prevailing notion of a vague understanding of the term *significance* and its effects on discourse production. He distinguishes between *pragmatic significance*, which characterises narratives specifically and explicitly constructed to serve a moralising purpose (cf. Gibbon's negative evaluation of the excesses of Byzantine rulers), and *theoretical significance*, describing events that are deemed to be significant to historians as they stand in an evidential or illustrative relationship to some general theory they are concerned to (dis)establish (e.g. the account of the Cromwellian 'revolution' serves as confirmation of a general idea of revolutions). In addition, Danto lists *consequential significance* which considers ab event to be historically significant once historians regard its consequences to be 'important', and *revelatory significance*, referring to a series of events that are historically significant, when historians are able to reconstruct or somehow infer the occurrence of another series of events (e.g. on the basis of [new] supporting evidence).[50] While some contemporary philosophers of history (cf. Danto 1965) regard the implicit reference to historical consequences as the desirable ideal for establishing what is considered important in history, this study broadly agrees with Dray's (1997) more convincing argument. Rejecting the contention that historical thinking can/should be devoid of overt value judgements, Dray (1997: 771) suggests that the importance of the event is usually determined by measuring its consequences and goes on to state that "consequential importance presupposes intrinsic importance". In other words, whenever historiographers classify events as momentous, one can infer what they consider historically significant.

By claiming that history is transmitted only in fragmentary appropriations and not in its (hypothetical) totality, Jenkins shifts the focus from the author/historian to the readers, presenting them as active interpreters/exegetists of historical relevance. He states that "[t]he

[50] In this vein, Macaulay already stressed the centrality of the subjective act of creating historical significance: "What do we mean when we say that one past event is important and another insignificant? *No past event has any intrinsic importance.* The knowledge of it is valuable only as it leads us to form just calculations with respect to the future. A history which does not serve this purpose, though it may be filled with battles, treaties, and commotions, is as useless as the series of turnpike-tickets collected by Sir Matthew Mite." ("On History" 1828, emphasis mine).

sifting out of that which is historically significant depends on us, so that what 'the past' means to us is always our task to 'figure out'" (2003: 30). However, it is acknowledged that texts construe a *naturalised* or *ideal* reading position which can be upheld against *divergent* or *resistant* reading positions through a range of discourse strategies (cf. Martin 1995, Macken-Horarik 2003, Hood 2010). This implies that the historiographer is able to exert influence on the reader's process of interpretation, which in turn can have a considerable effect on what is eventually 'sifted out' as historically significant.

Unfortunately, both Danto and Jenkins fail to mention when exactly and in what manner historiographers mark certain events as historically significant. But it is precisely this process of making the relevance of historical persons and their actions, historical phenomena and their consequences transparent to the reader, which is considered an essential instrument of historical knowledge construction (cf. e.g. Cannon 1980; Okie 1991; Bentley 1999; Rüsen 2005; Burrow 2007). Thus, in order to allow for verifiable observations on a 'micro level', viz. the *textual* level, I argue that it is the historians' choice of evaluative patterns that assign historical meaning to the sentence or unit.

4.1 Classifying significance

Almost all of the linguistic approaches to evaluation presented above (CH.3.1) contain a concept that can be used to label lexical and grammatical choices that indicate the writer's assessment of the status of a proposition or entity as markedly important. These labels differ only slightly: Hunston and Thompson (2000: 24), for instance, allocate these choices to one of four parameters, namely that of "relevance or importance". However, they point out that in addition to directing the reader to the main point of the text, the evaluation of importance has an additional 'text-oriented' function, as it can serve to "guide readers or listeners towards the intended coherence of what they are reading or hearing." (Hunston & Thompson 2000: 24). In line with Thompson and Zhou (2000: 122), they subscribe to a view that rejects a strict separation of the interpersonal from the textual dimension. This view is believed to support the analytical observations below, as it takes into account the impact of the authors' lexical choices not only within the local *co-text*, but also across longer stretches of discourse (i.e. paragraphs, chapters etc.). Furthermore, the addition of a text-organising perspective of evaluation is expected to enable the analyst to reveal whether historians are attempting to convey a consistent assessment of what they consider (un)important or (in)significant.

In Bednarek's framework (2006: 44), lexical realisations used to evaluate aspects as important/unimportant are subsumed under the "parameter of importance". Her scalar

approach to evaluation is informed by the parameter-based frameworks by Francis (1995) and Lemke (1998), which already comprise "importance" and "significance". Since Bednarek's work is primarily aimed at analysing one particular genre, namely media discourse, her conceptualisation includes notions of *influence/authority* and *stardom/famousness* in addition to *significance*, *importance* and a selection of related notions relevant to the discourse in focus (2006: 44). As a result of her analysis, she makes a valuable observation regarding the discourse function of IMPORTANCE: IMPORTANT, which is related in some way to the concept of *influence/authority* and is therefore considered relevant to the study of historiographical data: She suggests that sources can be "credentialized" by evaluation of their importance, explaining their institutional affiliation and/or elitist position (Bednarek 2006: 103). While in media discourse one main function may be to lend reliability to the propositions attributed to the evaluated sources (cf. Bednarek 2006: 104), I would argue that the "credentialization by importance" in history writing can be extended beyond this function in that it additionally functions to emphasise the distinctive role, ability and (potential) influence of historical characters (e.g. "a *most influential* adviser", "the *leading* manufacturers", "a *prominent* German politician").

It is notable that the Appraisal framework (Martin & White 2005) does not allow for simply labelling lexical markers of significance as *important*. This view is equally shared by Bednarek and is reflected in her commentary on the problematic specificities of the framework (2006: 32). Instead, Martin and White suggest a link between the assessment of the value of things/performances and significance (2005: 56). Hence, the appraisal subsystem, "appreciation: valuation (social significance)" (Martin & White 2005: 56), which classifies those instances in which lexicogrammatical resources such as *key*, *important, major, exceptional, significant* occur, can therefore be regarded as the most important resource for marking significance (Martin and White 2005: 56). Since the same attitudinal lexis can be used in both appraisal systems, *judgement* and *appreciation* (see CH.3.2), it can be argued that for the construal of an individual's significance, the lexicogrammatical choices covered in the subsystems *judgement: normality* and *judgement: capacity* (Martin and White 2005: 53) must be taken into account.

Applying these proposals to the analysis, there are a multitude of lexico-grammatical resources which the historiographers have at their disposal for emphasising certain historical phenomena and thus marking them as significant. For instance, they can use *premodification* (e.g. through attributive adjectives, see CH.5), *graduation* (e.g. the upscaling and downscaling of qualities, CH.7.1), *infused intensification* (i.e. emphasising by using a 'more

intense' lexical item, CH.7.1), *postmodification* (e.g. through apposition or relative clauses, CH.6). However, it is not only by applying these resources that historiographers position their readers vis-à-vis what they deem to be (historically) significant. A more elusive type of persuasion that is frequently involved in evaluative processes is the reader's alignment with the author's position. Those alignment strategies are presented in the next section.

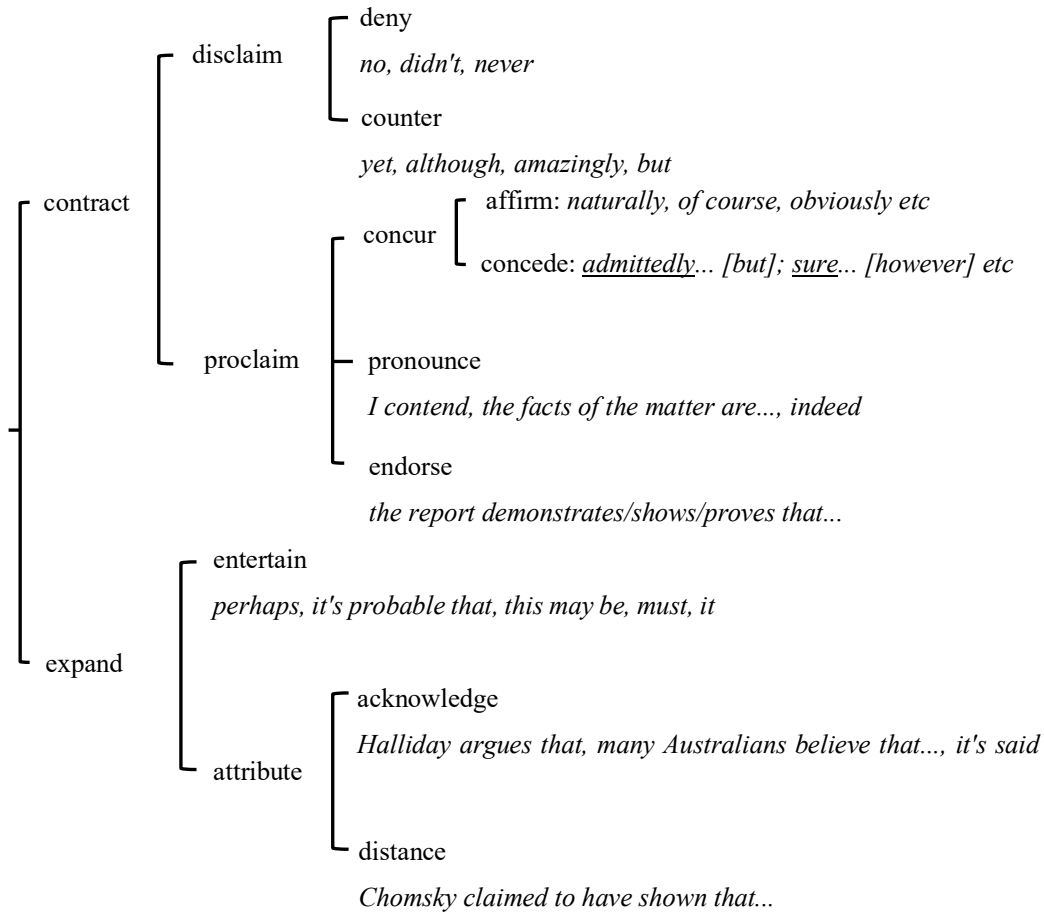
4.2 Engagement

Historiographers seeking to convince their readers of the validity of their argumentative position, draw on various resources which are intended to align their readers with their view. These resources can be mapped onto the *Engagement* subsystem of Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal theory. Underlying this subsystem are the notions of *dialogism* and *heteroglossia*, two perspectives which assume that all instances of speaking and writing make transparent "the influence of, refer to, or to take up in some way, what has been said/written before, and simultaneously to anticipate the responses of actual, potential or imagined readers/listeners." (Martin & White 2005: 92).

The system's resources are powerful as they allow for the historian to adopt a position in which his readers are construed as sharing the same world view, or to acknowledge "diversity with its implication for conflict and struggle among diverse voices" (Coffin 2006: 143). The first type is termed *monoglossic*, the latter *heteroglossic*. The monoglossic option is typically realised via *unmodalised positive declaratives* (Coffin 2006: 149), or *'bare' assertions* (in Martin & White's terms), which are more likely to be interpreted as 'unproblematic' or even as "taken-for-granted" or "objective or factual" (Martin & White 2005: 99f.). It consequently has the potential to implicitly encourage the reader to align with the author's viewpoint. Heteroglossic options, on the other hand, can either *contract* or *expand* the dialogue (Martin & White 2005: 93). The heteroglossic resources of ENGAGEMENT, which enable a classification of the various types of dialogistic positioning, are depicted as a systems network in Figure 5.

The following section aims to link the framework to typical examples extracted from the corpus so as to illustrate the potential of the framework to classify different reader alignment strategies.

Figure 5. The Engagement subsystem



(Martin & White 2005: 134)

Dialogistic contraction

Historiographers have two options when contracting the *dialogistic backdrop* and hence restricting or even closing the space for dialogistic alternatives: They can either draw on resources comprised by the two subcategories of *disclaim* or on those contained in the subsystems of *proclaim*. In the first category *deny* allows for the invocation of the positive position and to subsequently reject it. Boyer's denial, (12), is directed against the expected assumptions that the putative reader of his text might have, namely that there are more memorable battles. In (12), Freeman responds to projected alternative voices that might portray William as worthy of sharing the glory, thus distancing himself from those advocating this alternative position.

(12) **Never** was a more memorable Battle fought in this Western part of the World (Boyer)

(13) William of Normandy has **no** claim to a share in the pure glory of Timoleon, Ælfred,

and Washington (Freeman)

Counter formulations "replace or supplant" (Martin & White 2005: 120) the historian's current position. In Stubb's characterisation of the three tribes, in (14), he projects a readership which expects political unity based on the four commonalities (cf. *concede* below). Counters of this kind, by superseding an opposing position, can simultaneously function to signal the unexpectedness of the proposition.

(14) The Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, **although** speaking the same language, worshipping the same gods and using the same laws, **had no** political unity like the Franks of Clovis (Stubbs)

The second subsystem of *contract*, *proclaim*, which "limits the scope" (Martin & White 2005: 120) of alternative positions, comprises three subsystems. Once historians emphatically articulate their alignment with the proposition, they *concur* with the projected position either by using *affirm* or *concede* formulations. In the first case, they draw on resources that contain, for example, epistemic adverbs that signal a high degree of commitment to the proposition. The wording used in Seeley's extract, (15), construes a readership which aligns with him and which shares the value position evoked by his deduction. The use of the more inclusive first-person plural 'we' (*we saw*), further reinforces the alignment of his readers. In (16), Freeman's readers are construed as accepting the obvious, virtually 'commonsensical' statement. In both examples, a reader position is construed that is believed to be in need of persuasion.

(15) It is **needless to say** that the catastrophe of Protestantism in France must have immeasurably enhanced the anxiety with which we saw at the same time a Catholic Bang triumphantly establish himself (Seeley)

(16) The poor and the weak were **of course** the chief victims (Freeman)

In contrast to *affirming concurrence*, where there is no distancing, *conceding concurrence* indicates the writer's commitment as expressing a higher or lower degree of reluctance (Martin & White 2005: 125). Example (17) contains a less restrained formulation indicating Priestley's higher degree of commitment to the conceded proposition. By incorporating the *concessive* '*but'*, the example shows a pairing of *concede* and *counter* that is not uncommon in the data. The resulting strategy of signalling *counter-expectancy* can function to disrupt the original evaluative leaning, either by signalling its rejection or, as in (17), by downplaying the scope of the learned writers' prominence. In the present example, one could assume that the strategy is not to completely "flip" the positive polarity (Hood 2010: 161),

but rather to qualify the initially intensified (more) positive judgement of the writer's capacities.

(17) For **certainly**, in this period, the Latin church produced more able and learned writers than the Greek; **but** the latter had no knowledge of them. (Priestley)

Formulations of the *pronounce* type encode "authorial emphases or explicit authorial interventions or interpolations" (Martin & White 2005: 127). In (18), Boyer's subjective presence in the text clearly serves the purpose of asserting the high "warrantability" of the proposition (Martin & White 2005: 128) and likewise to emphasise his interpretive sovereignty as a historian.

(18) But **the truth of the Matter was**, that the Place must have been given up in a day or two, had not the English Admiral thought it convenient to bear away, [...] with a Design to Sail for the Ocean (Boyer)

Endorse refers to resources that attribute propositions to external sources which are endorsed by the author as extremely reliable. For the subject under discussion, it can be argued that it is primarily the voices that are widely held to be authoritative for understanding history, namely historical sources (of various types). Thus, example (19) can be regarded as representing a pattern typically found in the data. The undeniable nature of the evidence's validity is strengthened, not only by disclosing its trustworthy compositional foundation, but further through the verb proves. Buckle's endorsement of the evidence, though acknowledging the sources' viewpoints, functions to contract further alternative viewpoints by presenting the proposition as "maximally warrantable" (Martin & White 2005: 127).

(19) The preceding **evidence**, **collected from sources of unquestioned credibility**, **proves** the force of those great physical laws, which, in the most flourishing countries out of Europe, encouraged the accumulation of wealth, but prevented its dispersion (Buckle)

Dialogistic contraction, in the manner depicted in the examples above, provides a means to establish and maintain the historians' claim of legitimacy in that the formulation induce an alignment of their readers with the respective values underlying the text.

Dialogistic expansion

Expanding the dialogistic space enables the historian to invite or to contemplate on alternative viewpoints by various means whose functions will be discussed subsequently. For instance, historians can draw on resources which are subsumed under *entertain*. These formulations, which frequently contain modal auxiliaries, modal adjuncts or modal

attributes, recognise the proposition as but one option in the "current communicative context" (Martin & White 2005: 105). In contrast to the determination of, for example, the writer's commitment to the 'reliability of knowledge', the dialogistic perspective employed here, considers these traditional notions associated with modality "not necessarily to be the primary, determining communicative motive" (Martin & White 2005: 105). Still, the phrase with which Millar's assessment is introduced in (20) signals to the reader that the historian is not fully committed to the truth value of the proposition by acknowledging alternative positions.

(20) **It is probable** that the several conquering parties were seldom at the trouble of making a formal division of their acquisitions, but commonly permitted each individual to enjoy the booty which he had seized in war (Millar)

The category's second subsystem, *attribute*, comprises formulations that present the statement as originating from an external source, thereby dissociating the statement from the internal, authorial voice (Martin & White 2005: 111). Within that category, *acknowledge* refers to the presentation of external positions/voices without a clear indication of how they are being evaluated by the text-internal voice. This holds true for Echard's attribution of the proposition to an unknown source in (21). Example (22), however, can be considered a borderline case, as it overtly construes Hume's evaluation of the external voice, which, - in contrast to the constraint construed by *endorse* resources - allows to be read as being one out of several voices.[51]

(21) **It is reported that** after he had procured King Edmund to be slain in the Manner before related, he came to Canute and congratulated him as sole Monarch of England (Echard)

(22) He was so different from himself in different parts of his reign, that, **as is well remarked by Lord Herbert**, his history is his best character and description. (Hume)

The second category, *distance*, comprises dialogistically expansive formulations which present the authorial voice as "explicitly declining to take responsibility for the proposition" (Martin & White 2005: 114). It is notable that, in both examples (23) and (24), the historian's voice distances itself from the external voices invited to the text not only by using a particular reporting verb, but also by making an explicit evaluative comment on their verisimilitude that reinforces their critical view of the propositions conveyed.

(23) and while some have **asserted** that our persecutors are to be found only among the most odious and vicious of the emperors, and while others endeavour to establish a

[51] Martin and White (2005: 115) argue that argumentative texts in particular allow the author to strengthen reader alignment via "inscribed attitudinal assessment".

sort of temporal retribution which overtook, by violent or untimely deaths, [..] All these writers are almost equally remote from truth. (Waddinton)

(24) It was **alleged**, but the charge was probably false, that Aspar, sympathising with the Vandals, bribed Basiliscus to betray the fleet with the promise of making him Emperor. (Bury)

Examining the realisation of evaluation in the historiographical documents in conjunction with the choices made from the Engagement system gives a valuable insight into the historians' expectations of potential reader reactions. Contracting the dialogistic backdrop, for instance by rejecting alternative positions, is a great way to deal with contested ideas and to strongly align the reader with the historiographer's interpretation. The contracting formulations, further, allow for emphasising the historian's interpretative sovereignty, as some of them function to give prominence to the author's voice and its interventions in the text. The resources used to expand the dialogistic space can either function to reinforce the reader's doubt about the proposition presented by making the historians' reservations and concerns apparent, or they provide a means to include voices that sustain or confirm the historian's authoritative position.

Monoglossic engagement

It is assumed that by imparting a notion of commonsensicalness through the exclusion of dialogical alternatives, monoglossic statements are accepted uncritically. It can therefore be argued that the study of monoglossic passages of a texts helps the analyst to disclose two things: first, they expose those textual stretches in which the historian does not feel the need to react to anticipated objections and expectations of his putative readership, and second, these passages can be indicative either of the historian's individual value position or even of a system of (institutionalised) community values (Martin & White 2005: 57; cf. also Thompson & Hunston 2000). Undoubtedly, it is their accumulation in certain thematic contexts (e.g. in the characterisation of particular historical protagonists or antagonists) rather than their occurrence in the individual sentence that should be considered as the basis for an investigation of those values that historians either believe to be shared by their readers or construe in such a way as to engender common acceptance.

The following extract, (25), taken from Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest,* provides a typical illustration of an accumulation of unmodalised and unattributed propositions which are realised as a set of *bare assertions*.

(25) William learned to become the Conqueror of England only by first becoming the

> Conqueror of Normandy and the Conqueror of France. He found means to conquer Normandy by the help of France and to conquer France by the help of Normandy. He turned a jealous over-lord into an effective ally against his rebellious subjects, and he turned those rebellious subjects into faithful supporters against that jealous over-lord. (Freeman)

The propositions, summarising William's career, are all ascribed to the voice of the historian. An assertion of this kind is expected to be treated as unproblematic because it "does not appear to anticipate any objection from the potential reader concerning its truth validity" (Swain 2010). Monoglossic declarative statements constrict response, for example, with categorical assertions which assume shared values (Munday 2012, Bondi 2007). In example (26), Gibbon's negative judgement of the monks' propriety is highly reflective of his anti-clerical worldview.

(26) A cruel, unfeeling temper has distinguished the monks of every age and country: their stern indifference, which is seldom mollified by personal friendship, is inflamed by religious hatred; and their merciless zeal has strenuously administered the holy office of the Inquisition. (Gibbon)

The danger lies in the appearance of monoglossic evaluation as uncontested and reporting seemingly objective 'facts' (Thompson & White 2008). Swain (2010) argues that monoglossia offers an advantage to the author, especially in one-sided arguments. Moreover, monoglossic resources provides the historian with the opportunity to form a kind of bracket around explanations in longer discourse units that can steer the readers' understanding what is bracketed as axiological truths created by the authority of the historian (27).

(27) **The first acts of an usurper are always popular**. Stephen, in order to secure his tottering throne, passed a charter, granting several privileges to the different orders of the state. To the nobility, a permission to hunt in their own forests; to the clergy, a speedy filling of all vacant benefices; and to the people, a restoration of the laws of Edward the Confessor. To fix himself still more securely, he took possession of the royal treasures at Winchester, and had his title ratified by the pope with a part of the money. **A crown thus gained by usurpation, was to be kept only by repeated concessions.** (Goldsmith)

In this way, even passages towards which a reader is assumed to be sceptical can be provided with incontrovertible conclusions. The validity of the latter is determined by a mixture of points raised in support of an argument and the historian's conveyed values. (28).

(28) **The victory over the senate was easy and inglorious**. Every eye and every passion were directed to the supreme magistrate, who possessed the arms and treasure of the state; whilst the senate, neither elected by the people, nor guarded by military force, nor animated by public spirit, rested its declining authority on the frail and crumbling basis of ancient opinion. **The fine theory of a republic insensibly vanished, and made way for the more natural and substantial feelings of monarchy**. (Gibbon)

The following chapters address the concrete application of the various discourse-semantic resources and occasionally highlight the interplay of evaluation and Engagement strategies that can be found within the examples extracted from the corpus data.

5. Explicit evaluation

In order to understand the importance of explicit realisations of evaluative meaning for history-writing, it is essential to look at the key objectives pursued by overt value judgements.

When composing their narrative, historians act as a "relay", to borrow a pertinent metaphor created by Førland (2017: 2), between the past-as-history and the prospective reader. As historians actively construct a picture of past events and actors, they have to make selections. This is the stage at which they are obliged to explain to the reader why their chosen subject matter is of relevance (cf. Myskow 2018a). As already mentioned, this marking of *historical significance* from a linguistic perspective is achieved through evaluation. Since it is a core task of historiography to make the past understandable to readers and sometimes even to point out historical consequences in order to derive recommendations for future practice, authors must align the reader with their explanation, interpretation and creation of historical causalities. Hence, when historiographers pigeonhole past phenomena, historical agents (their behaviour or attitude etc.) in the process of composing their narrative, they either subconsciously, unconsciously, or consciously choose the attributive lexical items which correspond to their moral, political or philosophical stance: A *Saxon general* can, thus, be evaluated negatively as *stubborn* or rather positively as *determined*, depending on the author's position. While it may be true that the historian ultimately decides on whether to employ either explicit or implicit evaluative strategies, it would be short-sighted to regard the reader as a passive consumer of the past-as-history. That is to say, the fact that not all readers necessarily share the historians' values and worldviews might lead historiographers to respond to likely (hypothetical) objections to their point of view. Consequently, the need to explicate evaluative meaning at particular sections of the historiographical text might also be informed by the attempt to align/convince/position the prospective readership. The "successful historian", according to Førland (2017: 3), manages to level the disparities in values and worldviews that potentially exist between readers and historiographers.

5.1 Towards a more systematic identification of explicit evaluation

On the surface, explicit evaluation is realised overtly and should therefore be easy to detect. Scholars in the field of sentiment analysis (e.g. Wiebe et al. 2005; Whitelaw et al. 2005; Bloom et al. 2007; Taboada et al. 2011), for instance, often apply sets of explicit evaluative items that consist of lexical expressions categorised along a binary or even trinary scale for polarity (positive, [neutral], negative), each of which is assigned a particular evaluative score/rank.

Regrettably, the researchers' motivation as to what constitutes the foundation of their selection is not always made transparent to the reader, nor is the specific parsing of these items based on hand-build, "domain-independent" lexicons (Bloom et al. 2007: 311). Typically, instances of "sentiment" are automatically retrieved from a large amount of data and the results are used to manually train the algorithm to improve the "hit-rate in identifying evaluative language" (Hunston 2014: 4). In order to make identified instances computable, sentiment analysts frequently assume "a semantic orientation that is independent of context" which "can be expressed as numerical value" (Taboada et al. 2011: 270). This assumption does not exclusively apply to sentiment analysts. In their attempt to cautiously develop an outline of the categorisation of evaluative lexis, Partington et al. suggest one category comprising of

> [i]tems whose evaluative weight is intrinsic, is in-built, whose evaluation is a major if not predominant part of their function. As Hunston puts it 'some evaluative meaning is very easily identified, as it is signalled by evaluative lexical items such as wonderful or terrible.' (2004: 157). (2013: 52f.)

While everyone would agree that the two items mentioned in the quote commonly appear in contexts in which authors and speakers construe evaluative meaning, Partington et al.'s (2013) classification raises two intricate questions central to the retrieval of inscribed evaluation, viz. (i) how can the "intrinsic" evaluative weight be determined? and (ii) is the inherent evaluative weight considered to be stable, i.e. independent of context?

To take a concrete example: Postulating an introspective, ad-hoc determination of the "intrinsic evaluative weight" of items such as *progress* or *enthusiastic* proves to be rather difficult. While *progress* from a modern perspective seems to be used primarily with a positive polarity (since *progress* frequently collocates with desirable items such as *significant*/*achievement*/*remarkable* etc. in the COCA), for the eighteenth-century traditionalist it may have had a fairly negative connotation (as *progress* could be used in opposition to *established* or *traditional*). The common use of the term *enthusiastic* today seems to be much less depreciative and is less often associated with (erroneous) religious inspiration. In contrast to the findings in the CLMEH, in recent decades this adjective frequently collocates with items that indicate passion, dedication, motivation, positivity etc. (within the BNC, COCA and NOW corpora). It could be argued, then, that the researcher's intuition is challenged at this point in a manner similar to that of a contemporary interpreter who is confronted with the task to translate attitudinal expressions into the target language. With respect to this area of research, Munday (2012: 29) reminds practitioners of the discipline to be aware that, when identifying and, in particular, transferring the planned evaluation to a "new context of culture", the target group in

the target culture may not "apply the same values to the entities". He further draws attention to the "potential difference in the linguistic realization of culturally expected norms of evaluation" (Munday 2012: 29), which I argue also holds true for a diachronic "transfer of values".[52]

It is striking that the existing literature, when addressing explicit evaluation, often fails to disclose the criteria underlying what is commonly labelled 'attitudinal lexis'. Studying "new intensifiers in Spoken English", Aijmer (2018), for instance, distinguishes between negative, positive and neutral adjectives that collocate with the intensifiers under observation. Despite exemplary specifying *funny*, *fine*, *amazing*, *good*, *awesome*, *massive*, *brilliant*, *great* and *cool* as "positive adjectives" (Aijmer 2018: 69), the resulting allocation lacks a transparent classification scheme.

Morley and Partington (2009) turn to prototype theory in an attempt to specify the "'obviousness' of evaluative connotation" they see in reference to the "basic evaluative form". In an illustration inspired by Rosch (1977), they map items such as "callow" and "venerable" to which they attribute a "fairly clearly unfavourable and favourable connotation/evaluation respectively" (Morley & Partington 2009: 151) to four concentric circles. At first sight, it seems reasonable to claim that "the items closest to the centre are those with the most evident and consistent evaluative connotations, whilst those closer to the outskirts have an evaluative connotation which is less obvious and consistent and which is perhaps more likely to be switched off or overturned when contextual requirements demand" (Morley & Partington 2009: 151). Yet, the individual placement of "evaluatively charged items" (Partington 2017: 193) within the visualisation is devoid of concrete allocation criteria: *Murder*, according to Morley and Partington (2009: 194), is supposed to realise an evaluation more evidently than, for instance, *rife* or *flexible*. In his adaptation of the original representation, Partington (2017: 194) places *friendly* at the centre and terms such as *deliberately* and *flexible* into the 'fringe'. It should be easy to distinguish the assumed "obviousness" of the evaluative potential realised by words such as *happen* and *tree* in the outer circle of the illustration from that of *regime* and *friendly* in the core circles. This notwithstanding, it is virtually impossible to map further items onto the intervening layers that symbolise the "cline" proposed by Morley and Partington (2009: 151) and conform to the principles of *repeatability* and *reproducibility*. Despite these caveats, the concordance technique used by Morley and Partington (2009) to reveal the (non-)

[52] This transfer is strongly linked to notions of semantic change studied from a semasiological perspective. Görlach (2001: 184f.) exemplifies the effects of *meaning change* through an added "positively or negatively connotated component" as a result of specification using a set of items that underwent *pejoration* (*genteel*, *addicted*, *gaudy*, *mediocrity*, *enthusiasm, Gothic*) and a set, in which *amelioration* had occurred (*fond*, *politician*, *Romantic*, *shrewd*) in the eighteenth century.

obvious evaluative prosody of a given item can actually be seen as helpful in approximating evaluative polarity. Nevertheless, the scaling of items along a cline arguably requires further specification of the exact analytical procedure.

In contrast to Morley and Partington's (2009) approach, Swales and Burke (2003) do not aim for a fine-grained classification. In their study of evaluative adjectives across academic registers, they assume a continuum on which gradable adjectives can be placed "with strongly negative adjectives on one pole and strongly positive one at the other" (2003:4). Thus, adjectives considered "more neutral" (e.g. *main*, *major*, *important*, *relevant*, *serious*) are classified as "centralized" as they "occupy intermediate positions" while "extreme adjectives" (e.g. *weird*, *huge*, *tremendous*, *beautiful*, *hideous*) are categorised as "polarized" (Swales & Burke 2003: 4f.). At first glance, this two-level polar division may seem more plausible and less vague than the classification used in the studies discussed above, especially since Swales and Burke critically problematise the subjectivity of their classification methodology (based on consultation with colleagues and glosses in contemporary dictionaries) when they classify "thirty-seven extreme adjectives and thirty more neutral adjectives" into seven semantic categories (Swales & Burke 2003: 5). Yet, it is difficult to understand why, for example, adjectives such as "dull" and "serious" are labelled "centralized" while "marginal" and "fascinating" are designated as "polarized". Since it is one of their aims to distinguish what I would characterise as 'discerning evaluation via 'marked' lexical items' from unmarked evaluation, Swales and Burke's (2003) classification scheme might be considered appropriate and valid for making observations at a narrower genre-internal plane. On a broader plane, however, it would be beneficial, if not indispensable, to explain the classificatory borderline cases in more detail. After all, the latter are potential means to ascertain the changeability of the degree of explicitness of individual adjectives.

This almost omnipresent absence of an explanation of the descriptive problems surrounding the term *attitudinal lexis* echoes an apparent intricacy which seems to be frequently neglected by the research community. Such difficulty is often obscured by the prevailing appeal to commonsensicalness and generality once the evaluative nature and even the polarity of lexical items is established. It is remarkable that it often seems to suffice to intuitively determine constitutive features by which, for instance, attitudinal adjectives are being differentiated from non-attitudinal or even 'neutral' (i.e. ideational) adjectives (cf. CH.3.3). Particularly since a purely lexical-semantic consideration of the evaluative meaning, in which co-textual and contextual cues are not taken into account, might well produce rather inconclusive results. Bednarek also underscores these inadequacies of classification when she states that

> [i]n existing studies on evaluation, many researchers have looked at texts, text collections or corpora, and categorized the linguistic means that seem to express speaker opinion (evaluation) according to semantic-pragmatic categories, using different sorting criteria to establish relevant categories of evaluation. While these approaches are valid in as far as they are based on actual empirical data, for the most part reasons for data classification are not explicitly discussed. (2009: 148)

It becomes clear that the contextually informed polarity as well as the pervasiveness of evaluative meaning poses several problems for the researcher. Most notably, corpus linguists seem to struggle when trying to identify instances of evaluation in larger amounts of text (see also Goźdź-Roszkowski & Hunston 2016: 135). A major problem is identified by Hunston (2004: 157), who rightly argues that "the group of lexical items that indicate evaluative meaning is large and open". Similarly, Römer (2008) points out that evaluative items in a corpus can, indeed, only be explored under the condition that researchers use methods which allow them to systematically determine evaluative meaning within the corpus (as opposed to using pre-existing lists of evaluative expressions). Channell's (2000: 39) perspective on evaluative lexis seeks to eliminate the "chancy and unreliable business of linguistic intuitions" by focusing on the typical association of words. Her approach is crucial for a diachronic analysis of evaluative meaning, as it takes into account the spatio-temporal (and idiosyncratic) dynamics of potential changes in the *attitudinal load* of specific lexical items (e.g. *natural*, *profound*, *dogmatic*…). A similar *corpus-driven* remedy to solve the identification problem can be found in a lexico-grammatical methodological approach (e.g. Hunston & Sinclair 2000; Bednarek 2009; Hunston 2011; Hunston & Su 2017). The approach focuses on sets of evaluative items which are analysed as phraseological patterns that realise evaluative meaning. Applying this methodology, according to Gray and Biber (2012: 23), facilitates reliable identification and quantification through the use of automated tools. Patterns such as *it v-link ADJ that* (as in *it was certain that England was in no danger of losing the war*) or there *v-link nothing ADJ in* (as in *there was nothing laudable in this frugality*) are believed to provide an adequate diagnostic for evaluative adjectives (Hunston & Sinclair 2000: 84-86). However, these patterns only partially resolve the problem, since the polarity of the evaluative lexis thus retrieved still has to be determined with the help of co(n)textual and, in many cases, socio-historical knowledge, because patterns such as those presented above do not effectively state whether the ADJ in the pattern is positive or negative. In addition to the phraseological approach, Bednarek (2014: 203) makes two valuable suggestions for corpus-based analyses of evaluation: One is to search for individual items or sets of words "to study how concepts are evaluated in the corpus" (Bednarek 2014: 203). This approach is considered particularly relevant for the present study as it

facilitates the detection of changes in the evaluation of targets, which in turn might indicate changing sets of values (e.g. in the assessments of items associated with *civilisation* or *constitution* by 'whig' and 'tory' historians) or discourse internal transformations (the alteration of the evaluation of historical protagonists/antagonists or their actions within one account). The second suggestion centres on the detection of frequent n-grams, whose potential evaluative function can be determined subsequently (Bednarek 2014: 203; also Römer 2008).

The limitations of corpus-based approaches and the methodological solutions outlined so far will be considered in the systematic detection and examination of explicit evaluative lexis that follows. These analytical procedures should at least partially enable the analyst to overcome the paradox pointedly called "counting the uncountable" in the title of Hunston's (2004) paper.

5.2 What qualifies as 'explicit evaluative lexis'?

Leaving aside the considerable inaccuracies undeniably associated with the specification of attitudinal lexis which has been critically discussed above, it must be admitted that the broad spectrum of analyses that follows necessitates a similar oversimplification. Notwithstanding the fact that the results thus obtained rely on a subjective pre-selection of formal items, they are considered in their entirety as a useful contribution to the delineation of potential genre-specific characteristics or preferences. Hence, the challenge for future research will be to verify the current findings on the basis of improved classification schemes. In this sense, the following deliberations are intended to be a successive approximation of what is understood by 'explicit evaluation' in the context of the present paper.

Hunston and Thompson (2000: 21), aware of the circularity of their definition, cite the "value-laden" dimension of the subject matter as one of three inherent characteristics of evaluation. What they term "markers of value", viz. lexical items typically used in an evaluative environment on the one hand, and "indications" of the existence of *goal achievement* (Hunston & Thompson 2000: 21) on the other, represent a first rough approximation to distinguish marked instances of attitudinal lexis from what is considered "instances of non-overt evaluation". So far, it has been proven that it is almost impossible to unambiguously determine every single instance of explicit evaluation. Thus, for the purpose of analysis, I will firstly use an eclectic conception of explicit evaluation, which is dualistic and bi-dimensional in nature and which operates along a continuum between two poles (e.g. *good* - *bad*). According to Thompson and Hunston (2000: 25), this is what constitutes "the most basic parameter" to which the other parameters relate. A valuable enhancement of this concept is provided by Bednarek

(2006, 2009). In establishing her parameter-based framework, Bednarek proposes a number of evaluative standards derived neither from aesthetic or ethical standards nor from a simple good-bad distinction, which she classifies as evaluation in terms of *significance*, of *genuineness*, of *expectedness*, of *possibility* and of *necessity* (2006: 32-33, 41-43). Notwithstanding their intended application in the analysis of evaluation in media discourse (Bednarek 2006), some of the standards, for instance, *significance* and *expectedness*, are considered useful additions to the classification of evaluative lexis in historiography. Furthermore, Martin and White (2005) add "gradeability" as another essential means of identifying "inscribed" evaluation (see also Hunston 2011: 129 on "gradable adjectives").

In the course of this study, however, these delimitations are critically scrutinised and expanded with the aim to attain a satisfactory operationalisation of the concept. Initially, the concept of *explicit evaluation* is defined as a denomination of lexico-grammatical items that are believed to markedly realise *evaluative meaning potential*. The notion of *markedness*, or that of "*recognizable* evaluative lexis and/or constructions" (Goźdź-Roskzkowski & Hunston 2016, my italics) is considered crucial for this definition. It means in effect that these instances are *explicit* only if it can be estimated with a high degree of certainty that the putative reader is enabled to easily recognise and disambiguate the evaluative meaning contained in the text.

Determining *evaluative meaning potential* primarily relies on *collocation* (i.e. lexical attractions and dependencies; Sinclair 1987) and *colligation* (Hoey 2005)[53], both of which serve as the foundation for a conditional conjecture about prototypical realisations of evaluative lexis in the data set. The reason for this is the assumption that a lexical item is "learnt through encounters with it in speech and writing" and is "loaded with the cumulative effects of those encounters" (Hoey 2005: 386), so that the language learner acquires a set of "mental rules" about how items should collocate (Partington 2004: 312). Hence, this process termed "lexical priming" (Hoey 2005) is designt to support the analyst in making logical assumptions about the reader's most likely construal of the evaluative meaning of an item. In addition, linguistic resources which have already been identified by researchers as associated with overt evaluation (e.g. *intensifiers*, *modal verbs*, *modal-like expressions*, *phraseological patterns*) are considered valid indicators of *evaluative meaning potential* (cf. e.g. Gray & Biber 2012; Bednarek 2006; Hood 2010; Hunston 2011).

[53] Hoey (2005), in contrast to Firth 1968 and Sinclair 1998, uses colligation as an umbrella term encompassing both grammatical categories as well as various syntactic contexts that are commonly associated with a lexical item. This extended perspective becomes relevant when drawing on Hunston's (2011) notion of *grammar patterns* in the subsequent chapters.

Considering the *explicit/overt/inscribed evaluation* as instantiating this potential in the text is expected to reduce the inevitable subjectivity and associated analytical bias.

5.3 Point of departure: attitudinal (pre)modification

Evaluative meaning is very frequently and unequivocally signalled via adjectives (Hunston 2011: 129, Hood 2004: 75). Various scholars in the field of evaluation studies support this proposition (see e.g. Swales and Burke 2003; Taboada & Grieve 2004; Hood 2010; Hunston & Su 2017; Myskow 2018a, 2018b). In her corpus-based study on the persuasive function of evaluative adjectives, Marzá (2011) concludes that adjectives are the most frequently used and important tool for evaluating a sentence. Luzón (2012), studying evaluation in academic weblogs, even goes so far as to claim that identifying evaluative adjectives is a more straightforward procedure than identifying other evaluative means. According to Luzón, shared assumptions and values of disciplinary communities can be traced through adjectives "given their great semantic variety, adjectives are one of the most explicit ways to express different community values and are easy to identify and quantify with corpus-based tools." (2012: 146). Hers is indeed a strong argument for placing adjectives at the centre of a comprehensive investigation of evaluative meaning. However, it should not be overlooked that the postulated "great semantic variety" must be met with a methodology that aims to disambiguate the spectrum of choices.

Accordingly, the study of evaluative lexis begins with a systematic observation of the distribution and, in particular, the preferred choices of adjectives in the corpus. Two central questions remain: First, why can terms such as *powerful* or *lawful* be almost unambiguously considered "attitudinal" adjectives while others are described as merely "descriptive" or even "neutral" adjectives (e.g. Wilson et al. 2005)? Secondly, how is it possible to determine the polarity of expressions? While it has been argued above that the first question concerning affective neutrality and *evaluative meaning potential* cannot be answered independent of co-text, beliefs and values prevalent at the time of production, an attempt to address the second question is presented by Wilson et al. (2005). The researchers propose a two-tiered procedure that distinguishes between inherent and contextually informed levels of polarity. For sentiment analysts, lexicons are at the heart of their occupation; they are crucial for initiating the identification process.

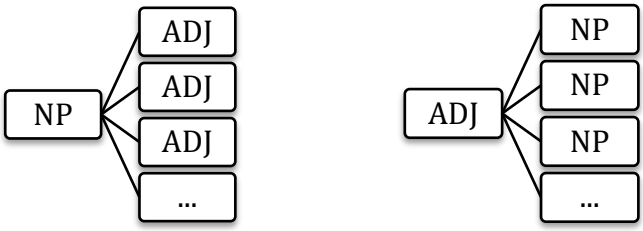
> In these lexicons, entries are tagged with their a priori *prior polarity*: out of context, does the word seem to evoke something positive or something negative. For example, *beautiful* has a positive prior polarity, and *horrid* has a negative prior polarity. However, the *contextual polarity*

> of the phrase in which a word appears may be different from the word's prior polarity. (Wilson et al. 2005, italics in the original)

At first, this distinction between a context-independent *prior polarity* and a *contextual polarity* seems tempting, as it would facilitate corpus linguistic analysis. Yet this would only be a shifting of the problem, since the second step, namely the determination of an item's polarity in context, which consequently follows its extraction, would in turn require an individual re-assessment of the prescribed *prior polarity* of the item. Therefore, this approach may be beneficial for studies in which the contextual environment is relatively stable, such as (customer) online reviews. For diachronic studies, it would also be necessary to determine how lexicons deal with possible changes in the meaning of the item. These obvious limitations suggest that a (semi-automatic) identification of the polarity of attitudinal items, placed in very diverse contexts, has to be conducted in a different manner. The following sections introduce proposals for a reproducible and verifiable approaches for identifying explicit instances of evaluative meaning. Prior to discussing approaches based on semantic tagging and the role of stance adverbs in the corpus, the study commences with the analysis of the most frequent evaluative items advocated above, viz. that of adjectives.

There is one methodological consideration that lies at the heart of analysing adjectives. Namely: does the research take the *target* or rather the *adjectival modification* as the starting point? From a corpus linguistic perspective, this means either examining *node-words* that are drawn from a particular semantic domain (e.g. *politics, personal names, social actions, processes* etc.) and establishing collocational patterns, or focusing on prenominal adjectival modifiers for the purpose of establishing their *keyness*, *frequency*, *distribution* and preferred *targets*.

Figure 6. Analytical focus on *target* or *modifier*

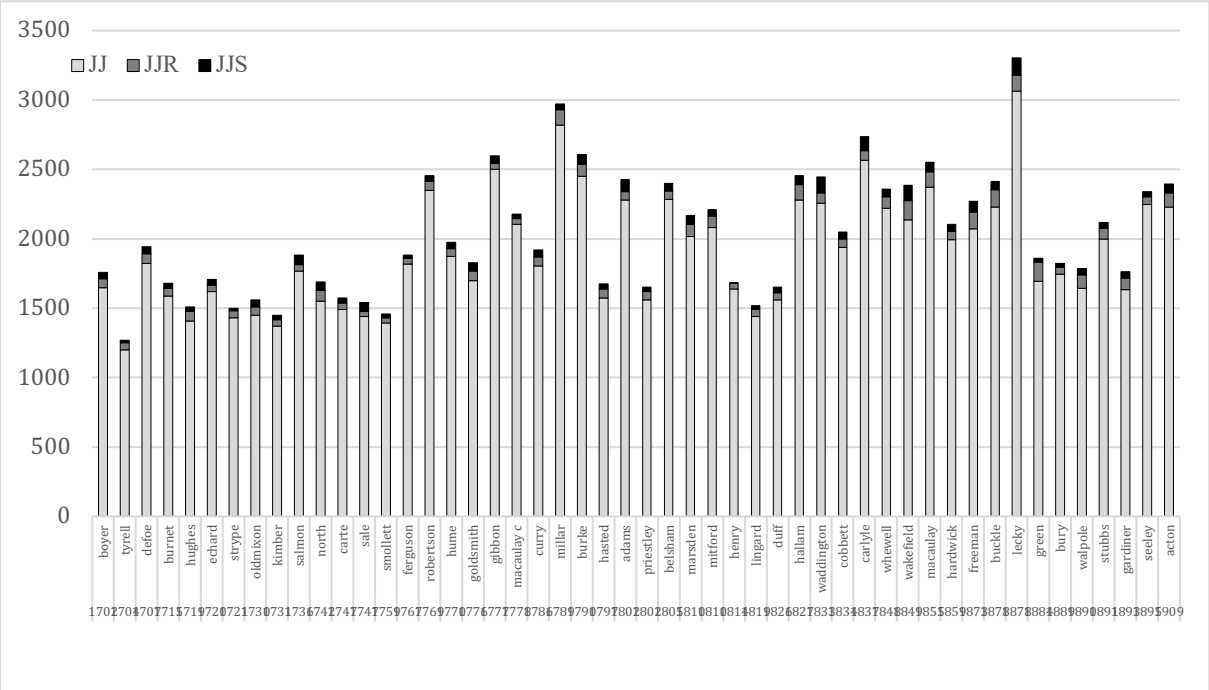


Although both procedures undoubtedly have advantages (the 'target-based perspective', for example, allows for the identification of strategies aimed at evaluating concepts via multiple adjectives), it was decided to start with the observation of the evaluative potential of adjectives,

as this approach was considered less constrained, e.g. by the pre-selection of items or the determination of lexical fields.

To provide a first general overview, Figure 7 displays the total amount of adjectives per author and visualises their distribution across the period. The corpus features a total of 6,128 types of adjectives (*JJ*) (98,226 tokens - 652.95 per 10,000 words), *comparatives* (*JJR*) (total 3,610 tokens - 24/10k) and *superlatives* (*JJS*) (total 2,574 tokens - 17.11/10k). The figure already indicates a disproportionate dispersion of the adjectives in the corpus data. Comparing the data to the CLMET 3.0 red. (Diller et al. 2011), there is no statistical significance for the superlatives (19.76/10k)[54] The CONCE (Kytö et al. 2000) comprises 24.5 superlatives per 10,000 words (16.3/10k - if one only considers the inflectional types, i.e. without *most + adj).* In the FLOB (Mair 1999), there are 18 occurrences per 10,000 words.

Figure 7. Total number of ADJ (*positives, comparatives, superlatives*)

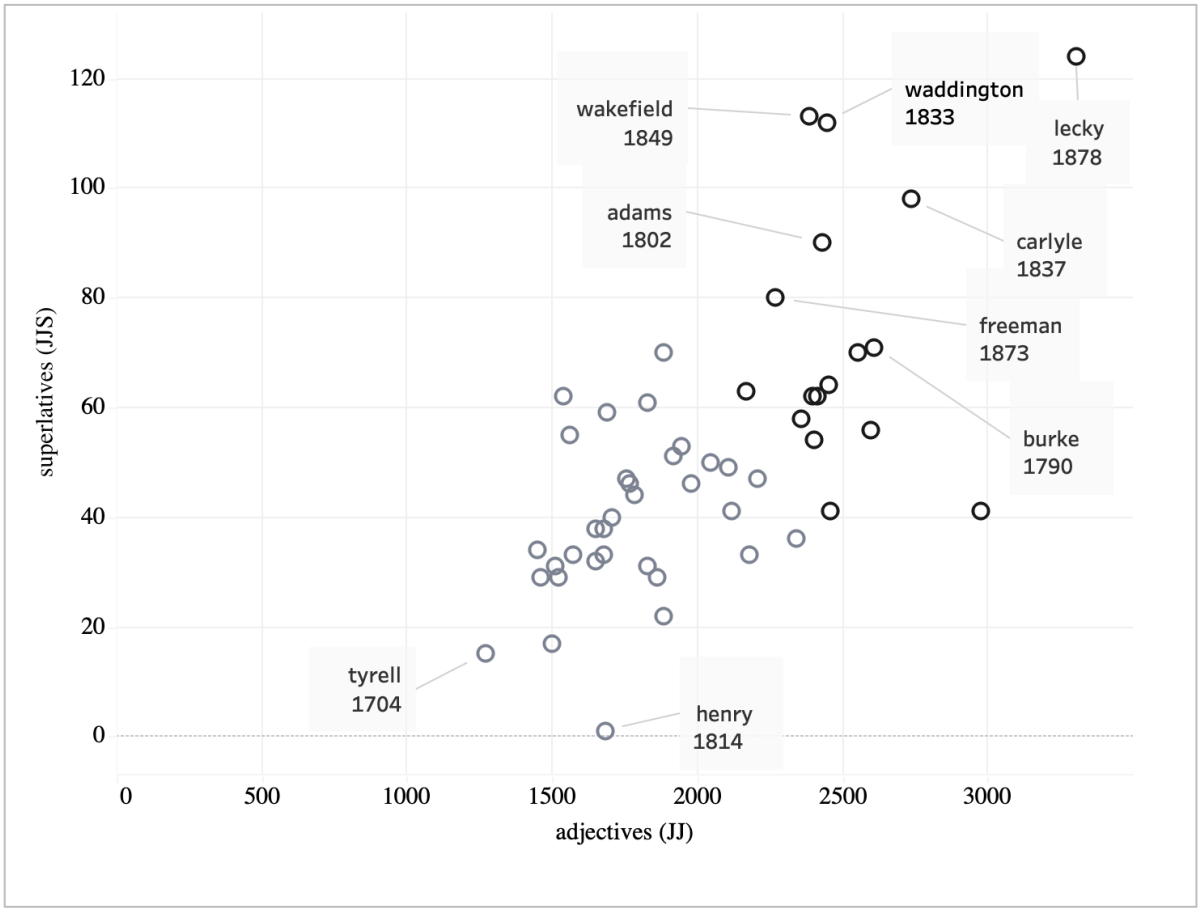


Equally revealing is to see which historians' texts not only contain a particularly high number of adjectives, but also a high degree of superlatives. Figure 8, which plots the raw number of adjectives on the x-axis and the superlatives on the y-axis, helps to identify the authors who stand out. For example, the work of the Irish essayist William Lecky is notable for its comparatively high number of adjectives and superlatives. The latter are, according to Martin

[54] This is measured via t-test: t (64.98) = 1.53; p = 0.131.

& White (2005: 37), one of the resources available for "turning the volume up", i.e. raising the degree of evaluation. Often values that have been heightened by superlatives signal a high degree of investment on the part of the author towards the material presented. In Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, for example, there is the following statement about the introduction of the potato tithe by the religious establishment: "Such an Establishment was assuredly the **most** *absurd and insulting*, and one of the **most** *oppressive* in recorded history." The resulting evaluation is thus a negative judgement of the establishment that is reinforced, categorically asserted (*assuredly*) and, in the case of the judgement values, construed as incontrovertible. The use of these intensifying resources, which are subsumed under the umbrella term "Graduation: Force" in the Appraisal framework (Martin & White 2005), will be discussed in detail in chapter 7.1.

Figure 8. Cluster JJS and JJ



5.4 Keyword analysis

As a starting point for the identification of explicit instances of evaluative meaning that are prominent in historiography, it was deemed fruitful to turn to those words that are particularly 'key' (i.e. words that are statistically more frequent/infrequent in one dataset compared to another) (cf. Römer 2008). Since this strategy is more 'data-driven' (cf. e.g. Ädel 2010: 597), it was supposed to prevent the analysis from being only informed by preconception while it, at the same time, provided a first, potentially genre preferential, set of items that could be considered as having *evaluative meaning potential*. The extracted keywords thus reveal likely targets of evaluation (e.g. proper nouns), processes (realised as verbs), others may point to modifying adjectives and adverbs. The keyword analysis was conducted against the much larger and less specialised CLMET 3.0 red. (Diller et al. 2011).

Contrary to expectations, there were no words among the first 500 entries of the resulting keyword list that can in fact be considered as unambiguously, explicitly evaluative. While the majority of findings listed potential targets (*king, parliament, war, Cromwell* etc.), many of the retrieved adjectives did not clearly point to expressions with evaluative meaning. Terms such as *ecclesiastical* (rank 33), *catholic* (rank 36), *imperial* (rank 162), *ancient* (rank 179) or *feudal* (rank 367) cannot be scaled along the good-bad parameter mentioned above, as they require context-dependent prosodic charging. However, two items stand out as exceptions. Both *lawful* (rank 393) and *powerful* (rank 413) can be said to construe attitudinal meanings: Since it is assumed that compliance with applicable laws is almost universally appreciated, it can be assumed that *lawful* typically construes a positive evaluative meaning. *Powerful*, in a similar manner, realises an attribute that commonly enhances the (physical or immaterial) capacities of the modified target. A corpus enquiry confirmed the mostly *evaluative meaning potential* of both items. While the attribute *lawful* strongly collocates with nouns that can be considered to represent parts of the aristocracy (*heir*, *queen*, *authority*, *king*), and is primarily used to indicate their legitimacy, *powerful* collocates with modifiers that are commonly classified as intensifiers (*most*, *more*, *numerous*, *very*) and targets such as *army*, *friends* and *enemy*.

5.5 Semantic categories approach

As the keyword analysis only provided insights into a limited number of genre-relevant items, considered to construe evaluative meaning, and covered rather genre-specific 'content' words, the central questions remained: how much and what kind of explicit evaluative meaning prevails in the data? Since the total number of adjectives with potential evaluative meaning

exceeded the scope of the analysis, a refining approach was adopted that combined corpus-based analysis with a systematic ordering of occurrences to measure both frequency and distribution across the data.

As it is the aim of the study to find a more systematic way to discern acts of evaluation in a relatively large dataset, a corpus-based frequency analysis of semantically tagged data was taken as the starting point (compare Bednarek's 2016 study that applied semantic tagging to investigate evaluation and news values). Therefore, in a first step, all adjectives extracted from the corpus were semantically tagged using the USAS English Semantic Tagger. This approach was intended to free the analyst from subjectively assigning the adjectives to specific semantic categories and to facilitate a further, segmented analysis of the data. Despite the well-known constraints of what might be called *black-box-allocation-by-prototypicality* in the process of tagging the data based on "semantic fields which group together word senses that are related by virtue of their being connected at some level of generality" (Archer et al. 2002: 1), the semantic categories that emerged were thought to support a comprehensive analysis. The USAS tagset is organized into 21 major discourse labels and 232 category labels (Archer et al. 2002: 2). Consequently, it was crucial to decide on the top-level semantic fields, which were thought to comprise preferably adjectives that are commonly used to encode an evaluative meaning. A sampling of the allocated adjectives confirmed that the semantic categories which were strongly associated with evaluative meaning, were those labelled A5.1-5.4 (A5 Evaluation, A5.1 Evaluation: Good/bad, A5.2 Evaluation: True/false, A5.3 Evaluation: Accuracy, A5.4 Evaluation: Authenticity), E1-E6 (E1 General, E2 Liking, E3 Calm/Violent/Angry, E4 Happy/sad, E4.1 Happy/sad: Happy, E4.2 Happy/sad: Contentment, E5 Fear/bravery/shock, E6 Worry, concern, confident), G2.2. (General ethics) and O4.2 (Judgement of appearance). Next, the adjectival lemmas identified in this way were used to extract concordance lines from the corpus. Finally, the tagged material was subjected to manual concordance to eliminate non-evaluative adjectives (such as *great* in *Great Britain*) or grammatical mismatches (such as *touching* in the sense of *making physical contact*). Under the assumption of finding inter-authorial differences and a possible diachronic change of evaluative adjectives, I was initially interested in the distribution of adjectives subsumed under labels E1-E6 ("Emotional actions, states & processes").[55]

[55] It goes without saying that historians are by no means confined to using the specific set of attitudinal adjectives covered by the semantic category, but that the proclaimed prototypicality justifies considering it as a representative cross-section.

Figure 9. Positive ADJ (*chronologically sorted*)

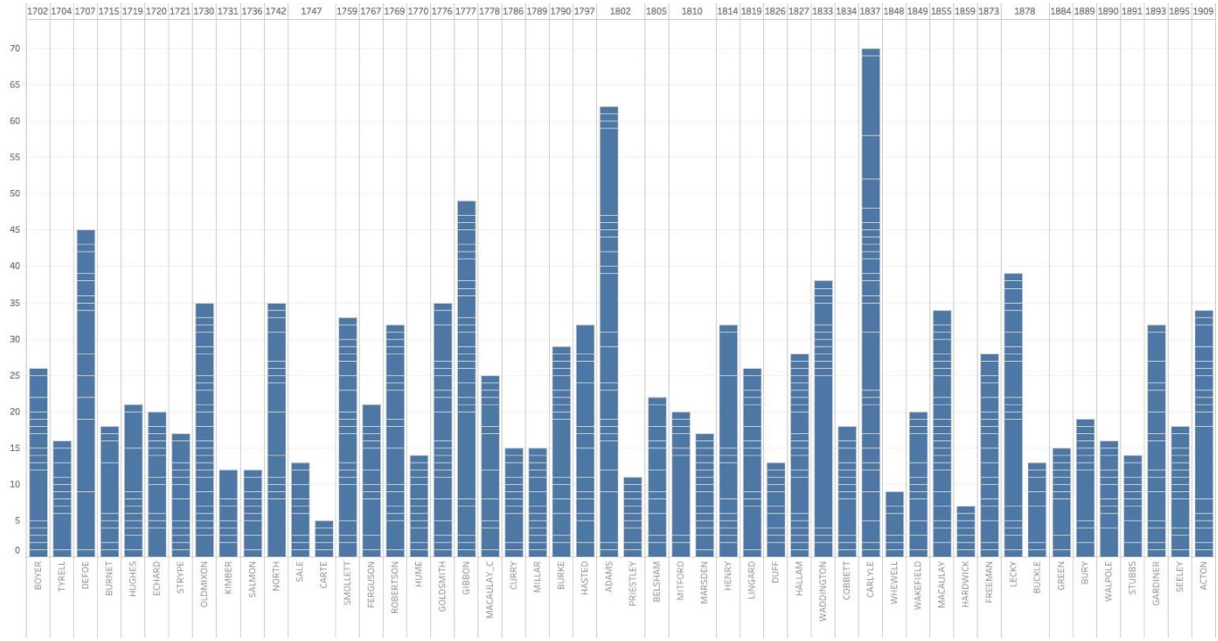
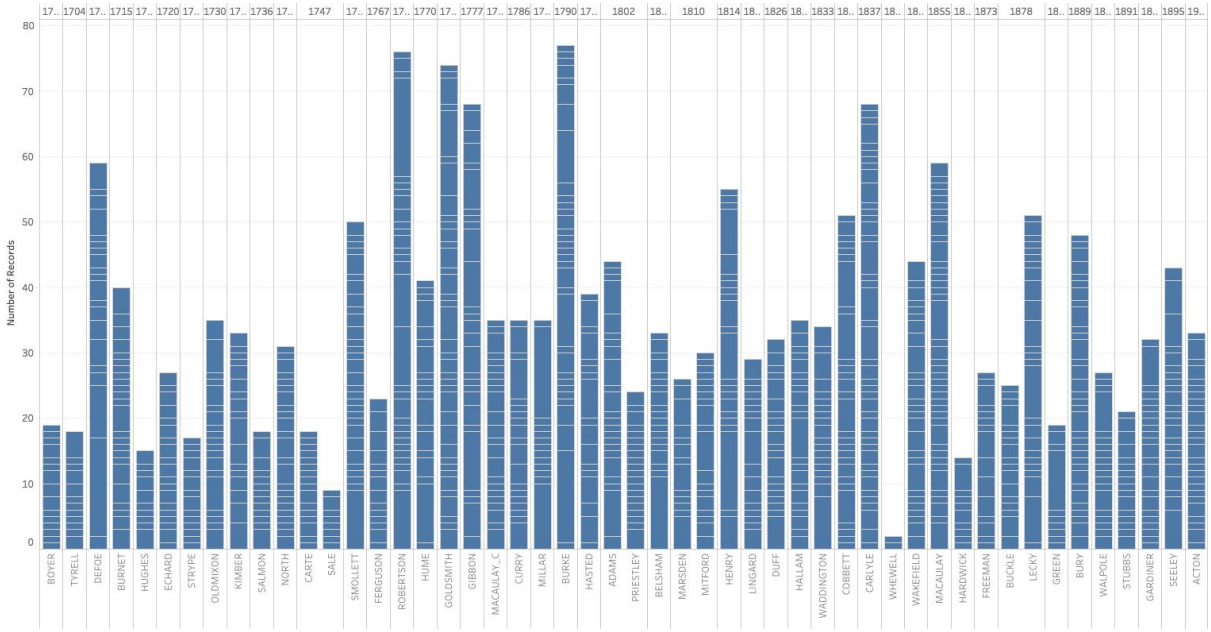


Figure 9 shows the chronological distribution and dispersion of adjectives that are tagged as prototypically realising positive evaluation. There is no discernible increase or decrease over time of positive evaluative items in this category. Only a handful of individual historians can be identified who stood out due to a relatively high use of items from the semantic field under observation: Carlyle (70 adjectives with positive polarity out of a total of 2564 adjectives), Adams (62/2280), Gibbon (49/2500), Defoe (45/1824) and Lecky (39/3066). Both Carlyle and Adams' instances are headed by *brave*, an adjective that occurs 95 times (0.64/10k words) in the corpus.[56] *Brave* can be seen as an attribute that is relevant in the process of constructing historical knowledge, as it signals the historian's positive evaluation of the target's *tenacity* (Martin & White 2005: 53) and could thus facilitate reader alignment with the historical character's admirable traits/virtues. *Popular* is the item with the highest frequency in both, Gibbon and Defoe's data. Here, *popular* collocates, among others, with *bishops*, *monks*, *doctrines* and *arguments*, marking the targets as generally known and accepted or possibly even favoured. At the opposite end of the distributional scale, Thomas Carte's data features no more than five individual adjectives that are tagged as having the potential to realise positive evaluation of emotional actions, states and processes. Since the majority of the items in this semantic group might be regarded to primarily function to indicate the historians' sentimental assessment of the respective nominal target (*heroic*, *popular*, *precious*, *joyful*, *happy*, *intrepid* etc.), Carte's extracts might consequently appear less emotionally engaging. Following Phillips

[56] Compared to 0.45 per 10,000 tokens in the CLMET 3.0 red. (Diller et al. 2011).

(2003), this finding could be explained by a different understanding of the embeddedness of sentimentality in eighteenth-century historiography. Phillips (2003) found that gaining the reader's sympathies during this period was closely linked to a prevailing notion of *cognitive distance*, which led to the creation of more rational, detached historical narratives (see also Phillips 2000 and 2.1.2). Enlightenment historians like Carte and Hume were therefore repeatedly criticised by their successors for their "bloodless and abstract" style, which was often devoid of "affective coloration" (Phillips 2003: 436, 438).[57]

Figure 10. Negative ADJ (*chronologically sorted*)



Similar to the temporal distribution in Figure 9, there is no clear increase or decrease of adjectives belonging to category E in Figure 10. However, historians writing between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century seem to have used a marginally higher proportion of negative "emotional" adjectives. Historiographers that use more negative emotional items, when compared to their colleagues, are Burke (77 JJ '-ve'/2450 JJ total), Robertson (76/2348), Goldsmith (74/1698), Carlyle (68/2564) and Gibbon (68/2500).[58] In the extracts from Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, the terms *violent*, *cruel* and *miserable* dominate the

[57] John Stuart Mill, for example, characterises Hume's style by juxtaposing it with Gibbon's way of composing history, critically remarking that "Gibbon — *not a man of mere science and analysis, like Hume*, but with some (though not the truest or profoundest) artistic feeling of the picturesque, and from whom, therefore rather more might have been expected — has with much pains succeeded in producing a tolerably graphic picture of here and there a battle, a tumult, or an insurrection" (Essays 1826: 137, my italics).

[58] The fact that Burke is at the forefront of using negative adjectives can be explained by the nature of his narrative, in which he attacks the disruptive forces responsible for the French Revolution.

results. Robertson's and Gibbon's data, on the other hand, exhibit a high proportion of *barbarous*. This adjective is well dispersed across the corpus, as it is used by 32 authors, with a total number of 103 instances (0.69 per 10,000 words).[59] Apart from it being intensified by *most* and *very*, *barbarous* strongly collocates with *nations*. This is interesting in that this pattern of co-occurrence highlights a problem that arises from the item's meaning potential. The OED online lists six senses of which the three below are considered predominantly relevant:

> **2** Of people: Speaking a foreign language, foreign, outlandish; orig. non-Hellenic; then, not Roman, living outside the Roman Empire; sometimes, not Christian, heathen.
>
> **3** Uncultured, uncivilized, unpolished; rude, rough, wild, savage. (Said of men, their manners, customs, products.) The usual opposite of civilized.
>
> **4** Savage in infliction of cruelty, cruelly harsh.
>
> ("barbarous, adj." OED Online)

Here, the rather descriptive first sense (2) contrasts with the more negatively loaded second and third senses (3+4). So, for example, when nations are labelled *barbarous*, it needs to be specified whether this pattern denotes a certain kind of historical community and/or whether it represents the historian's negative assessment. In historiography, both options are equally probable. Thus, it is by no means surprising that a number of collocates surrounding *barbarous* (e.g. *unchristian*, *bigoted*, *cruelties*, *illegal*, *rude* etc.) facilitate a disambiguation in the majority of cases. The compelling need to disambiguate as a matter of principle might also be attributed to the fact that Victorian historiography was primarily aimed at instructing and persuading the reading audience (cf. Phillips 2000: 22). It is thus assumed the didactic momentum most likely led to the need for historians to explicate their evaluative choices. The case of *barbarous* is instructive as it shows that in order to identify explicit instances of attitudinal lexis, one needs to consider the meaning potential in combination with characteristic associations in the co-text. It thus relativises the above-mentioned notion of a 'readily identifiable, inherent evaluative meaning'.

Another interesting, fairly similar case is that of *pious*, since the adjective from an evaluative perspective enables the author to construe negative or positive evaluations. Here too, the OED lists two senses that differ quite substantially:

> **1a**. Of an action, thought, resolve, etc.: characterized by, expressing, or resulting from true reverence and obedience to God; devout, religious.

[59] Note that in the CLMET 3.0 red., there are only 0.19 items per 10,000 words (used in 44 percent of the texts).

> **3** Of a fraud or deception: practised for the supposed benefit of those deceived, or to further what is considered a virtuous aim; (in negative sense) intended to exploit religious credulity.
>
> ("pious, adj.". OED Online)

Within the corpus, there are 93 instances of the adjective, distributed across 29 texts. The concordances unsurprisingly confirm an obvious assumption: The majority of cases relate to the first sense, occurring with targets belonging to the semantic field of 'institutionalised theism' and which are evaluated as *devotional* and even *conscientious* by pre-modification (e.g. *miracle*, *clergy*, *charity*, *reverence*, *bishop*). A number of targets (e.g. *man*, *woman*, *work*, *instruction*) do not by themselves specify the adjective's evaluative leaning. However, there are some instances where *pious* collocates with lexical items such as *horror* and *fraud* and thus takes on a more negative evaluative meaning (cf. Sinclair 1991, Partington 1998, Stewart 2010 on '*evaluative prosody*'). From this plethora of options arises the compelling necessity to ascertain the strategies employed to delimit evaluative meaning potential. The key to a rough approximation might lie in the assumption that the historian attempts to explicate and disambiguate competing evaluative meanings with the purpose of making certain values transparent and thus emphasising them in the process of historical knowledge construction. Indeed, a closer inspection of the *pious* concordance lines revealed a distinct pattern of successive pairs of coordinate adjectives:

Table 4. *pious* patterns

pious and charitable	so truly **pious** and virtuous
pious and devout	most **pious** and valuable
pious and God-fearing	most **pious** and wisest
pious and good	**pious** and worthy
pious and humble	honest and **pious**
pious and modest	amiable and **pious**
pious and noble	conscientious and **pious**
pious and wise	gentle and **pious**
pious and powerful and wise	learned and **pious**

Historians may have used this construction to ensure that the reader would apprehend the correct/preferred evaluation arising from the aggregated and thus more focused, attitudinal meaning potential of the coordinate adjectives. An analysis of this pattern is supported by Hatzivassiloglou and McKeown's (1997) study, in which they quantified the constraints that conjunctions impose on the semantic orientation of a range of adjectives. Their method acknowledges the absence of "direct indicators" of positive or negative *semantic orientation*, mentioned above, and instead highlights the "indirect information" about polarity provided by conjunctions that are placed between adjectives (Hatzivassiloglou & McKeown's 1997:175). Despite criticism of their complex algorithm, which did "not readily extend[...] beyond isolated adjectives to adverbs or longer phrases" (Turney 2002), and despite various simplifications largely due to their desire to automate the classification process, their statistically significant findings have confirmed the limitations of the *semantic orientation* of conjoined adjectives. In order to find out whether these constraints contribute to the specification and/or disambiguation of explicit evaluative meaning in historiographical discourse, a corpus query was conducted based on a regular expression designed to extract the corresponding patterning *ADJ + COORD. CONJ. + ADJ* (composed as ([\w-]+JJ) ([\w-]+CC) ([\w-]+JJ)). The patterns of coordinate adjectives identified in this way totalled 2,567 hits (1.84 pmw). In contrast, the CLMET 3.0 red. (Diller et al. 2011) exhibited 39,099 absolute hits (1.25 pmw). The emerging conjunctions divide up into *and*: n=2,327 (90.65%); *but*: n=36 (1.4%); *or*: n=186 (7.25%); *nor*: n=18 (0.7%). Since the focus was on studying the particularities of conjoined adjectives, only concordances with a coordinating *and* were examined. In addition, the few concordance lines (0.43%) that contained coordinated numerical expressions (e.g. *second and third*, *9th and 12th*), were discarded. The same applied to coordinated items denoting descent, metonymic entities or geographical locations (e.g. *Asiatic and African*; *English and Dutch*, *northern and eastern*), as these compositions were not considered suitable for either a clarification/disambiguation or an amplification of evaluative meaning.

Indeed, the collocational pattern of the ambiguous case of *barbarous* discussed above suggests that historians used these conjoined adjectives to specify and even to intensify their value judgements: The lexical items collocate either with evaluative meanings that have a commonly accepted negative polarity (*blood-thirsty*, *cruel*, *rude*, *fierce*, *unjust*) or with terms adjusted to signal a changeable ideologically informed orientation (here, *unchristian*, *illiterate*), that may be confined spatio-temporally. In the case at hand, the latter is closely linked with

undesirable states which first have to be established as such. In both cases, the polarity of the term *barbarous* (Table 5) is established/reinforced by its immediate co-text.[60]

Table 5. *barbarous* patterns

barbarous and blood-thirsty	distant and **barbarous**
barbarous and cruel	fierce and **barbarous**
barbarous and illegal	inhuman and **barbarous**
barbarous and illiterate	rude and **barbarous**
barbarous and unchristian	unjust and **barbarous**
cruel and **barbarous**	

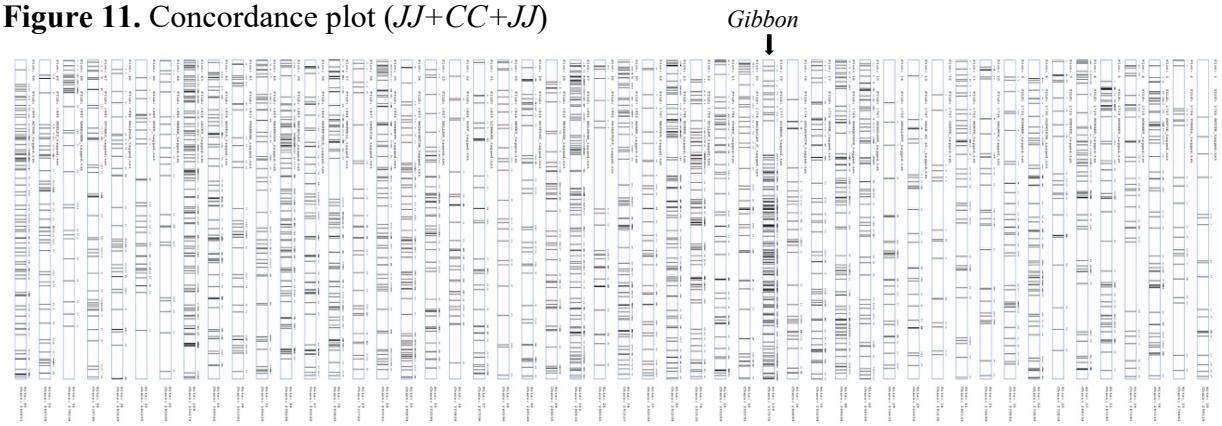
Most of the findings are consistent with the observation of Hatzivassiloglou and McKeown, who noted that "for most connectives, the conjoined adjectives usually are of the same orientation" (1997:175). Typical examples found in the data are, for instance, *pure and innocent*, *great and victorious*, *brave and daring*, *corrupt and dangerous*.

Gibbon

When exploring the distribution of coordinate adjectives across the data, the concordance plot discloses that Edward Gibbon's material exhibits a considerable density of this construction (138 hits). Figure 10 displays this noticeable clustering of the pattern. This is where the visual representation of the dispersion provided by AntConc's 3.5.8 (Anthony 2019) inbuild concordance plot proves to be very helpful for gaining a quick overview of the entire data set.

[60] In the corpus, 14 percent of all *barbarous* occurrences are coordinated. *Pious* is being coordinated in 19 percent of the cases.

Figure 11. Concordance plot (*JJ+CC+JJ*)



It appears as if Gibbon used the pattern primarily not so much to clarify as to enhance his assessments. For instance, he portrays the language of Restitutus as "clear and perfect", the spirit of the Barbarians as "fierce and sanguinary", or the treatment of the Catholics under the rule of Hunneric as "cruel and ignominious", conjoining adjectives with little ambiguity as to their evaluative polarity. It could thus be argued that, analogous to the evaluative reinforcement by intensifiers, coordinate adjectives, which share the same distinct evaluative polarity not only have the function of reinforcing the author's value judgment, but also of constraining alternative historical interpretations. Hence, it can be hypothesised that by combining two instances of overtly signalled attributes, the historiographer's praise or criticism is likely to be perceived as unchallenged.

Moreover, in Gibbon's data, there are instances where the second adjective appears to specify the evaluative orientation of the preceding adjective. Given that the adjective *long* is not restricted to realising one specific evaluative meaning, the adjectives in second position determine the polarity of the construction. Accordingly, in "a long and miserable existence", "the long and obstinate sieges", "a long and painful novitiate", the evaluative leaning of *long* tend to be negative, whereas in "the long and victorious march", *long* may not necessarily be interpreted as realising negative polarity. The reason for this is that, *victorious*, in line with Huston's (2004) notion of *goal achievement*, is expected to be recognised as desirable across all periods and thus interpreted as an indication of positive evaluation. The following example requires more than what can be deduced from the culminated *evaluative meaning potential* of the two coordinated adjectives. When Gibbon writes about "long and frequent avocations", it takes the verb in the immediate vicinity (and the readers' mental image of the ideal, i.e. undisturbed, life behind convent walls) to determine and to signal a negative evaluative polarity; as the sentence reads as follows:

(29) The ten or twelve years of his monastic life were disturbed by **long and frequent** avocations. (Gibbon)

Here, the conjoined adjectives behave in accordance with the "same-orientation type" constraints (Hatzivassiloglou and McKeown 1997: 176), but do not autonomously specify a distinct evaluative polarity. Nevertheless, the culmination of their evaluative potential serves to distinguish the additional occupations, marking them as extraordinary in terms of their duration and frequency. Despite Gibbon's recurrent use of coordinated adjectives, the intriguing claim that "Gibbon was fond of challenging the reader with two adjectives in close proximity which carry different and strikingly disparate meanings." (Warren 1998: 101) could not be substantiated in the corpus.

5.6 Quantifying prototypical evaluative occurrences - the discourse field 'A5 Evaluation'

Similar to the automatic classification of adjectives described above, this broader approach is assumed to limit the subjective effects resulting from the manual allocation of items with evaluative meaning potential, as it is based on an automated and thus replicable procedure. Irrespective of the analytical inaccuracies associated with this rather schematic, undifferentiated segmentation of the corpus data, it might be argued that the resulting comprehensive overview justifies this broad allocation method.[61]

The semantic field covered by 'A5 Evaluation' is divided into four subfields: 'A5.1 Evaluation: Good/bad' (evaluative terms depicting quality), 'A5.2 Evaluation: True/false' (evaluative terms depicting truth), 'A5.3, Evaluation: Accuracy' (evaluative terms depicting accuracy), 'A5.4 Evaluation: Authenticity' (evaluative terms depicting authenticity) (Archer et al. 2002: 5f). For the sake of facilitating the analysis, only the first of all assigned semantic tags (i.e. the one considered the most likely) was taken into account.

Before exploring the distribution of the items prototypically associated with these categories, a chronological overview of the accumulated findings is presented in Figure 12. The result is intriguing in that it does not reveal any apparent trends in terms of a decrease or increase in potentially evaluative items over time or in terms of a visible clustering that could corroborate

[61] Some constraints were not unexpected, as the tagging and allocation process naturally assumes a stable polarity of lexical items. Consequently, there are a number of incidences in which *great* (A5.1+) collocates with *Britain* and *greater* (A5.1++) with *fury*, *consequence* or *number of traders*. Besides, the negation of items changes their assumed "prior polarity" (Wilson et al. 2005) as in "he was not better enlightened" (Burke), where *better* is classified as (A5.1++).

a uniformity of the assumed historiographical writing traditions (see CH.2.1 above). Table 6 shows the frequencies of the 50 most frequent items in addition to their cumulative distribution. What is remarkable is that this selection comprises a number of components that can be related to the historiographical discourse. Among the items that are prototypically associated with the objectives of the historical discipline are, for exampke, *proof*, *proved*, *evidence*, *true*, *fact*, *truth*, with the latter three even leading the top-ten of the most frequent items. Beyond that, there are more specific, topic-related items (e.g. *progress*, *improvement, advantages*) and a range of comparatives and superlatives (*greater*, *better*, *greatest*, *best*), which may be considered examples of the historiographers' preferred linguistic devices for the purpose of construing evaluative meaning. The following sections attempt to show to what extent the accumulation of these items within their respective discourse fields can be helpful in identifying evaluative tendencies in the construction of historical knowledge.

Figure 12. A5 Evaluation - distribution

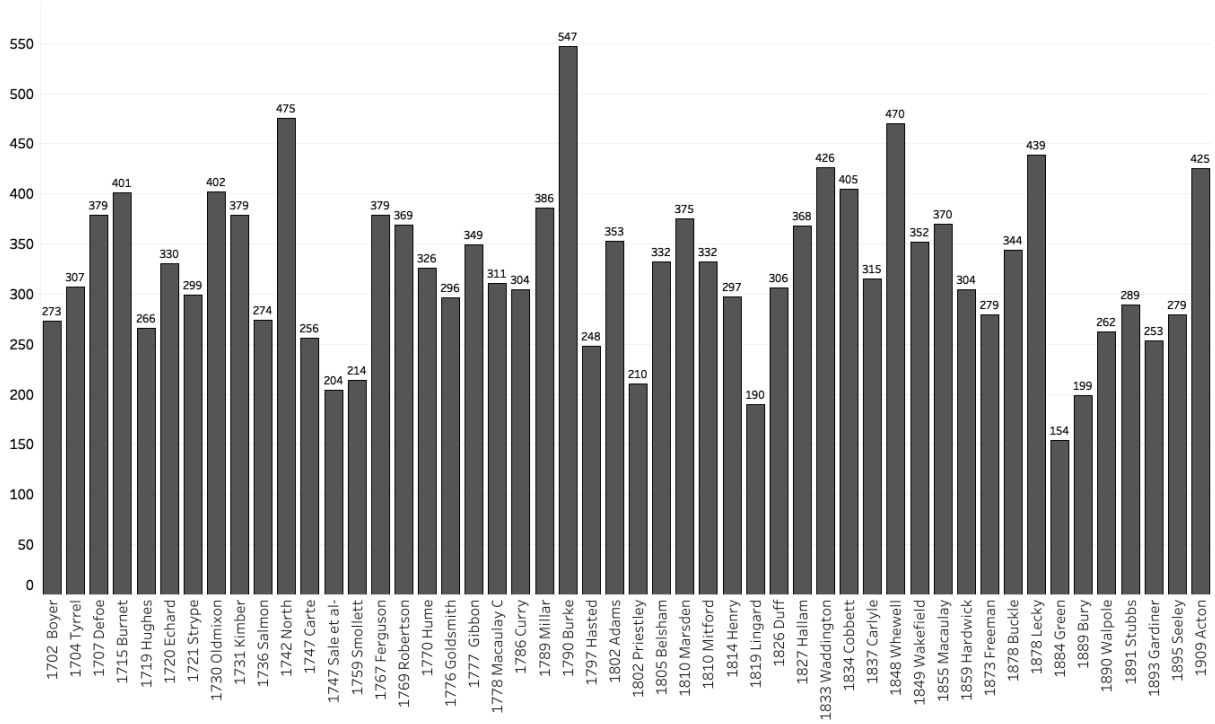


Table 6. The 50 most frequent A5 items in the corpus (raw frequencies)

word	**freq.**	**word**	**freq**	**word**	**freq**	**word**	**freq**
great	3,072	*superior*	195	*error*	110	*worse*	81
good	888	*proved*	192	*perfect*	106	*standard*	80
greater	421	*evidence*	183	*facts*	103	*superiority*	80
true	418	*false*	148	*severe*	100	*severity*	76
well	418	*pretended*	147	*errors*	98	*earnest*	72
better	368	*actually*	141	*bad*	97	*truly*	71
best	355	*pretence*	137	*excellent*	95	*improvement*	68
greatest	331	*prove*	135	*favourable*	95	*repair*	68
fact	293	*advantages*	129	*right*	94	*quality*	67
truth	288	*fatal*	125	*actual*	92	*wrong*	66
progress	268	*proof*	119	*fine*	85	*qualities*	61
advantage	216	*supreme*	118	*honest*	82		
proper	206	*absolute*	114	*merit*	82		

The results, in their inter-authorial disparity, nevertheless provide a tentative insight into the different configurations of evaluative expressions. The analysis of the lexical choices of two historiographers, one representing the upper and the other the lower end of the frequency list (cf. Figure 12), is considered instructive, as this examination not only discloses preferential subcategories, but also enables the analyst to corroborate the existence of a connection between the (accumulation of) items and the individual composition of the corresponding pieces of historical writing.[62]

[62] Rayson's (2008) viable approach to identifying and allocating inter-authorial "key semantic domains" using a log-likelihood keyness calculation was discarded when it was decided to visualise the distribution of each sub-domains across the corpus data.

Table 7. Exemplary A5-subclassification (Burke 1790 and Green 1884)

A5 distribution within Burke's data		A5 distribution within Green's data	
A5.1+	217	A5.1+	64
A5.1++	41	A5.1++	6
A5.1+++	48	A5.1+++	4
A5.1-	31	A5.1-	3
A5.1--	16	A5.1---	2
A5.1---	7	A5.2+	33
A5.2+	69	A5.2-	10
A5.2-	36	A5.3+	3
A5.3+	18	A5.3-	7
A5.3-	27	A5.4+	14
A5.4+	12	A5.4-	11
A5.4-	30		

Edmund Burke's data features a total of 552 tokens (183 types)[63] that are tagged A5 (cf. average 324). As can be clearly seen in Table 6 above, terms associated with the discourse fields A5.1.+ (evaluation: good) and E5.2+ (evaluation: true) dominate in his extracts. The ten most frequent word types in A5 are, *great* (n= 81), *good* (33), *true* (29), *better* (18), *well* (15), *greater* (13), *faults* (12), *worse* (12), *best* (10) and *absolute* (7). While *great* is classified as prototypically realising positive polarity, there are several instances where it is actually used to construe negative evaluative meaning (*all great and violent permutations of property*). Yet, these inaccuracies do not apply only to *great*. Classified as A5.1+++, *absolute* could be assumed to primarily realise positive evaluation. A collocational analysis, however, reveals a more diverse usage. Burke uses *absolute* to strengthen an indisputably negative expression of evaluation (*absolute evil*), or to describe a political system with its common label (*absolute monarchy*). *Good* (A5.1+), *true* (A5.2+) and *faults* (A5.3-), on the other hand, essentially correspond to their expected, prototypical polarity.

Similar classificatory inaccuracies occur (e.g. *Roderic the Great*) with John Richard Green's most common terms, namely *great* (50), *fact* (20), *greater* (6), *good* (5), *artificial* (4), *wrong* (4), *fine* (2), *greatest* (2), *proved* (2).

[63] The distinction between *tokens* and *types* is based on the common understanding of the two terms in corpus linguistics. According to McEnery and Hardy (2011: 50), a *token* "is any instance of a particular wordform in a text", while *type* refers to "a particular, unique word form".

This exemplary probe reintroduces the question raised above as to whether the classification errors pose an analytical problem. I would argue that the items linked to the 5.1 (good/bad) category seem suitable only for a superficial analysis and, at worst, could tend to distort the enquiry by producing misleading tendencies/inaccuracies. Nevertheless, the lexical terms included in the remaining subcategories of A5 are considered to enable a recognition of evaluative potential in a less ambiguous manner. In fact, items that are organised in A5.2 (true/false) (recurrent elements attested in the corpus: *true*, *fact*, *truth*, *proved*, *evidence*, *pretence*, *proof*, *facts*, *honest*, *truly*, *earnest*, *lies*, *sincerely*, *perjury*, *validity*, *falsehood*, *verified* etc.) in their totality predominantly point to 'truth-related' instances in the corpus data. The same applies for A5.3 (accuracy) (*error*, *right*, *wrong*, *properly*, *mistaken*, *accurate*, *correct*, *accuracy*, *faults*, *correction*, *exactness*, *mistakes*, *fallacy* etc.) and A5.4. (authenticity) (*proper*, *pretended*, *actually*, *pure*, *genuine*, *purity*, *specious*, *reputed*, *artificial*, *authentic*, *forgery*, *impostor* etc.).

So, what does this insight mean for the general investigation of the dissemination of evaluative meaning potential? Comparing the distribution in Burke's extracts with that of Green's, it is noticeable that items classified in the broad category A5.1 (good/bad) dominate in Green's text as well, but to a lesser extent. Interestingly though, there are 43 attestations of A5.2 and only ten of A5.3 in Green's text, compared to Burke's extensive use of A5.2 (105) and A5.3 (45) items (cf. Table 6). This observation of the accumulated material might already give the researcher a rough indication of preferred discourse fields and their associated values in a large dataset such as the present corpus. For instance, if a document displays a high proportion of A5.3- (i.e. items relating to a negative evaluation of accuracy), this could indicate moral judgements, as items such as *faults*, *errors*, *wrong*, *mistaken* are considered to be measured against what the author implicitly construes as 'conventionally correct', 'accurate behaviour' or 'adequate circumstances' (cf. CH.8).

Leaving category A5.1 aside for a moment to focus on the remaining semantic fields, it becomes apparent that 'truth-related' elements are salient in Burke's data, with tagged items ranging from *true* to *fact* and from *delusive* to *pretences*. The preoccupation with 'verification', 'facts', 'evidence' and 'truth' reflected in category A5.2 may indicate a more persuasive argumentative strategy moderated by a strong authoritative voice. Indeed, Burke's text contains several instances of evaluative meaning construed as sharpened categorical boundaries ("this was ***true*** liberality"/ "ready to die [...] like ***true*** heroes") (Martin & White 2005: 137; see CH.7.3), and evaluative denials "it is not universally true that France is a fertile country".

Contextualising Burke's work, the above-average proportion of A.5 expressions appears to reflect the particular nature of his historical writing. His *Reflections on the Revolution in France* could be considered an amalgamation of the publication type 'pamphlet' and the text type 'letter'.[64] This fusion results in an arrangement characterised by those stylistic and discourse pragmatic features that are conventionally associated with the two types.[65] It is therefore not surprising that the '*Reflections*' contains a highly involved account of an event so close to the time Burke wrote his book. Pamphlets, for instance, exhibit "personalizing and interactive features" (Claridge 2000: 27). They typically exhibit a high frequency of personal pronouns, which at times function to foreground the authors and taking responsibility for their view (Claridge 2000: 33). It could be argued, then, that this particular foregrounding function of the 222 (73.9/10k) first person pronouns[66] used by Burke is consistent with that of the overtly expressed, at times controversial, evaluations in the text.

(30) Nothing, **I am credibly informed**, can exceed the **shocking** and **disgusting** spectacle of mendicancy displayed in that capital. **Indeed** the votes of the National Assembly **leave no doubt of the fact**. (Burke)

This overt authorial presence (30) and (31), which is characterised by a tendency to clearly emphasise - and occasionally defend - one's own claims, may thus largely result from the need to argue against the implied contestation by counter-opinions that is associated with this type of publication. At the same time, the accumulation of the tagged items corroborates the assertion posited by contemporary researchers that Burke developed prejudices against France and the French people (28), which culminated in him advocating a religious war against the revolution (Hesketh 2011b: 93f.)

(31) They have seen the French **rebel against** a **mild** and **lawful** monarch, with **more fury**, **outrage**, and **insult**, than ever any people has been known to rise against the **most illegal**

[64] The original title page reads: "Reflections on the Revolution in France, and on the Proceedings in Certain Societies in London Relative to That Event: In a Letter Intended to Have Been Sent to a Gentleman in Paris". Kohnen & Mair (2012: 267) point out that publishing pamphlets as letters could have served to "reach a wider audience". Another interesting point is raised by Claridge (2000: 28), who sees one reason for the transformation of pamphlets into letters as being to lend "authenticity and credibility to the text concerned". Indeed, one might assume that Burke's intended original addressee, a contemporary witness situated at the heart of the Revolution, would enhance the verisimilitude of his text. Whether Burke's decision for the transformation was a strategic one remains subject to speculation.

[65] Burke justifies the unusual style of his historiographical documentation, published in the current manner, when he comments on its formation process in the preface: "[H]aving thrown down his [the author's] first thoughts in the form of a letter, and indeed when he sat down to write, having intended it for a private letter, he found it difficult to change the form of address, when his sentiments had grown into a greater extent, and had received another direction." (v.)

[66] Here, the above-average occurrences of *I* (on average 17.6/10k) collocate preferably with mental cognitive processes (*I believe, I remember, I think, I recollect* etc.) or, in fact, with probability-specifying elements (*I am sure, I am certain, I have no doubt* etc.) which establish different "degrees of certainty" (Martin & White 2005: 11) and eventually contribute to giving Burke's assertions more authority (see CH.4.2 for a detailed discussion of strategic reader alignment).

usurper, or the **most sanguinary tyrant**. (Burke)

Green's *The Conquest of England*, on the other hand, does not have a comparable level of emotional involvement. The low A5.1 frequencies may reflect the rather prosaic style, which seems to be the result of a presumed transformation of his works over time.[67] However, the subject of his account, namely the portrayal of the events surrounding the Norman invasion, renders the almost complete absence of explicit assessments curious. In large part, this may be due to Green's understanding of historiographical principles. Present-day researchers regard him as a historian who was oriented towards the philosophies propagated by the pioneers of academic historiography belonging to the "Oxford school", Freeman and Stubbs (e.g. Slee 1986; Bentley 2006). The fact that Green, although a clergyman by trade, was considered by publisher Macmillan as editor of the newly founded "English Historical Review" (Goldstein 1986: 6) could further corroborate his authority, which was based on a detached, 'scientific' understanding of historical research and writing. So it is rather the 43 items (27%) tagged as A5.2 that can be cautiously considered as indicative of Green's use of lexis primarily for authentication as well as assessment of historical factuality. Example (32) is a typical instantiation of an assessment of this kind (*actual extinction/succor*). Here, the deduction drawn from the onerous conditions (*it was natural that*) contracts the dialogic space (see CH.4) and thereby construes the subsequent proposition as incontestably valid. At the same time, Green's observation regarding the Scottish kingdom's search for allies can be read as construing a norm-based judgement ("normality") - which underlines the historiographer's interpretive competence - since it is Green's voice that deduces the orientation towards the West Saxons as a logical consequence.

(32) Shattered by a strife in which its northern and western districts had become almost independent, and menaced with the danger of **actual** extinction, *it was* **natural** *that* the kingdom of the Scots should look for friendship, if not for **actual** succor, to the West Saxons and their king. (Green)

Similarly, in example (33), Green bases his assessment of the success of Æthelstan's politics on the absence of observable historical facts, in particular the absence of insurrections. In (34), one can also see that facticity is not only diagnosed but actively reinforced through the use of

[67] The lemma in the 1911 edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica portrays Green's change of style, critically remarking that "[h]is style is extremely bright, but it lacks sobriety and presents some affectations. His later histories, The Making of England (1882) and The Conquest of England (1883), are more soberly written than his earlier books, and are valuable contributions to historical knowledge." ('Green', Encyclopædia Britannica 1911).

verbal processes (*prove that*), whereby the proposition, i.e. the continuation of the particular kind of payment, is presented as "highly warrantable" (Martin & White 2005: 126).

(33) That *Æt*helstan's campaigns in the west did their work *is plain from the* **fact** *that* in the later troubles of his reign we hear no more of West-Welsh or North-Welsh risings. (Green)

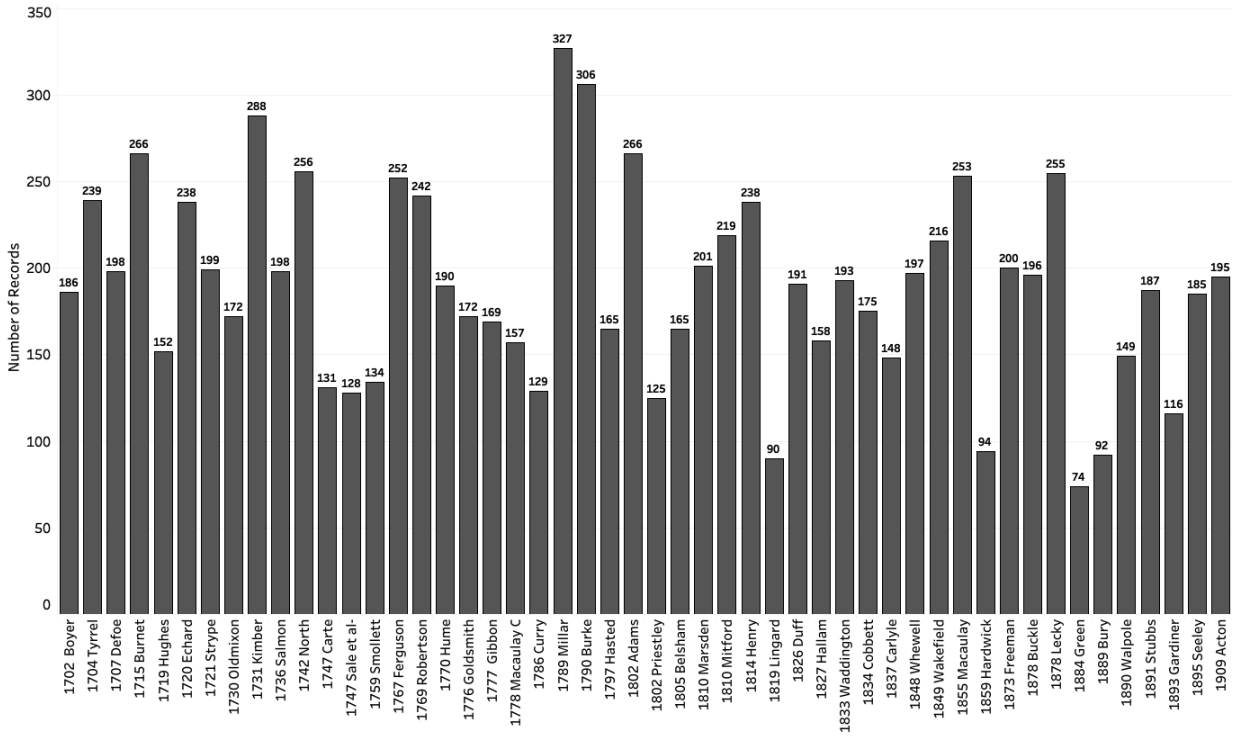
(34) […] and *the* **fact** *that* these laws are embodied in Ine's code, **prove** that such a mode of payment was still common in the opening of the eighth century in Wessex. (Green)

It might be argued that the occurrences discussed above, in combination with the overall frequency, could be used to refute the claim of some of Green's colleagues who regarded him as a "popular" rather than a "scientific" historian (e.g. Kenyon 1983).

In the brief discussion of the two samples, both the advantages as well as the limitations of a perfunctory examination of the general frequencies become apparent. While the study of individual items can be neglected, it is rather the (contrastive) examination of the most frequent discourse fields from which the analyst can benefit. As shown above, the investigation of the accumulation of specific sets of (e.g. truth-related) lexical choices, which in turn might indicate preferences (e.g. informed by subject matter, argumentation structure, academic conventions etc.), can serve as a starting point for qualitative enquiries. Proceeding from this observation, the semantic field A5.1 will be divided into its constituent components in the following sections in order to further exploit its methodological potential.

A5.1+/A5.1- Evaluation: Good/Bad

Figure 13. A5.1+ Evaluation: Good



Despite its problematic nature, the largest of the four subgroups of the A5 discourse field may reflect general tendencies that arise from the contrast between A5.1+ and A5.1- (Figures 13 and 14). The frequencies that emerge from this rough approximation initially seem to indicate that historians prefer items clustered in A5.1+ over those in A5.1-. The historiographical narratives are dominated by positive quality, prototypically expressed by terms such as *good, great, advancement, best, excellent, redeeming, rewarded, improved, surpassed* and the like.

Taking a closer look at one of the salient examples, Millar's *Historical View of the English Government* features 321 tokens of A5.1.+ (A5.1+: 226; A5.1++: 72; A5.1+++: 29). What becomes immediately apparent is that a majority of the items seem to occur in fairly programmatic contexts. This implies that the findings support a disclosure of the organisation of historical knowledge, which is consistent with what scholars have called a "classical epitome of Whiggish economic history" (Lehmann 1960: 112). Examples (35), (36) and (37) below, displaying items covered by the semantic sets, seem to largely confirm Millar's classical liberal, political/'whig' agenda. Particularly, the construal of positive evaluation of the stadial (economic) progress from agricultural societies towards a modern commercial civilisation (*advancement of agriculture*, *mercantile improvements*) may reflect the historian's appreciation

of an economical perspective, not uncommon in the historical writings of Scottish philosophers (e.g. Kelley 2003; Okie 1991). The intensified positive judgement of the extent of the sovereign's authority (*capacity*) in (37), which – in retrospect - emphasises the precarious consequences of non-compliance as well as hierarchical inequality, can be cautiously interpreted to reflect Millar's critical perspective towards the ruling elite and his main focus on the lower grouping of society (Kelley 2003: 84).

(35) The introduction of landed property among mankind has uniformly proceeded from the **advancement** of agriculture, by which they were led to cultivate the same ground for many years successively (Millar)

(36) The tendency of mercantile **improvements** to introduce an abhorrence of the Catholic superstition, and of papal domination, is thus equally illustrated from the history of those kingdoms where the reformation prevailed (Millar)

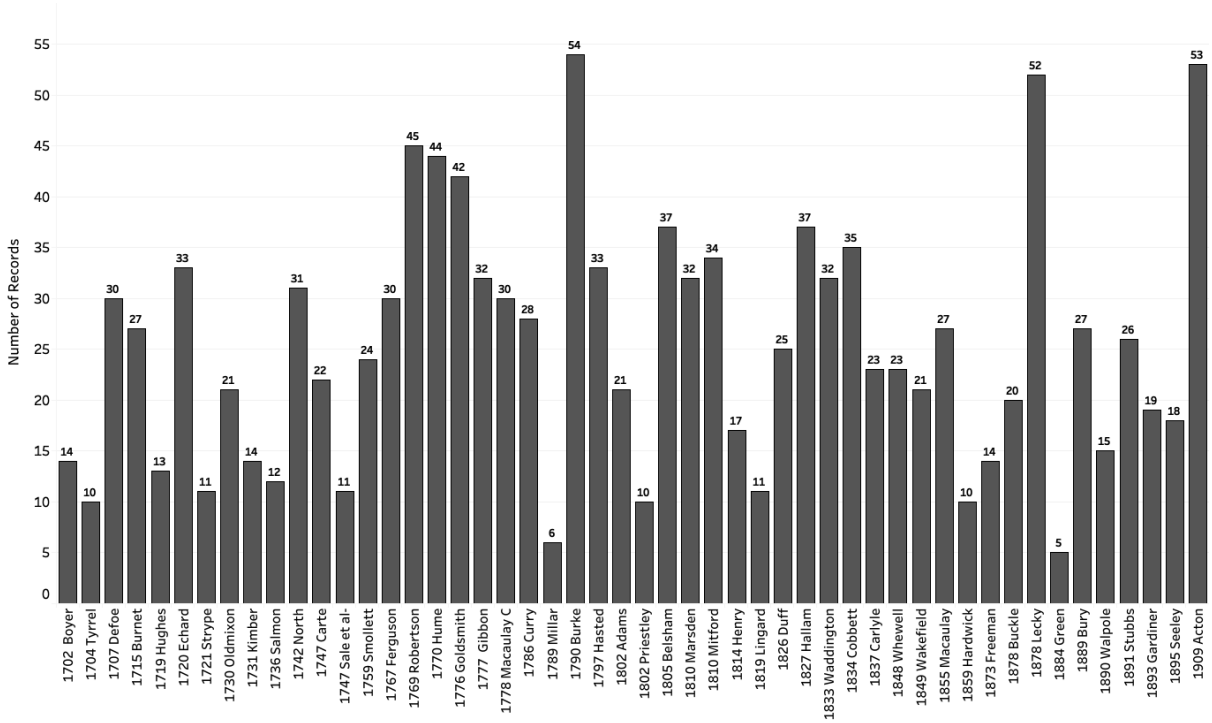
(37) It was dangerous to refuse the sovereign […] It was difficult to make an equal bargain with a person so **greatly superior** in power and influence. (Millar)

Since the specifics of Burke's data have already been discussed above, the next work under scrutiny is that of the third historian, Isaac Kimber, which displays a high-frequency of A5.1+ items (288 tokens - A5.1+: 223; A5.1++: 25; A5.1+++: 40) and is concerned with the *Life of Oliver Cromwell*. Apart from the items that are well dispersed throughout the corpus (viz. *great, good, well*), Kimber's biography exhibits a substantial number of A5.1+++ items, such as *supreme* (n=15), *greatest* (n=10), *best* (n=7), *excellent* (n=2). *Supreme* strongly collocates with *authority* and *government*, as both constitute central elements in the Cromwell's foundation of a new parliament. The superlative *greatest*, on the other hand, is found in those instances in which either the protagonist (38) or his adversaries (39) are being evaluated with heightened negative/positive judgement normality (Martin & White 2005: 227). Kimber's choices signal a high degree of investment in the proposition.

(38) He [Cromwell] made the **greatest** figure in Europe in his time, and receiv'd greater marks of respect and esteem from all the Kings and Princes in Christendom (Kimber)

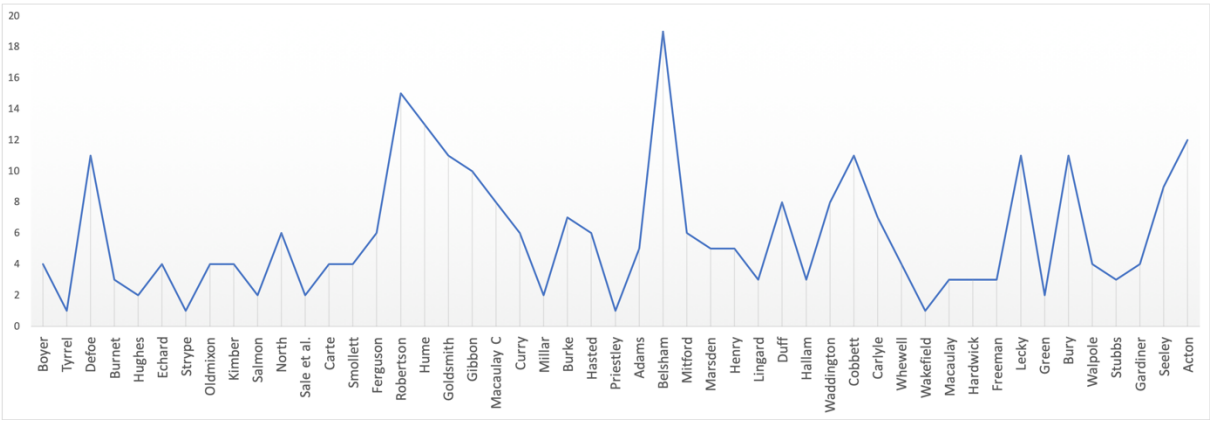
(39) The Republican party were his **greatest** enemies, and most bent on his ruin (Kimber)

Figure 14. A5.1- Evaluation: Bad



Overall, there are fewer negative comments on quality that are signalled via items subsumed under A5.1-. Taking the seven leading historians in this category, Burke, Acton, Lecky, Robertson, Goldsmith, Hallam and Belsham, as an example, it becomes apparent that their data do not only display a higher amount of negative evaluation of qualities but, above all, items that are classified as A5.1---. According to the USAS guide (Archer et al. 2002), the minus signs indicate a negative position on a semantic scale. Consequently, the more minuses there are, the more pronounced the negative polarity of the item is assessed. It could be argued that these items with a very negative polarity are mostly realised as superlatives or as "infused intensification" (Martin & White 2005: 143; also CH.7.1) in order to mark the historians' rejection/disapproval in the most obvious way possible.

Figure 15. inter-authorial distribution of A5.1- - -



By implication, it is in identifying these extreme and thus quite unambiguous forms (cf. Figure 15) that the advantages of semantic tagging for identifying evaluative patterns become apparent. In principle, the evaluative items presented in Table 8 - and even more so their adjacent collocates - could be seen as indicators of those evaluative acts in which the historiographer's assertiveness is most prominent. What becomes immediately apparent is the negative polarity of the *evaluative meaning potential* of the adjacent collocates. Furthermore, the targets and patterns represent semantic categories whose critical discussion can be regarded as relevant to the construction of historical knowledge. For instance, by evaluating *violence* as *atrocious*, *wars* as *disastrous* or *consequences* as *fatal*, historiographers sanction what they deem unethical. Their linguistic choices could enact a reading of the incidences, and their (long-term) effects, not only as relevant for understanding subsequent events, but also as instructive negative examples of their consequences. Occasionally, this is raised to a more abstract level when historical interpretation shifts from evaluations of individual incidents to assessments of entire delimited spatio-temporal phases (e.g. *fatal period*, *worst times*, *disasters of the former reign*).

Table 8. frequency of A5.1- - - items and typical adjacent collocate clusters

freq.	item	typical adjacent collocate realisations
125	*fatal*	fatal to NP/Pronoun, +blow, +effect, +consequences, +period...
54	*worst*	worst of NP, +species [of], +kind, +times…
20	*monstrous*	too monstrous, so monstrous, +calumnies, +crimes, +cruelties...
16	*disaster*	his disaster, this disaster...
15	*severest*	+penalties, +chastisement[s], +curse...
14	*disastrous*	+war[s], +effects, +repulse…
14	*atrocious*	+conduct, +murder, +violence...
10	*catastrophe*	remarkable catastrophe, fatal catastrophe, terrible catastrophe…
6	*fatally*	+interrupted, +experienced, +lost...
6	*disasters*	dismal disasters, +of the war, +of the former reign…
3	*disastrously*	ended [so] disastrously, failed disastrously
3	*monstrously*	+exaggerated (exclusively in Cobbett's data)
1	*fatalest*	+sort of disease (exclusively in Carlyle's data)

It may be speculated whether this type of lexis is employed primarily by those historians, who consider it part of their occupational duty to educate their reader by way of providing evaluative orientation. Of particular interest in this regard seems to be the cluster of historiographers ranging from Adam Ferguson to Catharine Macaulay. These writers composed their works at a time when humanist ideas of history serving both an ethical and an instructive purpose were widespread (Okie 1991; O'Brien 2012). That this preoccupation with the didactic value of history was by no means exclusive to Enlightenment historiography has been shown above (CH.2.1). However, Augustan historiography was even more concerned with the education of (aspiring) politicians who, according to political philosophers of their time, were supposed to "learn a great deal from the triumphs and blunders of past statesmen" (Okie 1991:8). Therefore, one could hypothesise that the force and perspicuity of the A5.1--- items could be logical consequences of these Enlightenment objectives.

Enlightenment historians Ferguson, Hume and Goldsmith are considered to have composed their works in a manner termed "conjectural history" by Dugalt Stewart in the 1790s (cited in Kelley 2003: 81). Apart from imaginatively filling in gaps in the historical record, conjectural history aims to trace the development from a 'rude' to a 'refined' and from a 'barbarous' to a 'civilised' stage (Kelley 2003: 82). Despite the fact that the works of Gibbon and Robertson follow the principles of "narrative history", they similarly assume a development towards societal refinement. Due to one of the common goals of both 'narrative' and 'conjectural'

history, it is not surprising that A5.1--- items appear in contexts in which, for example, moral disorder is sanctioned, as in example (40).

(40) To these pernicious effects of the feudal anarchy, may be added its **fatal** *influence* on the character and improvement of the human mind. (Robertson)

In contrast, Seeley's use of the A5.1--- item *disastrous*, in example (41), does not signal moral authority but marks an event, the moment of defeat, in such a manner (*disastrous repulse, loss of a thousand men*), that its enduring centrality becomes plausible vis-à-vis the repressed achievements of the protagonists.

(41) The force was at first landed in St Domingo, and here it met with a **disastrous** *repulse* and retired with the **loss of a thousand men**. On the return of the expedition Penn and Venables were committed to the Tower; their defeat alone was remarked; that before returning they had occupied Jamaica, which had then but five hundred Spanish inhabitants, scarcely attracted attention. (Seeley)

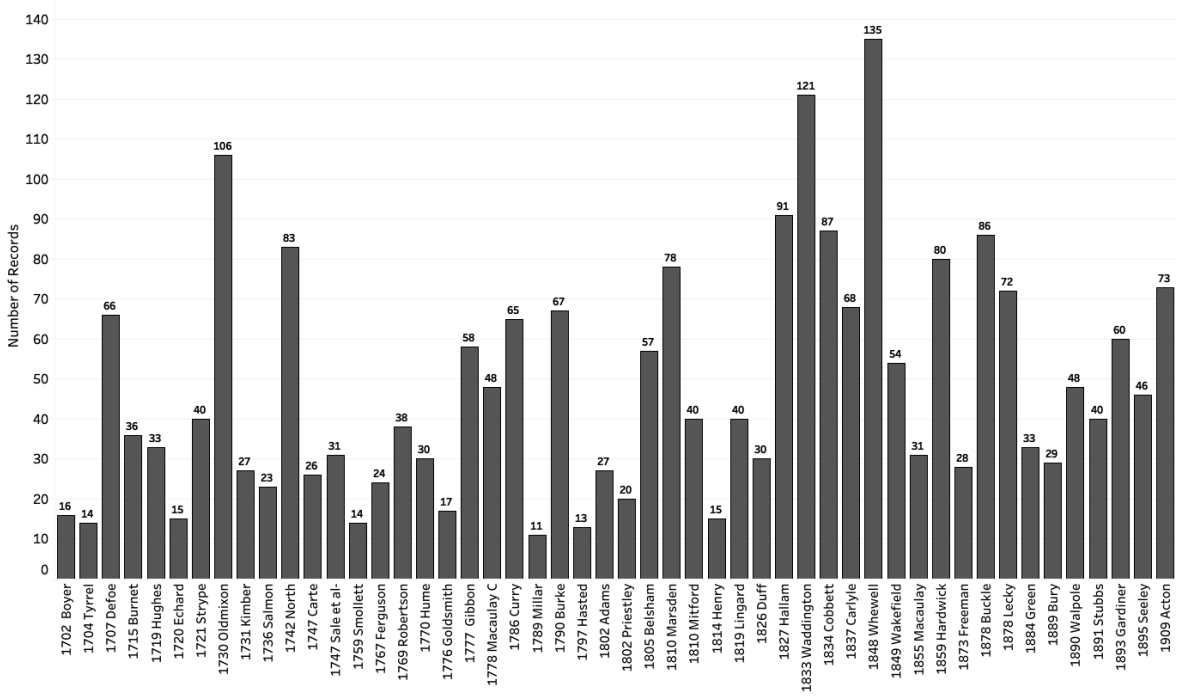
Here it is the contrast between Seeley's assessment of failure and the successful annexation of Jamaica into the British empire which may be carefully linked to the educational value of studying modern history. History was primarily understood to be the "school of statesmanship", relevant to citizens and politicians alike (Wormell 1980: 43).

Concluding this brief discussion, it has to be noted that the limited overall number of findings in this semantic sub-field requires additional evidence to further substantiate its proposed diagnostic value. Nevertheless, within the very heterogeneous and thus rather unfocused discourse field A5.1, this sub-category seems to function several times as an indicator of distinctly marked acts of evaluation primarily oriented towards effects and consequences, which in turn might be informed by prevailing historiographical objectives. However, their discovery does not exempt the researcher from additionally consulting the co-text and context in which the items are situated.

A5.2+/A5.2- Evaluation: True/False

One important assessment that the historian makes is about the truthfulness of sources and characters (cf. Jenkins 2003). The discourse field A5.2 is supposed to cover parts of the linguistic inventory that are prototypically associated with 'faithfulness' and 'validity'.

Figure 16. A5.2+ Evaluation: True



The lexical items which are covered by A5.2+, *truth, truly, true, evidence, fact(s), honest, indisputable, proof, proved, veracity, verified* etc., need by no means indicate the positive evaluation of targets on the basis of their veracity. Still, it is assumed that they primarily flag those points in their accounts in which historians either feel the need to perceptibly substantiate their assumptions by referring to evidence or to critically assess this evidence and/or available sources. The following examples, however, demonstrate that the items are used in more diverse ways. Due to their comparatively high frequency, the historians Whewell, Waddington, Oldmixon and Hallam qualify for a closer inspection of the particular function of A5.2+ items in the individual texts (cf. Figure 16).

Within Whewell's *History of Inductive Science*, items of this semantic category, somewhat unsurprisingly, serve the purpose of validating scientific research (e.g. in the physical fields of mechanics and astronomy):

(42) The experimental **truth** of this principle is a matter of obvious and universal experience.

(43) This proposition is **proved** by Archimedes in a work which is still extant, and the **proof** holds its place in our treatises to this day, as the simplest which can be given. (Whewell)

The most frequent item in Whewell's data is *true* (n=25). In identifying the collocational profile, the dominating bi-grams (*true grounds, true theory, true principles*) appear to reflect the historian's evaluative investment in the scientific fact, which is also confirmed in example (42). It might be inferred from these findings that, due to this abundance of evidentiary elements, the reader is confronted with scientific facts and doctrines, the irrefutability of which,

thus construed, is further substantiated by the attribution to leading ancient scientists (*proved by Ptolemy, proved by Archimedes*), as in example (43).

An entirely different topic is treated in Waddington's work *A History of the Church – from the earliest Ages to the Reforma*tion. Here, the A5.2+ resources may be used, at least in part, to serve a central aim of Waddington's innovative 'plan': The abandonment of the division into centuries in favour of a discussion of phenomena "under one head" is assumed to oblige the author, who claims to be guided by educational demands[68], to explicate and to justify the relevance of the topics covered in his ecclesiastical history. Waddington points out that his historiographical organisation

> affords greater facility to bring into relief and illustrate matters which are really important and have had lasting effects [...] I admit that my judgment has been very freely exercised in proportioning the degree of notice to the permanent weight and magnitude of events. (History of the Church - Preface)

Whether the abundance of A5.2+ items can plausibly be linked to the unusual structure of Waddington's work depends on the value one places on the process of marking certainty. Example (44) displays a sequence that is characteristic of Waddington's history.

(44) It is also **true** that in the earliest government of the first Christian society, that of Jerusalem, not the elders only, but the whole Churches were associated with the Apostles (Waddington)

In the data there are, indeed, eight instances of the *stance adjective+that-clause* (*It is also/equally true that...*) with the epistemic adjective *true* signalling certainty (Biber et al. 1999: 671-74). In the Engagement subsystem this interpersonal strategy is termed *pronouncement* (cf. CH.4.2). It allows for the historian to contract the dialogistic space by insisting on the validity of the proposition (Martin & White 2005: 128). In examples (45) and (46), Waddington even involves his readers by addressing them directly via the inclusive pronoun "us" or as a third person in the footnote (*our readers*). However, it is not Waddington who makes these claims, but his text construes disassociated attributions to external sources, i.e. "contemporary evidence" and "Gibbon", thereby reinforcing the irrefutability of the proposition.

(45) Contemporary **evidence** obliges us to admit, that the Christian name was for many years (so late at least as the reign of Decius) an object of decided aversion to many of those of Christians, who did not profess it (Waddington)

(46) [FN] To save the space which would be occupied by an accumulation of authorities, it will be sufficient, perhaps, to remind our readers, that this **fact** is admitted by Gibbon in

[68] "[F]or time has scattered his lessons over the records of humanity with a profuse but careless hand, and both the diligence and the judgment of man must be exercised to collect and arrange them, so as to extract from their combined qualities the true odour of wisdom" (Waddington - History of the Church - Preface).

his 15th chapter. (Waddington)

Oldmixon's *Critical History of England* stands out in its period for containing more A5.2+ items compared to the works of his contemporaries. The findings are partially indicative of his frequent use of historiographical meta-commentaries in which he discloses his work ethic and critically discusses his personal values system.

(47) For my Part, I would keep strictly to **Truth**, as far as I could get Intelligence; and must confess it would be with a strong Biass in Favour of the Constitution. To write on that Side with a **just** Regard to **Fact**, is to be Impartial. (Oldmixon)

(48) I talk no more than, in the obligation of a historian to **truth** of **fact**, I am bound to do. (Oldmixon)

This measure can be considered indicative of a strategy by which Oldmixon establishes his non-partisan authority in order to qualify the superior position he takes in critically dissecting[69] Clarendon's very popular *History of the Rebellion* and Echard's *History of England* (Okie 1991: 76). In an attempt to expose both as "pseudo-historical propagandists" (Okie 1991: 76), Oldmixon assumes a fact-based interpretive sovereignty for himself. This becomes evident in (49), where the A5.2+ item *prove*, which, as Martin & White (2005: 126) point out, is related to the notion of 'factivity', functions in Oldmixon's account *Of the Histories of England, from the Death of Queen Elizabeth, to the Revolution in 1688* to substantiate the authorial voice's commitment to the negative judgement of tenacity construed in the first part of the proposition.

(49) [Y]et by Glosses, Misrepresentations, false Lights, Sophistical Arguments, and hold Assertions, so it happens, that we have no History of the Four following Reigns upon which the English Reader can depend, as I shall endeavour to **prove** in the remaining Part of this Treatise. (Oldmixon)

In Hallam's *The Constitutional History of England*, there are several instances in which the historian makes use of A5.2 terms. While his data also contains *true* and *fact*, the frequency of the lexical item *proof(s)* (n=10) stands out as exceptional. *Proof*, in (50) is embedded in a structure which Martin & White (2005: 125) refer to as "concede + counter pairing". This strategy consists of two moves, the first of which is for the historian to agree with his construed readers (*concede*) before he, in the second move (*counter*), departs from his initial position to "indicate a rejection of what are presented as the natural assumptions arising from that initial proposition" (Martin & White 2005: 124). Placing *proof* in the *counter move* functions to further reinforce its persuasive power by challenging and subdue alternative positions. In

[69] Okie goes even further and claims that Oldmixon "lambasted" Clarendon and Echard (1991: 76).

example (51), the term *proofs* appears to be used synonymously with 'sources' and, in a similar manner, constrains a critical perspective on the proposition.

(50) It is probable that what has been just said may appear rather paradoxical to those who have not considered this part of our history; yet it is capable of satisfactory **proof**. (Hallam)

(51) This concession she must have made very reluctantly, for we find **proofs** the next year of her inclination to restore them (Hallam)

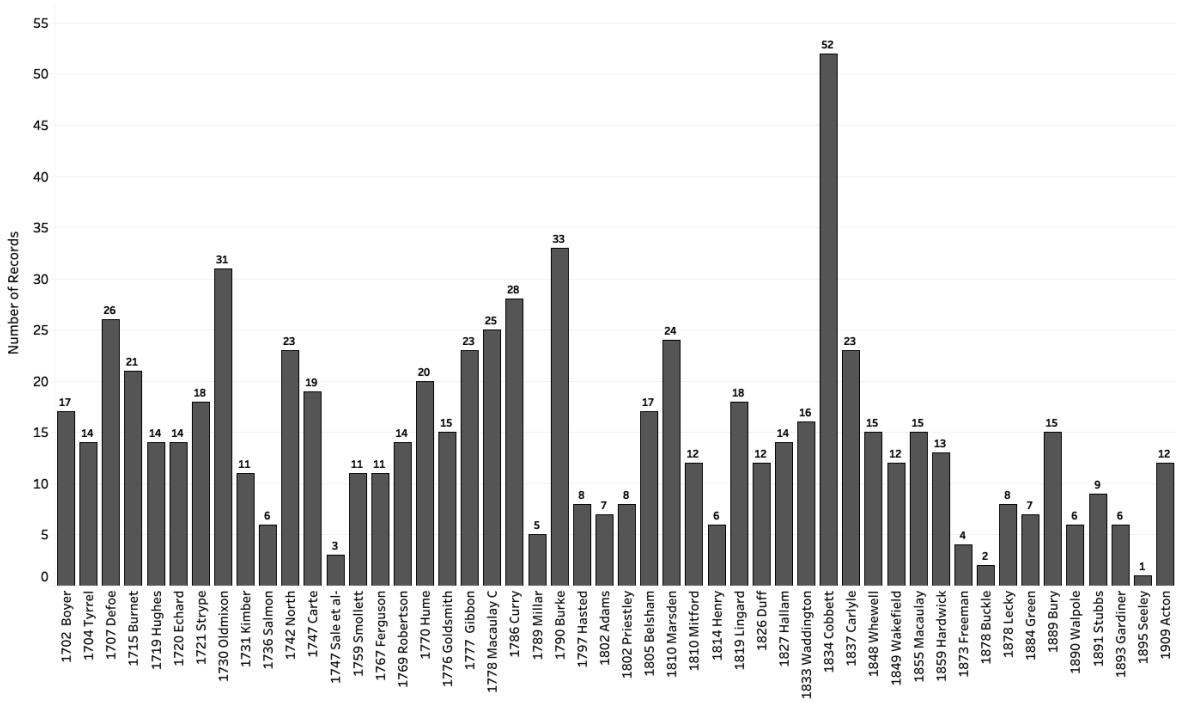
Another interesting finding is shown in the following examples (52) and (53). Hallam emphasises the statements' veracity by using *in truth* in what can be considered a marked authorial intervention. In this way, he opposes and suppresses alternative positions by construing them as 'untrue'.

(52) [FN] **In truth**, Elizabeth and James were personally the great support of the high church interest (Hallam)

(53) His disciples, **in truth**, from dissatisfied subjects of the church, were become her downright rebels (Hallam)

It is not inconceivable that Hallam's frequent use of A5.2+ resources may have contributed to his non-partisan image, which is reflected in his lemma in the Encyclopædia Britannica: "Hallam dealt with statesmen and policies with the calm and fearless impartiality of a judge" (Encyclopædia Britannica 1911 – 'Hallam').

Figure 17. A5.2- Evaluation: False



The first thing to notice when comparing the frequencies of A5.2+ with those of A5.2- presented in Figure 17 is that the resources of the category occur much less frequently in the works as a whole. *False, pretence(s), perjury, contrivance, deceived* and *falsehood* are the most frequent lexical items covered by A5.2-. The four historians whose works feature a (slightly) higher number of items compared to their colleagues are Cobbett, Burke, Oldmixon and Curry.

Cobbett's account, *A History of the Protestant Reformation*, stands out as containing by far the highest number of A5.2- items. Out of the 52 attested items, *false* accounts for 46 percent (n=23). A closer look reveals that *false* in Cobbett's data occurs in clusters. Moreover, *false* is preferably used in those contexts in which Cobbett signals disalignment with, or seeks to invalidate, what he considers to be the prevailing anti-Catholic attitude of Protestants. In example (54), he devalues the charge (apparently made by Protestant historians) which claims that the Catholic religion "is unfavorable to the producing of genius and talent", through combining his negative evaluation of the charge (*false*) with the intensification construed via the correlative conjunction (*not only... but*) and the adverbial premodification.

(54) I am going, in a minute, to prove that this charge is not only **false**, but ridiculously and most stupidly **false**; but before I do this, let me observe that this charge comes from the same source with all the other charges against the Catholics (Cobbett)

The second example, (55), represents Cobbett's defence of Queen Mary I.

(55) Her reign our **deceivers** have taught us to call the reign of "BLOODY QUEEN MARY"; while they have taught us to call that of her sister, the "GOLDEN DAYS OF GOOD QUEEN BESS." (Cobbett)

It is remarkable insofar as the passage establishes solidarity with the reader through the use of inclusive pronouns (cf. van Dijk 1997), while condemning those who mislead (negative judgement of veracity). What is more, Cobbett's negative evaluation of the semantic polarisation is rather implicit and is evoked through the association of the two denunciations with *deceivers*.

In Burke's data, alongside *false*, the terms *contrivance(s)* and *fiction* can also be found. An analysis of the latter terms disclosed no antonymic relationship with 'truth', whereas *false* is used synonymously with 'wrong'. While these findings fail to disclose any evaluative strategies related to A5.2-, the items found in Oldmixon's data are more revealing. Again, his work is among the top three in this category. In contrast to his metacommentaries above, marked instances of 'falsehood' are predominantly found in Oldmixon's critical assessment of other historians. For instance, when he critically reviews Clarendon's *History* in extract (56), and compares it to those of Rushworth, Whitlock "and other contemporary Writers", Oldmixon

condemns his colleague's historiographical competence by making a negative judgement of veracity.

(56) Common Readers have been **deceiv'd** by Appearances in both. The Beauty of Imagination and Colouring in the Earl of Clarendon's History charm'd them so much, that they were not aware of the notorious Mixture of **Falshood** with Truth, which runs through it [...] where the Fact is curtail'd or enlarg'd, where it is brought in or carry'd off with unfair and forc'd Reflections, then is the Work Historically **false**, for that the whole Truth of the Facts does not appear, and of Consequence the Reflections which are made upon them must be ill grounded. (Oldmixon)

This evaluation is construed through contrasting items with a negative *evaluative meaning potential* (*deceived, falshood, false*) with those that have positive potential (*Truth, Fact, Facts*). The positive *evaluative meaning potential* of *fact(s)* is further corroborated by the previously established ideal or 'goal' (cf. Hunston 1993), which evidently favours impartiality, 'historical truth' and facts over biased or invented accounts.

Pursuing a critical historiographical agenda, similar to that of Oldmixon, Curry's data exhibits several instances in which he uses *false* to negatively evaluate the flaws in the works of his colleagues, as in (57).

(57) Particular facts related in Archbishop King's book proved **false**, concerning popish judges and juries. (Curry)

Example (58) differs in that it portrays Curry's fairly exclusive use of *untruth*.[70] The fronting of the object into a textually marked position emphasises the author's negative assessment of his colleague Dr. King's work ethics. The extract could be considered to construe an implicit negative judgement of King's propriety. This is evoked, firstly, by premodifying *untruth* with *conscious*, thus construing a deliberate act of conveying misinformation, and secondly, by asserting the absence of King's remorse for this act.

(58) This conscious **untruth**, I say, he was not ashamed to publish in the body of his book (Curry)

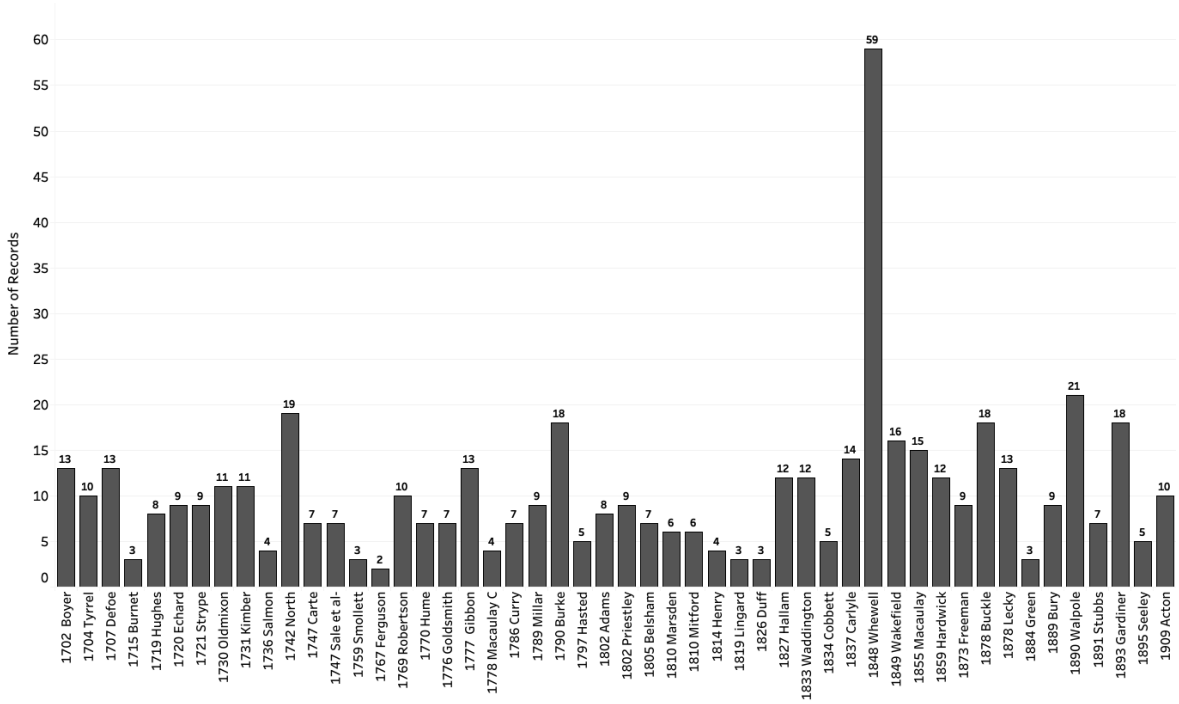
The exemplary analysis of the texts of the A5.2 category's most salient authors has shown that the resources of this category are mainly to be found the defence or validation of the historian's own position or in those cases where the reader's attention is drawn to the false information 'propagated' by rival historiographers.

[70] Note that there are only five occurrences of *untruth(s)* which can be attested in the corpus data, two of which are being used by Curry and one each in the texts of Strype, Defoe and Acton.

A5.3+/A5.3- Evaluation: Accurate/Inaccurate

The corpus data does not contain a large amount of those items which are subsumed under A5.3. This is surprising, as it was expected that especially those historiographers who, for example, assess the trustworthiness of their (primary) sources would resort to items comprised in this group.

Figure 18. A5.3+ Evaluation: Accurate



The most frequent items which are subsumed in this semantic group are *right*, *properly*, *exact*, *order*, *accurate*, *correct, accuracy* and *corrected*. Particularly the first item can be deemed problematic, as its polysemy renders contextual disambiguation indispensable. The same applies to *order*. Leaving aside the possibility that both items could skew the overview of distribution given in Figure 18, it is nevertheless possible to infer some tendencies from them. One unsurprising observation is the accumulation of A5.3+ resources in Whewell's data. Since his history-writing concentrates on the natural sciences, items that are supposed to signal 'accuracy' are expected in this discourse field. In example (59), *accuracy* is embedded in the relative clause which specifies the process of determination. Based on the readers' knowledge that accuracy (and its refinement) is fundamental in scientific research, indicating that this goal is not only met but overfulfilled (*much greater than any...*) evokes a positive evaluation, first of the procedure itself and secondly, of the scientist, Hipparchus, who conducted the

calculations. [71] One could argue that Whewell simultaneously marks the particular determination as historically significant by highlighting its exceptionality.

(59) He determined, with much greater **accuracy** than any preceding astronomer, the mean or supposed equable motions of the moon in longitude and in latitude (Whewell)

Another item which is recurrent in Whewell's data is *exact*. In the following excerpt (60) the term *exact* is used to premodify *knowledge of nature* and it can be argued that it signals a reification of an abstract concept by making it tangible or, more precisely, 'measurable'.

(60) In order to the acquisition of any such **exact** and real knowledge of nature as that which we properly call physical science, it is requisite, as has already been said, that men should possess ideas both distinct and appropriate, and should apply them to ascertained facts. (Whewell)

In Walpole's data there are considerably fewer A5.3+ items. He uses the term *accurate* in his assessment of early nineteenth-century house taxation in (61) or in his evaluation of the historical account's degree of exactness (62).

(61) The rent of a house is not an **accurate** test of its occupier's income, but it is a much better test than the number of windows which the house contains. (Walpole)

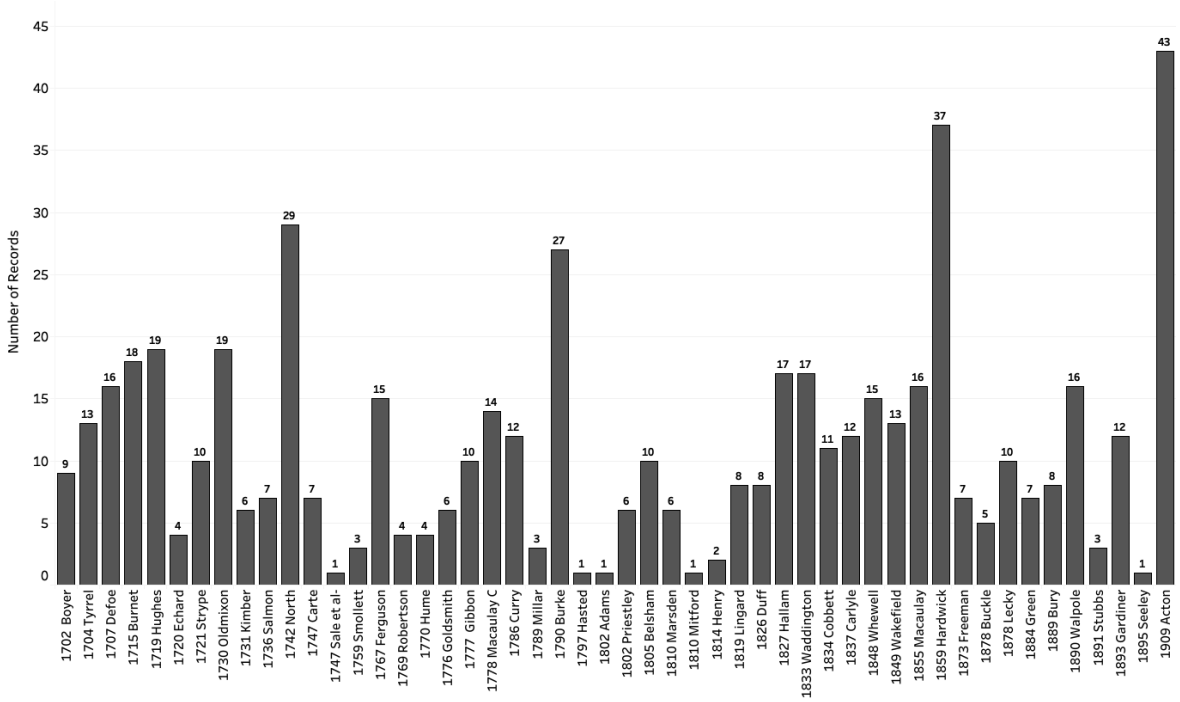
(62) [FN] another account of a Sabbath massacre of Jews is in the less **accurate** (Walpole)

North's data exhibits one instance of 'accuracy', (63), which serves to construe a positive judgement of the king's capacity.

(63) His Justice was so **exact**, and Course of Life so unexceptionable, that the Libellers had no Subject to make any Work with. (North)

[71] In this illustration, the 'procedure' can be considered to constitute the *primary target of evaluation*, while Hipparchus is the *secondary target of evaluation* (cf. CH.3.3).

Figure 19. A5.3- Evaluation: Inaccurate



The most frequent items of the A5.3- domain are *error(s), wrong, mistaken, mistake, fault(s), erroneous* and *amiss*. In contrast to the relatively even distribution of the A5.3+ category (once Whewell is excluded), Figure 19 shows not only a higher total number, but also those historians whose works contain more items.

Error(s) make up for 69 percent (n=25) of the A5.3- items found in Acton's *The History of Freedom*. On closer inspection, it is noticeable that most of these occurrences collocate with lexical items belonging to a religious semantic field (e.g. *protestants, pope, heretics*). This observation leads to the conclusion that *error* might be understood as indexing (religious) divergence. In fact, example (64) shows a typical use of the term *error* that does not necessarily trigger the negative *evaluative meaning potential* that is thought to be characteristic of the item.

(64) Until he came, in spite of much violence and many laws, the popes had imagined no permanent security against religious **error**, and were not formally committed to death by burning. (Acton)

Of all A5.3- items in Hardwick's data, *error* accounts for as much as 86 percent (n=32). Again, *error* strongly collocates with religious terminology and is hence understood not to be markedly evaluative. This is not astonishing, given that his work is entitled *A History of the Articles of Religion*. Nonetheless, his data exhibits an instance (65) in which the choice of a term signalling 'fallacy' construes indisputable evaluative meaning (cf. Martin and White 2005: 112).

(65) There is no greater **mistake** than to suppose that the reforming spirit was confined (Hardwick)

North's biography of the oldest of his three brothers, *The Life of the Right Honourable Francis North*, contains a considerable amount of *error*, 72 percent (n=21). A closer examination of the term's context, however, immediately reveals that it is used as part of the expression "Writ of Error" in 14 cases, which, according to the OED Online denotes "a writ brought to procure the reversal of a judgement, on the ground of error" (OED). This is not surprising given the thematic focus on law and the justice system, in which his brother held several positions. There is nevertheless one incident in North's data (66) in which the self-proclaimed "life-writer" condemns a judge's decision.

(66) It may not pass that the Chief Justice Saunders was in the **Wrong** for refusing the signing; but the Chicane upon that Point of Law, which was most clearly with him, is too tedious to be inserted here. (North)

Arguably, this negative judgement of the judge's propriety is not strictly based on an 'inaccuracy' but rather on what could be considered his 'misdetermination'.

In contrast to the findings presented so far, Burke's data contains several instances which unambiguously point to mistakes. This is not surprising, since it is claimed that he deemed history to be "the supreme instructor of the people" (Breisach 1983: 248). Thus, he is very fond of criticising the decisions of the French elite, for example. Interestingly, in both examples the A5.3- terms are linked to *defects*. The excerpts thus construe a notion of remediable deficiencies by coordinating non-contrasting items with a similar polarity.

(67) I am no stranger to the **faults** and defects of the subverted government of France (Burke)

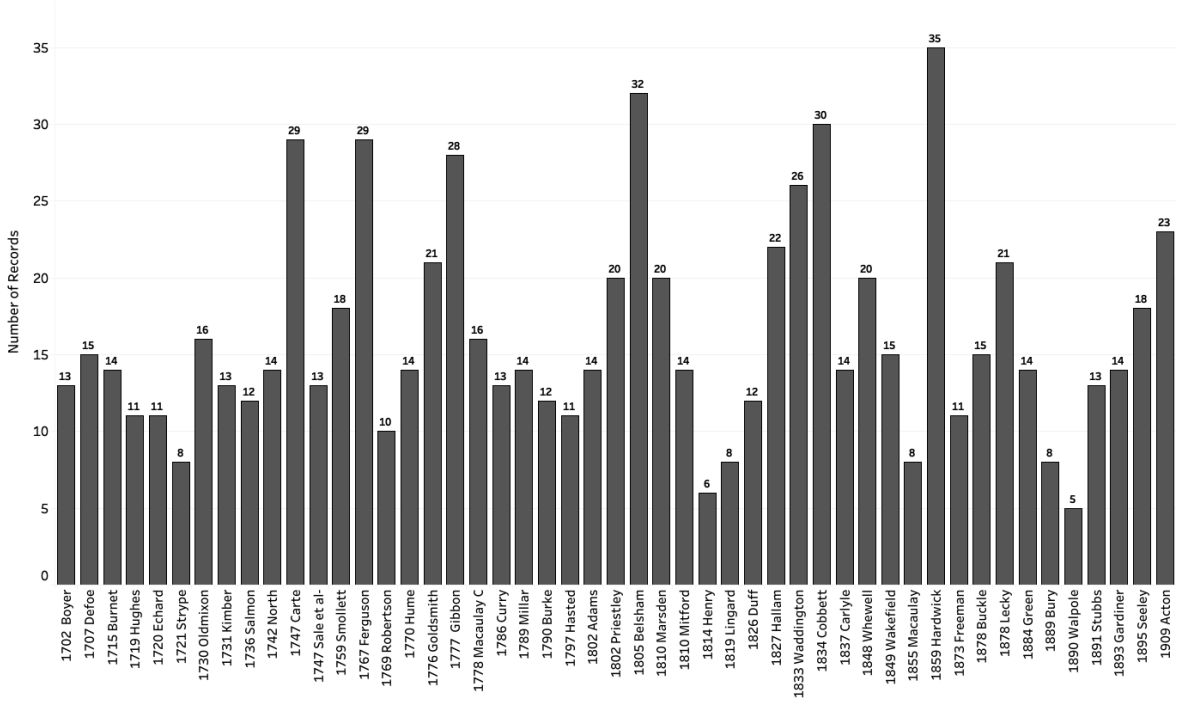
(68) The **errors** and defects of old establishments are visible and palpable. (Burke)

The exemplary observations have shown that the title of the category is somewhat misleading for the classification of the current data. Instead of primarily signalling inaccuracies, the comprised items largely function to realise 'flaws', 'misconceptions' and 'fallacies'. Nevertheless, these high-frequency instances are most indicative of the historians' preferential interpretational stances and their respective targets.

A5.4+/A5.4- Evaluation: Authentic/Unauthentic

The last category is highly interesting insofar as comprises several polysemous items such as *actually* and *copy*, which do not necessarily have to indicate 'authenticity', given that this term denotes "the fact or quality of being true or in accordance with fact; veracity; correctness [...] accurate reflection of real life, verisimilitude" (OED online).

Figure 20. A5.4+ Evaluation: Authentic



The most frequent items of the A5.4+ discourse field are *proper, actual, actually, pure, sincere, sincerity, genuine*. Again, there are a number of historians across the epochs whose works exhibit slightly more A5.4+ resources (cf. Figure 20). To determine why their data displays a higher frequency, the works of Hardwick, Belsham, Cobbett and Ferguson will be examined more closely.

Items that are prominent in Hardwick's data are *actually* (49 percent; n=17), *actual* and *pure* (both 11 percent; n=4). *Actually,* in most of the cases, is used synonymously with *currently* or *essentially*. Example (69) represents one of the few occasions when the historian uses *pure*, which could be understood to signal an evaluation of authenticity. It is curious, however, that the adjective is conjoined with *unflinching*, since the semantic orientation of adjectives in conjunctions is typically linguistically restricted (cf. Hatzivassiloglou & McKeown, 1997).

(69) Some, it is true, including men the most highly gifted of their times, continued to combine their acquiescence in the more rigorous of the Genevan doctrines with **pure** and unflinching attachment to the Formularies of the Church (Hardwick)

In Belsham's "History of Great Britain", the A5.4- items *actually, proper, actual* and *genuine* constitute the author's most frequent choices. The term *actually* is used in a similar manner as observed in Hardwick's text. There is no instance in which the term unambiguously signals authenticity or indicates *counter-expectancy* (Martin & White 2005: 67). *Proper*, on the other hand, is often used synonymously with *suitable*. In example (70), however, the premodification of *friends of liberty* through *genuine* sharpens the categorial boundaries and thereby evokes a

positive attitudinal assessment of the modified terms (Martin & White 2005: 138, see also CH.7.3).

(70) but, above all, the wonderfully energetic speech [...], re-sounded still in the ears of every **genuine** friend of liberty. (Belsham)

Cobbett's data contains *sincere* and *sincerity*, which total 40 percent (n=12). In (71) he attributes Lady Jane's characterisation to "The advocates of the 'Reformation'" and thus distances himself from the proposition.

(71) However, what they say is this: that Lady Jane was a **sincere** Protestant, that the young King knew this, and that his anxiety for the security of the Protestant religion induced him to consent to Northumberland's proposition. (Cobbett)

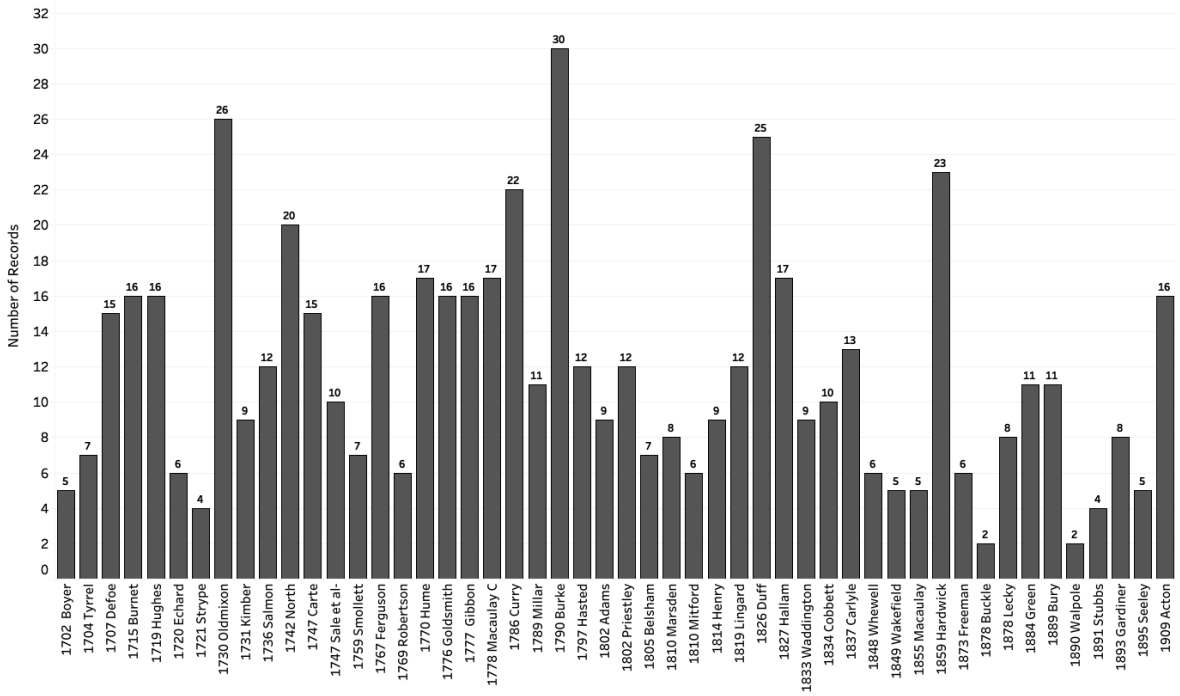
The effects that are construed as logically following from Jane's genuine/authentic confession to Protestantism, are reinforced by the assessment of *Protestant* as prototypical. This is achieved through scaling the term in relation to the degree (sincere) in which it matches an exemplary instance in a semantic category (Martin & White 2005: 137).

From Ferguson's extracts one example is singled out (72), in which the reference to authenticity plays a significant role in the historian's assessment of ancestral representations.

(72) It is from the Greek and the Roman historians, however, that we have not only the most **authentic** and instructive, but even the most engaging representations of the tribes from whom we descend. (Ferguson)

Here, the appreciation of the representation's positive value is construed on the basis of its authenticity in conjunction with its instructive potential (Martin & White 2005: 56-57).

Figure 21. A5.4- Evaluation: Unauthentic



The dispersion of the A5.4- items does not reveal any clear periodical tendencies and the individual frequencies are rather low. There are several terms, which were retrieved from the corpus, the most frequent ones are *pretended, copy, pretend, pretext, copies, pretending, reputed* and *specious*. Once again Burke's *Reflections* stands out as containing three times more of the A5.4- resources when compared to those found in the other works (average 11.6; median: 10.5). Items which occur frequently across his text are *pretext(s)*, 27 percent (n=8), and *pretended*, 23 percent (n= 7). The items are primarily associated with those evaluative targets that represent his adversaries or their actions. Example (73), for instance, construes service to the state as the ostensible motivation for the unlawful act, which is subsequently linked to the 'scrupulousness' destruction of the entire country. In (74), the nobility is disqualified as self-styled, reinforcing the negative judgement of the aristocrats' propriety.

(73) The service of the state was made a **pretext** to destroy the church. (Burke)

(74) whilst fraud and violence were accomplishing the destruction of a **pretended** nobility which disgraced, whilst it persecuted, human nature. (Burke)

At first glance the items *copy/copies* (27 percent, n= 6) comprised in Oldmixon's data does not appear to match the semantic domain's selected meaning. Yet, in accusing Echard of copying in (75), Oldmixon might be argued to negatively comment on the fellow historian's degree of authenticity.

(75) Mr. Echard has servilely **copy'd**, and in some Places outdone the Lord Clarendon, in his partial Characteristicks. (Oldmixon)

Duff's History of the Mahrattas contains 14 instances of *pretended* (56 percent) and 6 instances of *impostor* (24 percent). While the second item proves to be thematic and recurrent in his account (76), *pretended* acts as an epithet to the ruler (77). Since the items included do not markedly function to signal evaluation, these findings expose the limitations of the research approach.

(76) An **impostor**, already mentioned, who had assumed the name of Sewdasheo Chimnajee, eight or nine years after the battle of Panniput, was made prisoner during the life-time of Mahdoo Rao (Duff)

(77) The peace of Poorundhur was of the greatest consequence to the ministers, and the suppression of the insurrection, under the **pretended** Sewdasheo Rao, added materially to the stability of their government (Duff)

Though there are several instances of 'non-authenticating' *copy/copies* in Hardwick's data, his use of *spuriousness* in (78) evokes a negative evaluation of the quality of the momentous religious documents, while at the same time implicitly positively evaluating the circumstances which enabled their disclosure (cf. CH.3.3).

(78) As an older and purer literature was rapidly diffused on all sides by the agency of the press, it enabled the earnest and critical scholar to detect the **spuriousness** of a multitude of documents, which had been long respected by the Church as the principal ground of the papal pretensions

With the exception of the peculiar epithet in Duff's data, the findings made in the A5.4 authentic/unauthentic discourse field can be considered revealing in that the items surveyed appear to point particularly to those incidents in which historiographers either sharpen categorial boundaries or discredit the genuineness of the attitudinal target.

Concluding this experimental analysis, it can be argued that an investigation of the frequencies of the semantically tagged items has proven to be a useful tool for exploring intra-authorial preferences (as shown in the exemplary analysis of Burke's and Green's data above) and for carefully projecting trends across the corpus. However, in some of the works studied, which contained the highest number of instances of the respective category, the approach revealed its investigative constraints. While a number of the tagged items provided a good starting point for a deeper, contextually informed analysis, it became apparent that some findings did not contain lexis that primarily functioned to realise evaluative meanings. Nonetheless, despite these anticipated inaccuracies, it can be argued that this tentative 'semantic tagging approach' represents a helpful first step towards discovering instances of explicit evaluation.

6. Postmodification

As historians are constantly confronted with the problem of 'ordering the past', identifying and abandoning irrelevancies (cf. e.g. Cannon 1980: 2), they need to make the reader aware of the important/essential role that the individual historical actor occupies within their respective narrative in order to justify their final selection from the vast accumulation of historical materials and evidence. This can be done by embedding additional information in non-restricted relative clauses, as this strategy allows for the author to explicitly specify, for instance, actions and compositions. In the case of wh-pronoun postmodification, they open up another layer of evaluation: The nuanced positioning of the historical agent. Similar to appositive constructions, non-restrictive relative clauses (*who, whose*) primarily function to provide information about the animate antecedent. In contrast to adjectival premodification, the number of elaborating/evaluating descriptions placed post-nominally commonly exceeds two lexical items.[72] This means that these descriptions may contain longer strings of constituents. Consequently, in contrast to the use of pre-head modifiers, post-modification allows for a more extensive elaboration or specification (cf. Bolinger 1967; Quirk et al. 1985: 1243; Biber et al. 1999: 602). This compositional strategy is by no means exclusive to historiography, yet the data reveals that the explanatory use of postmodifiers is often closely linked to a marked (re-) establishment of historical significance. The purpose of this section is to present the most common formal realisations by addressing the variety of functions associated with them, focusing particularly on the evaluative potential of postmodification.

6.1 Pervasiveness and 'structural complexity'

The historiographical data collected for the corpus displays an exceptionally high frequency of postmodification devices that have a specific function, viz. that of non-essential parenthetical expression. In the majority of the texts, postmodification is employed to characterise historical actors in greater detail, to comment on, or to expand on information that was already provided. The first four pages of chapter II, of Millar's *An Historical View of the English Government*, for instance, illustrate this characteristic interspersion: Almost every other sentence features a (seemingly non-essential) explanatory/supplementary parenthesis that has the potential to prevent the reader from immediately comprehending the meaning of the sentence.

(79) They disdain, therefore, to solicit that sympathy, which they know by experience will not be afforded them, and having, from their daily occurrences, been long inured to pain, they

[72] The mean value for all occurrences across the corpus data amounts to 8.87 words per non-restrictive wh-pronoun clause.

> learn to bear it with astonishing firmness, and even to endure every species of torture without complaining. As, on the other hand, they live in very small societies, and, in order to find subsistence, are obliged to remove their different villages to a great distance from one another, they are not apt to be engaged in frequent or extensive military enterprizes, nor to attain any degree of refinement in the methods of conducting their hostilities. (Millar)

An illustration of the occasional structural (over)complexity can be found in the work of Millar's contemporary Edward Hasted. The composition of the parenthetical deliberations, which not only explain the social role of the Kentishmen but furthermore describe and assess the intricate situational condition, confronts the reader with an array of additional information.[73]

(80) But three years after this, the Kentishmen, who composed part of king Edward's army, in their return from pursuing the Danes, happening to stay too far behind, were surrounded by their enemies, whereupon an obstinate and bloody engagement ensued. (Hasted)

Throughout the corpus, parenthetical clarifications are mostly realised as *relative clauses*, *ing-clauses*, *appositive noun phrases* and *prepositional phrases*. These particular, non-restrictive postmodifying units are commonly considered independent and are and are often separated by a comma. According to Biber et al.'s (1999: 602) conception, non-restrictive modifiers add "elaborating, descriptive information". The authors further take the view that this added information is "often tangential to the main point of the text" (Biber et al. 1999: 602). Endorsing their first observation, the present study attempts to challenge the idea that the information added by historians is merely incidental. In historiography postmodification is essential for construing an 'uncompressed', i.e. a more extensive, evaluation of historical actors, events and phenomena while recalling/establishing their respective historical significance. In order to establish the level of elaborateness, this study follows Pérez Guerra and Martínez Insua's (2010: 203) approach by considering the determination of the relative length of the postmodifying unit as a crucial measure of structural complexity.

Grammarians (cf. Biber et al. 1999; Quirk et al. 1985) suggest a variety of nominal postmodifying types.

Table 9. Nominal postmodification

modification type	**examples**
-ing postmodifier	they returned to Africa with many thousand captives, **including** the Empress Eudoxia and her two daughters, Eudocia and Placidia, … (Priestley)

[73] In their description of diachronic changes in the complexity of academic writing, Biber and Gray (2016: 127) contrast an early nineteenth century scientific text with a passage from an eighteenth-century novel. Both extracts exhibit a complex grammatical style similar to that attested in the corpus data.

wh-adverb	Elizabeth, confined by the regicides in Carisbrooke castle, **where** she died of grief; (Smollett)
wh-pronoun	by the interposition of Gardiner and Fox, **who** were his friends, he was saved at that time (Burnet)
wh-/that relativizer	his sole aim was to destroy a vile aristocracy, **that** then oppressed the people (Goldsmith)
apposition	Cromwell is exceedingly intimate with the Swedish Ambassador, **a person of great estimation**… (Seeley)

The non-restrictive realisations chosen for a detailed analysis (Table 9) are thought to cover the most relevant elaborative choices that occur in historical writing. Postmodifying via wh-adverbs (*where/wherever/when/whenever*…) enables a historiographically relevant specification of the situational or temporal placement of the head noun. The analysis of wh-pronoun postmodification sheds light on the characterisation/construction of historical agents, whereas the investigation of postmodification by *relativizers* (*which/that*) exhibits the extension of information about non-animate antecedents. Examining non-restrictive postmodifying -ing clauses is highly interesting, as it allows for the detection of concrete descriptive glosses in the participial clause (*consisting, leaving, arising* etc.). Finally, appositive noun phrases are typically used to inform the reader about the (social) role or prominence of an individual historical actor or the significance of an institution, a phenomenon or a place. Since they constitute a characteristic feature of historiography, the multiple functions of alternative realisations of appositives, especially of those given in parentheses, are dealt with in a separate section at the end of this chapter.

It is impossible to fully understand the (evaluative) function of postmodification without directing the attention to the head noun phrase. Therefore, the most relevant targets of elaboration, clarification, characterization, evaluation need to be identified before attempting to establish a relationship between these targets and postmodification choices available to the historian.

Methodology

In order to cover a wide range (viz. a representative amount) of nominal postmodification, it was decided to extract non-restrictive clauses from the POS tagged corpus with the help of regular expressions. The data considered in this procedure had to meet two criteria: The first criterion established for extraction required that the postmodifying unit had to be delimited by

punctuation marks. The second, included the parameters for defining the respective heads preceding the comma as being either *mass* and *singular nouns* (sg./pl.), *proper nouns* (sg./pl.), or *wh-pronouns*. Once the corpus enquiry was completed, the data was processed manually by concordancing to eliminate instances with non-postmodifying functions.

6.2 *-ing* postmodification

The corpus features 1,141 tokens (280 types) of *non-restrictive clauses* introduced by '-ing' that meet the criteria above. It becomes apparent from the type count that the formal realisations are relatively varied. Thus, in order to establish an empirical basis on which to carry out more detailed investigations, it was decided to first classify the formal *-ing postmodification* realisations into eight broad functional groups. These groups were loosely constructed around Biber et al.'s (1999: 742f.) functional division of verb classes and further expanded and enhanced with regard to the genre-specific usage possibilities in historiography. Table 10 provides an overview of the function, typical realisations and their occurrence in the corpus.

Table 10. Functional groups *-ing* postmodification

primary function	realisations	type count
(A) specifying composition	*including, consisting, containing, comprising, amounting to, exceeding…*	106
(B) specifying denotation	*representing, signifying, meaning…*	19
(C) clarifying relation	*belonging to, differing from/in...*	14
(D) disclosing intentions	*allowing, permitting, ordering, demanding…*	21
(E) conceiving perception/cognition	*seeing, looking, dreading, fearing…*	68
(F) indexing consequences	*arising, causing, originating, foreseeing…*	31
(G) specifying actions	*standing, killing, writing, saying, living…*	347
(H) relational & existential	*being, having*	135

(A) specifying composition

It appears to be essential for history writers to report on the aggregate of material entities or to supply more specific numerical/quantitative information on the composition of particular groups (81) - (83) (cf. also CH.7.2):

(81) *the French artillery*, **consisting** of eight or ten field pieces, galled them severely (Duff)

(82) *the tithe was an amount*, **comprising** 10 % of the annual produce of agriculture, considered proper payment for the support of the clergy (Millar)

(83) *the private estates of the late king James*, **containing** ninety-five thousand acres, worth twenty-fife thousand nine hundred and ninety-five pounds (Curry)

Alternatively, the information provided post-nominally comprises a meronymic element either for illustrative purposes or, as shown in example (84) below, for the (re)introduction of sources that are not only marked as historically relevant (definite article "the" + specific date "of 1788") but are also connected to an explicit act of negative evaluation ("terrible"):

(84) *Most of these documents*, **including** the terrible report of 1788, will be found in Stevens 'Inquiry into the Abuses of the Chartered Schools' (Lecky)

It is not surprising that this postmodification type frequently collocates with heads belonging to the military domain, such as fleet, army, garrison, banners of arms…etc., as it enables authors to express their assessment of military strength (retrospectively) in terms of more-or-less concrete specification of numbers or configurations. In addition to simply elaborating on the exact composition, postmodification of this type allows for marking extraordinary or non-normative conditions which stress the wide scope ("exceeding", "extending"):

(85) *The creation of a large, powerful, and active sect*, **extending** over both hemispheres and numbering many millions of souls, was but one of its consequences (Lecky)

(86) that *the Forces in Ireland*, **exceeding** Twelve Thousand Men (the Officers included), be likewise forthwith Disbanded (Boyer)

By presenting the scope as remarkably broad - relative to what might be expected - the evaluation is subtly incorporated into the postmodifying parenthetical construction.

(B) specifying denotation

Contrary to expectations, historians do not use many of these -ing clause modifiers, which mainly function to unambiguously identify or denote the head noun. It seems as if the authors prefer appositive noun phrases and relative clauses to the reduced, fairly concise -ing clauses.

(87) *Crowds of Cromwellian soldiers*, **representing** the full average of English energy and intelligence, had been settled on the confiscated lands (Lecky)

(88) which they said were true according to *philosophy*, **meaning** that of Aristotle, but not according to the Catholic faith (Priestley)

(89) likewise of the good Qualities of *the Gentlewoman*, **meaning** the Lady Anne, whom the King had signified his Inclinations, after his Divorce from Queen Katharine (Strype)

Postmodifications which are introduced by the 'signifying' function almost exclusively to provide an English translation e.g. of Indian or Greek expressions ("dewa and dewata, signifying divinities in that great mother-tongue, …" - Marsden). In this manner, this postmodification strategy rather aims at improving understandability more than it serves the purpose of identifying the head or its specific contextual/situational role.

(C) clarifying relation

When it comes to establishing a way of assigning historical actors and entities to a specific (geographical) location, a (social) group, party, or worldview, historiographers have the option to either explicitly connect the two concepts or to mark their diversities:

(90) Bulwunt Rao took *Ouscotta*, **belonging** to the Nabob of Kurpa, and Moolwaukil was given up (Duff)

(91) living in the midst of *a degraded population*, **differing** from him (a Protestant landlord) in religion and race, had but little attraction (Lecky)

Compared to the other functional groups, the combined occurrences are rather marginal.

(D) disclosing intentions

Postmodification in this category is concerned with what is classified as 'verbal activity'. Verbs subsumed express the head's intentions in a distinctly marked manner. A compositional strategy can be found in clauses controlled by types which can be subsumed under the functional description of 'agreement' or 'approval' (*allowing, permitting, disagreeing*…). It becomes apparent that the process of authorization is primarily connected to non-human heads.

(92) The bringing in of bullion was encouraged by a *treaty of commerce with the Swedes*, **allowing** them to export English commodities without custom, and the Mint being set to work for coining pieces (Carte)

(93) And the prejudices still remained so strong, that *the law*, **permitting** interest, was repealed in the following reign (Hume)

(E) conceiving perception/cognition

It seemed important to separate the description of verbs that have to do with sensations in the broadest sense from other instances. Even though this category is dominated by *seeing* used predominantly in a metaphorical sense, the realisations accumulated in this group give some indication of the historians' attempts to create a sense of immediacy by visualising their historical characters' alleged emotional/perceptional reactions.

(94) *Prince Lewis of Baden*, **fearing** he should been closed by the enemy, made haste to decamp (C. Macaulay)

(95) *This prince*, **perceiving** he was closely pursued, took shelter (Hasted)

In the same manner cognitive processes (*thinking, knowing*) are often used to modify historical actors so as to provide a justification for their respective behaviour.

(96) And now *the preachers*, **thinking** they had got an army of saints, seem'd well assur'd of success (Kimber)

(97) *The queen*, **knowing** his motives, could not help believing his protestations (Smollett)

(F) indexing consequences

The constituents of the present functional group modify the head predominantly by adding information about its own emergence or the consequences of its actions. It appears as if this strategy is often used when the historiographer tries to emphasise the exceptionality of a seemingly ordinary head. Since this supplementary information is needed for a proper understanding of a phenomenon as spatio-temporally embedded, it can be used for the (implicitly) evaluation of the respective head noun as historically significant.

(98) *The changes in the state of landed property*, **arising** from the completion of the feudal system, in the reign of William the first, were necessarily attended with correspondent alterations in the constitution (Millar)

It is remarkable that one out of four of the head nouns that is postmodified by a non-restrictive clause introduced by *arising*, is either premodified by attitudinal adjectives that are rather negatively charged (e.g. *disorderly, incalculable*), or can itself be considered to have negative polarity (e.g. *danger, stagnation, restraint*).

A further point is that characters' premonitions (*anticipating*, *foreseeing*…) are closely linked to a reflection or weighing of the consequences. Similar to some of the verbs of sensory expressions, verbs signalling anticipation are being used to explain/justify a character's (change of) behaviour:

(99) *Sadler*, **foreseeing** the consequence of this refusal, sent a summons to all those who had been prisoners in England (Hume)

(G) specifying actions

The largest category comprises verbs that range from ordinary activities (e.g. st*anding, going, calling*…) to more specialised actions (e.g. *fighting, killing, attacking*…). Within this group, one encounters the description of fairly specific "material" processes (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 224f.) in which the participants are involved. This highly differentiated spectrum of use is reflected in the fact that the group comprises 202 types.

(100) *An Oxonian*, **writing** a few months after the death of Charles the Second, complained bitterly not only that the country attorney and the country apothecary looked down with disdain on the country clergyman (Macaulay)

(101) In the mean time, king Edmund, **passing** the Thames with his army, marched after Canute through Surry into Kent (Hasted)

(H) relational & existential

The last functional group covers *being* and *having*, realising relational and existential clauses. They provide the historian with a means of establishing a relationship "between two separate entities" (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 261). Postmodification attested in the corpus serves to specify, for instance, the exact date/day (*date + being [the first of September/a Sunday/Easter Tuesday...etc.]*)

(102) *April 23*, **being** St George 's Day, the king's grace went a procession at Whitehall through the hall (Strype)

or to draw attention to the (special) status of historical personae (*being the eldest son of his brother, being the Emperors lieutenant*... etc.), or to that of inanimate heads (*being the most solid foundation, being the richest part of the province*). A frequent collocation pattern, worth highlighting, is the complementing construction *of + NP* (*being of a retired disposition*). The construction, preceded by a noun or verb phrase, functions primarily to attribute the postmodified head (*being the government of the most numerous and powerful class, being a third part of a whole...*). The verb *have* is almost always used as an auxiliary verb. Kimber's extract features one of the rare occurrences in which the verb signals inert or static possession.

(103) *The Scots* [...], follow'd them close; and falling upon the rear-guard of horse in the night, **having** the advantage of a clear moon, beat them up to the rear-guard of foot (Kimber)

Major heads modified by non-restrictive *-ing* clauses

Once the postmodification types had been allocated into the functional categories, it seemed logical to determine the authorial or conventional preferences for the targets of this type of elaboration. For that purpose, the study concentrated on those noun phrases that were modified at least twice.[74] The resulting inventory of semantic superordinate categories resulted from the mapping of the 151 most frequently modified noun phrases onto ten semantic groups. This set of categories represents recurring themes in LModE historiographical discourse.

1. NOBILITY
2. CLERGY
3. MILITARY
4. INSTITUTIONS
5. GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATIONS/NATIONAL ENTITIES
6. HISTORICAL PROTAGONISTS
7. ANNOUNCEMENTS/DOCUMENTS
8. NONSPECIFIC ACTORS
9. TEMPORAL EXPRESSIONS
10. OTHER NOUNS.

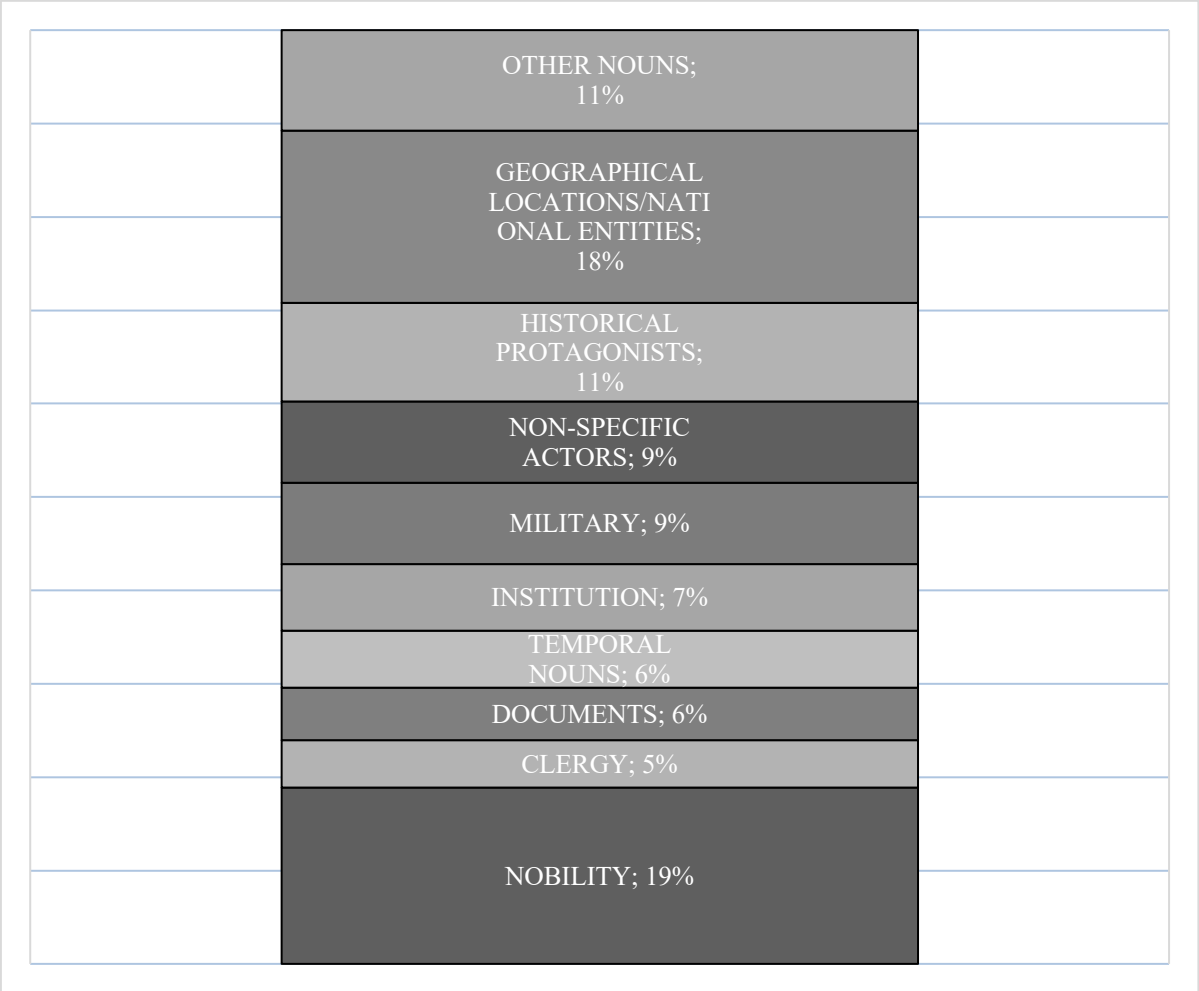
The first semantic category (NOBILITY) includes kings and queens, their relatives, aristocratic titles and honorifics (*king, Henry, prince, Elizabeth, earl, majesty*…). The second section (CLERGY) encompasses nouns such as *church, pope, bishop, Catholics, priest etc.* All nouns related to the semantic field of military matters, for instance, *army, garrison, fleet, general, war, forces etc*. are subsumed under MILITARY. INSTITUTIONS was chosen to cover legislature and judicature in the broadest sense (*parties, government, parliament, (general) assembly, (house of) commons, council, commission, court*…) as well as institutionalised/depersonalised polity (*state, kingdom*…). The semantic category GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATIONS/NATIONAL ENTITIES contains tribes and nationalities (*Saxons, Danes, Angles, Greeks*…) along with countries and cities (*Bavaria, Scotland, England, London, Rome*). The semantic category HISTORICAL PROTAGONISTS was created to capture those prominent characters who recur frequently in historiographical accounts (*Romulus, Cromwell, Constantine, Hartgyl*…). It may indeed be argued that some actors in this group could also be classified into the first category, NOBILITY. However, the subdivision helps to identify those specific postmodification patterns that indicate social status. Furthermore, human agents who are presented as generic (*men, others, people, citizens, landlord*) are classified as belonging to the semantic category of NON-SPECIFIC ACTORS. Noun phrases with heads such as *orders, proclamations, articles, declarations, letters etc.* were

[74] This was done to account for the large number of individual NPs (774 items in total).

allocated into ANNOUNCEMENTS/DOCUMENTS. Not surprisingly, the data for this historiographical text types contained an array of items that revolved around the concept of time. These heads (*day, age, time, April, year*) are subsumed under TEMPORAL NOUNS. The last semantic group, OTHER NOUNS, includes nouns that could not be assigned to any of the established semantic categories (*power, revenue, circumstance, trade, ceremony, death, debt, manner, pretensions, purpose etc.*).

Figure 22 shows the relative extent of the semantic categories expressed as a percentage.

Figure 22. Relative distribution of semantic categories



The results reflect the historians' tendency to use -ing clauses mainly to modify heads referring to actors with higher social status and to geographical or national entities. Given this distribution, it is interesting to examine the ways in which the resources of the functional postmodification categories map onto the respective semantic head groups. Listed below are the categories with their respective most frequent post-modifying items, presented in hierarchical order (from most to least frequent).

NOBILITY - *dreading, finding, knowing, observing, seeing, thinking, appointing, apprehending, coming, condemning, consisting, disliking, endeavouring, admitting*

CLERGY - *arising, including, representing, observing, perceiving, despairing, living, passing*

MILITARY - *consisting, affirming, alleging, amounting, attributing, bearing, bending, confiding, countermanding, covering, entering, exceeding, fearing, finding*

INSTITUTIONS - *containing, alleging, amounting, calling, carrying, complying, considering, dissolving, expressing, fearing, finding, including, laying, longing, objecting, receiving, taking*

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATIONS/NATIONAL ENTITIES - *growing, imagining, including, advising, standing, coming, comprising, pursuing, yielding, abandoning, abounding, acquiring, amounting, arising, attacking, concerning, considering, containing, denying, finding, forgetting, happening, inhabiting*

ANNOUNCEMENTS/DOCUMENTS - *containing, forbidding, ordering, prohibiting, requiring, affirming, bearing, casting, establishing, exhorting, offering, opening, pressing, respecting, testifying, touching, warning*

NON-SPECIFIC ACTORS - *feeling, living, abhorring, acting, carrying, coming, comprehending, consisting, disliking, excepting, exerting, finding, flourishing, loving, meaning, pressing, reflecting, taking, walking*

TEMPORAL EXPRESSIONS – *being*

OTHER NOUNS - *amounting, abrogating, abusing, alleging, arising, attending, blossoming, comprising, confining, constraining, containing, convincing, differing, excepting, groaning, including, permitting, pretending, producing, representing, running, subsisting, tending, trifling*

The noun phrases comprised in the NOBILITY group show a strong preference for -ing postmodification controlled by primary verbs (H), as well as for verbs realising the function of conceiving perception (E) (*dreading, finding, knowing, observing, seeing, thinking*...). In addition, NOBILITY is modified by postmodifiers that function to specify actions (G) and disclosing intentions (D). These findings suggest that the historical relevance of the characters who are typically at the centre of history writing is justified by elaborating their concrete actions/intentions and, occasionally, by psychologising their perceptions.

The CLERGY group is preferably modified by clauses that serve primarily to *index consequences* (F) and those that function to *clarify relation* (C). These relational preferences seem to support the assumption that the linguistic choices of historiographers dealing with components of this semantic group are informed by a rather anti-clerical sentiment.

Head nouns subsumed under MILITARY co-occur predominantly with postmodifying -ing clauses which function to *specify composition* (A). This is by no means surprising, as some historians tend to use descriptions of the size/composition of military units, e.g. to mark their decisive role in the outcome or operative conduct of a conflict (cf. CH.7.2).

Apart from a preference for clauses controlled by *primary verbs* (H), the head noun phrases belonging to INSTITUTIONS often co-occur with clauses controlled by verbs that *specify composition* (A) and with those that *specify actions* (G). The group GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATIONS/NATIONAL ENTITIES is strongly attracted to clauses that mainly function to *specify composition* (A) and to those that *specify actions* (G). Here, the focus on growth and dynamic actions (*growing/arising/attacking/coming etc.*) appears to be constitutive for the process of construing historical relevance. Verbs that introduce -ing clauses modifying ANNOUNCEMENTS/DOCUMENTS show a strong tendency towards the function of *disclosing intentions* (D). As already mentioned above, it is the subjectless document whose relevance is predominantly related to its vital role in maintaining social order at the a micro or macrolevel (*forbidding, ordering, affirming, exhorting etc.*). Generic human agents, grouped together as NON-SPECIFIC ACTORS, are frequently modified via *primary verbs* (H) and verbs that aim to *conceive perception* (E). Particularly striking is the occurrence with verbs such as *feeling, abhorring, disliking* and *loving*, commonly employed in processes of evaluative meaning construction. In the data TEMPORAL EXPRESSIONS are only clarified through postmodifying -ing clauses controlled by "being" (H). It is hardly surprising that the OTHER NOUNS group displays the greatest variety of -ing postmodification verbs. Given that this group is predominantly comprised of abstract and process nouns, the attested close association with verbs functioning to *specifying actions* (G) as a means to explicate their respective historical weight can be considered to index an unmarked choice.

Having established the preferences of the semantic groups for particular *-ing* postmodification functions in the data, the next subsections broaden the discussion by including complementary evaluative configurations for construing historical significance, manifested in postmodifying constructions controlled by different *relativizers*.

6.3 *wh*-adverbs (*where/when*)

As is well known, the relative adverb *where* commonly refers to physical locations (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 626). Thus, it is not at all surprising that the most frequently modified heads refer to locations, widely accepted as places of historical relevance (*France* 10, *London* 10, *England* 8, *Rome*, 8, *Normandy* 5, *Constantinople* 2, *Flanders* 2). There are, however, heads that are

'made' historically significant by adding complementary/connective information that underlines their importance within the historical narrative. One example to illustrate this is the narrative embedding of the "isle of Thanet". Once the three historians Edward Hasted, John Adams and Robert Henry add postnominal information about the strategic exploitation of this former island[75] as a base, they make the reader aware of the place's historical significance.

(104) a party of Danes took possession of *the isle of Thanet*, **where** they continued several years, which was the first attempt they made to settle in England (Henry)

(105) these robbers threw themselves into *the isle of Thanet*, **where** they wintered, and subsisted themselves by the incursions (Hasted)

(106) they advanced from *the isle of Thanet*, **where** they had stationed themselves, and burnt the cities of London and Canterbury. (Adams)

What is more, the recurring pattern [*head noun* + *COMMA* + *where* + *pronoun*] in the examples above is typical for the majority of non-restricted postmodification introduced by *where* (cf. frequencies in Table 11).

Table 11. *where* bigrams

bigrams	
105	**where** he
77	**where** the
54	**where** they
14	**where** his
14	**where** she
10	**where** it

This pattern could be explained with the historiographers' tendency to establish a connection between the place head noun and the anaphorically placed subject of the main clause. It is also noteworthy that in the majority of cases the place-denoting head noun is devoid of adjectival premodification.

Considering the 59 cases in which *when* is separated by a comma, the patterns determined by the analysis of the most frequent bigrams initially seem to reveal a rather unsurprising picture, as the *phasing of events* is to be expected in historiographic discourse (cf. Martin 2003). However, a closer examination of the six most frequently used patterns points to the tendency to modify primarily specific years, and even seasons or days, as head nouns (Table 12). Here,

[75] Formerly detached from the mainland, the district is geographically located at the easternmost point of Kent in the United Kingdom.

the postmodification by 'when' introduces a more precise temporal (re)location. The reader is thus reminded exactly why the time or the date presented has relevance to the narrative.

Table 12. most frequent *when* bigram patterns

bigrams	
16	*in* [+ year], **when**
7	*in A.D.*[+ year], **when**
7	[month]+[day], **when**
6	year [+year], **when**
4	in the [+season] of [+year], **when**
2	c./about [+year], **when**

Seeley's reference to the different circumstances that still prevailed in 1669 is aligned with his evaluation of the untimely, unplanned actions and eventual failure of James II in (107). A mere reference to the unmodified year probably would not have been sufficient to show its relevance.

(107) [James II.] seems to have no policy adapted to the special emergency, but to abide by the policy which his brother had originally devised *in 1669*, **when** all the circumstances were different, and had fallen back upon again in 1681 simply because he could not help it. (Seeley)

In extract (108) too, *when* serves to relate the year to an elaborative element of information. The year is relevant because the reader is made aware of the special nature of the event that is taking place at that particular point in time.

(108) In the dangers of Robert's invasion *in A.D. 1101*, **when** the count of Meulan, alone among the great men, kept faith, Anselm with the clergy and people adhered firmly to the king. (Stubbs)

More concrete is example (109): Henry describes the relatively precise time at which the armies meet. He combines the exact date with the description of the meeting with the effect that his readers are made aware of the dramatic nature of the situation.

(109) On *July 20*, **when** the two armies were in sight of each other, the Earl of Worcester sent a kind of manifesto to Henry (Henry)

In Extract (110), postmodification also serves to offer the reader a placement within Gardiner's account. The early summer is construed as historically relevant by the fact that the siege is coming to an end.

(110) In the early *summer of 1644*, **when** the siege of Gravelines was drawing to an end, Mazarin launched Enghien to the succour of Turenne (Gardiner)

In (111), it does not seem to be important at what exact point in his career Conde had been, but it is important for Seeley to link this phase of Conde's life with England's preoccupation with the Civil War. This temporal linking of events allows the historian, when describing the emerging civil war in France at a later point in time, to implicitly impute a knowledge advantage to his historical character.

(111) *About 1644*, **when** Conde was at the opening of his career, England was absorbed and paralysed by civil war (Seeley)

Summarising the findings, it can be claimed that *when* is likely used whenever the reader needs to be told why a particular setting in time is historically significant. Especially with events that extend over several phases (e.g. *siege, negotiation, attack, conquest*), the additional information post-nominally helps to bridge larger periods of time (cf. Martin 2003). The reader is thus enabled to quickly adapt to changes in the spatial and temporal setting. This assumption is supported by the high occurrence of years (and less of concrete points in time) as head.

6.4 *wh*-pronouns

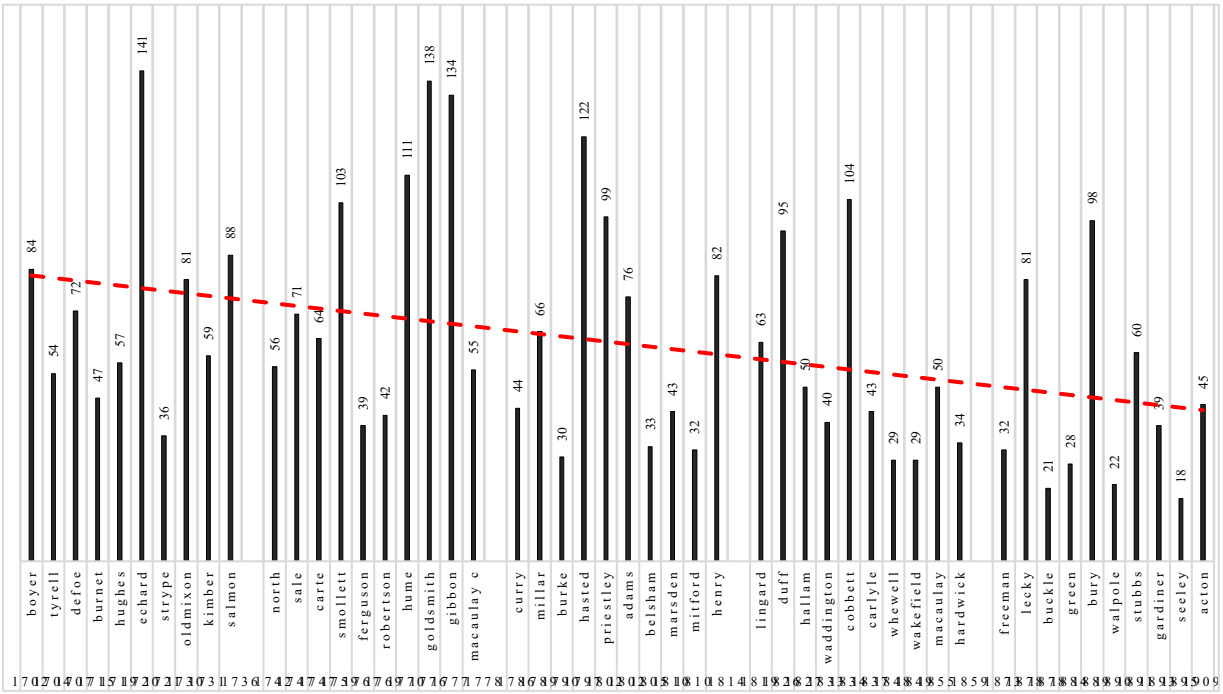
Since historians are constantly confronted with the problem of "ordering the past" (Cannon 1980: 2), recognising and abandoning the irrelevant, and in order to justify their final selection from the vast accumulation of historical material and evidence, they need to make the reader aware of the important/essential role of the individual historical actor within their respective narratives. This can be done, as shown above, by embedding additional information within *non-restricted relative clauses*, as this strategy gives the author the opportunity to explicitly specify actions and compounds, for example. In the case of *wh-pronoun postmodification*, however, they open another layer of evaluation: The nuanced positioning of the historical agent. Similar to appositive constructions, non-restrictive relative clauses (*who, whose, whom*) primarily function to provide information about the animate antecedent. In contrast to adjectival premodification, the number of elaborating/evaluating descriptions placed post-nominally commonly exceed two lexical items.[76] Consequently, they allow for longer strings of constituents.

Interestingly, *wh*-pronouns make up 0.13 percent of Diller et al.'s (2011) *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts* (CLMET 3.0 red.), whereas we find 0.22 percent within the historiographical corpus (CLMEH). This difference in percentage is far too small for it to be

[76] The mean value of all occurrences across the corpus data amounts to as many as 8.87 words per non-restrictive wh-pronoun clause.

regarded as indirect evidence for a genre-preferential use of *wh*-pronouns. Nevertheless, it can tentatively be regarded as an indication for the fact that historiographical discourse is characterised by detailed depictions of human actors' personalities and actions.

Figure 23. wh-pronouns non-restrictive (*raw figures*)



Examining the distribution of the wh-pronouns across the corpus, the historians Echard, Goldsmith and Gibbon stand out as using considerably more wh-pronouns (cf. Figure 23). This could be explained by the subject matter their works deal with: Several parts of the corpus data collected from Echard's work, for instance, concentrate on the Saxon period. More specifically, a range of chapters deal with the *Destruction of Britain by the Saxons and the new Establishment made by King Egbert, who became the first supreme Monarch of England*. It appears as if Echard felt the need to add elaborating, descriptive information to clearly specify the historical relevance of a number of characters who so far removed in time from his readers (and who therefore cannot be assumed to be known).

(112) But Sigebert, the Brother of Eorpwald, *a most learned and pious Man*, **who** had been taught the Christian Religion during his Exile in France, now succeeding in this Kingdom, he instructed his People in the Faith by the Preaching and Labours (Echard)

Oliver Goldsmith's historical compilation[77], which begins with the pre-Roman Britons and ends with George II., features a similar signposting strategy. Throughout his narrative, several historical actors are comprehensively characterised through non-restrictive who-pronoun clauses. This finding, too, could be seen as supporting the argument that this postnominal 'information co-ordination strategy' is preferably used either in those historical accounts in which lesser-known characters appear, or in those text in which the historian strives for a (re-) evaluation of the historical significance of the actors.

At the other end of the spectrum, the few instances found in Henry Thomas Buckle's data reflect his tendency to primarily embed additional information in order to evaluate his sources as knowledgeable/reliable, while simultaneously assessing their subsequent, quoted contribution as historically relevant.

(113) *Turner*, **who** travelled in 1783 through the north-east of Bengal, says: "…" (Buckle)

(114) *Diodorus*, **who**, though an honest and painstaking man, was in every respect inferior to Herodotus, says, "…" (Buckle)

(115) *Mr. Darwin*, **who** has written one of the most valuable works ever published on South America, was struck by this superiority of the eastern coast; and he mentions that… (Buckle)

A finding that can be seen as salient in the field of historiography concerns two recurring phraseological patterns. In the analysis of the most frequent 3-grams, the two collocation sequences "who was then" (21 hits) and "who was now" (12 hits) stood out. Both adverbs assume a deictic function and refer either to an unspecified moment in the past (*then*) or to a specific point in the time in the narration (*now*). The contrast evoked between the present and the two temporal markers primarily serves to divide events into phases (on *temporal phasing*, see Martin & Rose 2008; Martin 2003). Here, the marked reference to the chronology of the account could be regarded as contributing to a sense of historical development and change in the historical characters. The immediacy is further enhanced by post-head modifier constructions, such as "who but just now/before".

(116) John, **who** but just now saw himself in the career of victory, upon the landing of the French army was stopped all of a sudden, and found himself blasted in his revenge and ambition. (Goldsmith)

Aside from this, wh-pronoun postmodifiers comprise markers of explicit evaluation throughout the corpus, realised mainly as graduation devices and superlatives: They all contribute to

[77] Goldsmith's *History of England, from the earliest times to the death of George the Second* was recognised by later scholars for its balanced and unbiased account. Surprisingly, the "*History*" was criticised mainly for being too concise (Irving 1849: 249).

unambiguously marking the relevance of the historical agents' actions and/or to accentuating their unique characteristics.

(117) Canute the Great, **who** was the richest and most magnificent prince in Europe of his time, never appeared in public, nor made any journey (Adams)

(118) Offa was succeeded in his Kingdom by his Son Egferth, **who** being a Prince of great Worth, had been crown 'd King in his Father 's Time, nine Years before (Echard)

(119) The Praetorian bands, **whose** licentious fury was the first symptom and cause of the decline of the Roman empire, scarcely amounted to the last-mentioned number (Gibbon)

Occasionally, the author's explicit 'guidance' becomes transparent in those postmodification patterns that feature an inclusive "we" (25 hits).

(120) The next enemy was Roger of Toesny, **whom** *we* have already heard of as a premature Crusader, the savage foe of the Infidels of Spain. (Freeman)

(121) this invention (bank notes) (…) has cost ten times (…) the blood that was shed in the reign of her, **whom** *we* still have the injustice, or the folly, to call the "bloody Queen Mary" (Cobbett)

After the discussion of a selection of characteristic structures of wh-pronoun postmodification, it is worthwhile to look at the most frequent head nouns which are modified by a non-restrictive relative clause with an animate head (Table 13).

Table 13. Head nouns

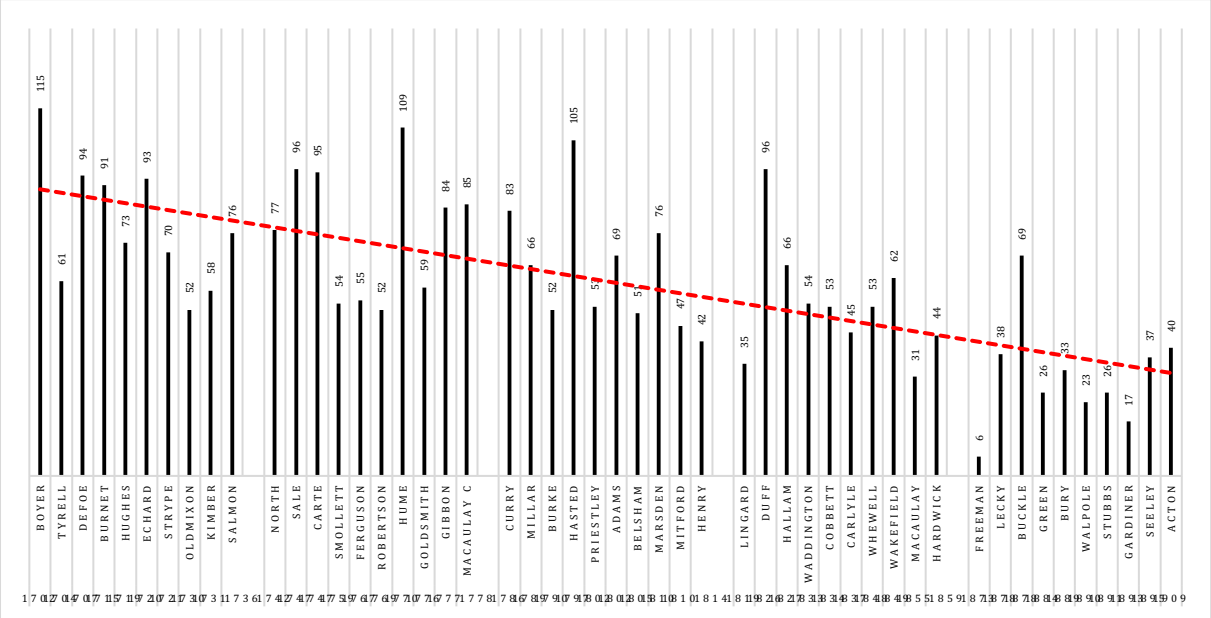
head nouns (raw frequencies)			
56	people	13	queen
45	king	12	bishop
34	men	12	enemy
29	party	12	Gardiner
23	man	12	house
21	pope	12	John
18	clergy	11	Danes
17	England	11	father
17	France	11	Philip
17	prince	11	Robert
17	son	10	brother
16	Richard	10	church
16	Saxons	10	emperor
15	Henry	10	enemies
15	officers	10	general
14	barons	10	monks
14	nation	10	person
14	persons	10	princes
13	Cromwell		
13	others		

What is noticeable is the high frequency of heads with indefinite designation belonging to the semantic group of NON-SPECIFIC ACTORS (*people, men, persons*) and that of the main protagonists of condensed historiographical narratives dealing with what Bentley (2005: 191) characterises as, "the Regnal years" (i.e. works that usually carry a title such as "*A history of England from … to …* "), which became popular in the mid-nineteenth century.

6.5 Which/that relativizers

This section begins with a visual representation of the distribution of the postnominal relativizers *which* and *that*. The corpus contains a total of 2,967 instances of non-restrictive relative clauses introduced by *which/that relativizers* (860 *that*, 2,107 *which*).

Figure 24. which/that-relativizers non-restrictive



Comparing the first epochs with the one that produced more scientifically/academically informed historiographical works (from Freeman until Acton), the historians of the first epoch use more than twice as many relativizers (an average of 8 compared to an average of 31, cf. Figure 24). This steady decline of elaborating clauses could be explained, at least in part, by a shift towards a more circumscribed and thus more knowledgeable professional target audience (cf. Hesketh 2011a). Of greater influence, however, may be a development documented in a study by Biber and Clark (2002). Tracing historical shifts in modification patterns, they

conclude that one of the main consequences of these shifts "is the development of a much more compressed style of presentation which is, at the same time, less explicit in the expression of relational meaning" (Biber & Clark 2002: 62f.). Biber and Clark propose a ranking of nominal modifiers along a cline, with premodifiers constituting the "compressed" end of the continuum, whereas relative clauses, which are considered "expanded expressions", constitute the other end (2002: 63). Furthermore, the authors claim that relative clauses are "much more explicit about the intended meaning relationship" (2002: 63).

Examining the targets of *which/that* relativizers postmodification, it becomes apparent that the most frequent head nouns in need of elaboration can be subsumed under the semantic categories MILITARY, CLERGY, NOBILITY and INSTITUTIONS established above. More remarkable, however, is the postmodification of 'TIME noun phrases', which is used either to specify the exact time, in (122), relative to that of the narrated story or to implement a metacommentary (123).

(122) Gilbert of Nogent says that, *in his time*, **which** was a century before, the church did not assert it (Priestley)

(123) or wait for *the time*, **which** everybody thought to be near at hand, when Lord Howick would be in power (Wakefield)

Table14. Head nouns - raw frequencies

head nouns (raw frequencies)	
22	army
19	religion
18	time
17	(Church/monarchy/manners of) England
17	parliament
16	power
16	war
15	country
14	government
14	men
13	crown
12	kingdom
11	church

Emerging patterns

One way of establishing the key purposes attributed to 'postmodification via relativizers' is to take into account the frequently used lexical patterns embedded in the postmodifying clause. In order to trace these patterns, it was decided to capture 3-grams (extracted only from postmodification clauses), as they allow for a rather restricted range of characteristic sequences (cf. e.g. Sinclair 2004; Hunston 2011).

Table 15. 3-grams in the postmodification clause

3-grams (raw frequencies)			
13	one of the	6	of the king
13	the name of	6	of the most
10	to have been	6	of the two
8	he could not	6	part of the
8	of the church	6	the court of
8	out of the	6	the duke of
7	in the year	6	the queen s
7	of all the	5	a part of
7	the foundation of	5	as well as
7	the reign of	5	could not be
7	to the crown	5	for some time
6	at that time		

These multi-word sequences listed in Table 15, turned out to be either highly formulaic and/or reflective of a particular text-specific function. The most frequent patterns identified in clauses introduced by the postmodifiers *which* or *that* feature elaborations indicating the outstanding significance of the head (e.g. *one of the* + *[most/greatest/handsomest/two great]*), or specifying the name of an event/phenomenon (e.g. *[went by/under]* / *[was given]* + *the name of*). Another pattern provides references to specific moments in the past (e.g. *in the year; [during/before] the close of* + *the reign of; at that time*) or marks a confined period (*for some time*).

6.6 Apposition

Appositive noun phrases represent yet another type of postmodification that is highly relevant for the signalling of historical significance, since they allow for the integration of new (or at

least partially new) information into the more specific second unit of the apposition (Meyer 1992: 6). Apposition constitutes what Halliday and Hassan refer to as an "additive" relation (1976: 244f.) in that it adds, for instance, new or clarifying information and thus influences the interpretation of the first unit. What is considered even more relevant is Halliday and Matthiessen's classification, which, beyond the abovementioned basic embedding of information, suggests that the elaborating secondary group/phrase "may restate or particularize; restatements include naming, explanatory glossing and shifts in perspective" (2014: 560). Particularly, 'shifting perspective by restatement' could be regarded as a valuable strategy used by historians for the purpose of a re-evaluation of the first unit's (assumed) meaning. This means that a historical character or event can even be 'loaded' with evaluative meaning which runs contrary to readers' initial expectations. One could thus argue that the interplay of the two phenomena – co-text and word-meaning – is central to establishing the evaluative potential of apposition. Therefore, in line with Sinclair's (2003) concept of "semantic reversal", the present study assumes that co-text imposes meaning on a word.

Meyer (1992: 136f.), in his comprehensive work on apposition in English, provides a list of 78 syntactic forms (ranging from 'NP + NP in appositional position' to 'verb-complement constructions'). While it would be interesting to examine the whole variety of appositive constructions in history writing, this section will limit itself to one structure which is commonly deployed across different text-types. For the extraction of appositive postmodification from the data, the study therefore reduces the scope to appositions containing proper nouns.[78] In this way, it can be shown, for instance, in which way historical actors are linked to social roles or how past events are spatiotemporally situated and/or further specified. The historiographers' decision to use nominal apposition is evidently related to the marking of historical significance, as it also construes and makes transparent the respective meaning of the subject in focus. Since the flow of reading is (deliberately) interrupted to supply (additional/explanatory/ new/evaluative) information, the second constituent (i.e. the preceding noun phrase) is loaded with historical importance in the process of reassessment.

The design for the current analysis combined a variety of possible syntactic forms[79], including both singular and plural head nouns and in addition a number of possible pre-modifiers of the respective appositive, resulting in the following coding: *(NP/NN) [sg/pl]*

[78] The central role of proper nouns is conclusively evidenced by Meyer's (1992) research: Apposition of proper noun phrases figured prominently in nominal appositions within the corpora examined in his study (Brown, LLC, SEU), while other types of nominal appositions (e.g. common NPs, pronouns) occurred much less frequently (Meyer 1992: 12).

[79] The selection of the exact syntactic characteristics was based on by Meyer's (1992: 12) findings and on samples drawn from the CLMEH.

COMMA (dt) (adj) (adv) (verb be gerund) (NP/NN) [sg/pl]. This structure of appositives has been shown to describe "the role or importance of an individual person, place, or institution" in newspaper and scientific discourse (Biber & Gray 2016: 119).

Out of the eight semantic classes proposed by Meyer (1992: 74)[80], those appositions were selected for the classification of the results of the corpus analysis which are supposed to depict the way in which the second unit of an apposition specifies the interpretation of the first unit.

Apposition and the class of identification

In what is attested the most common semantic class, "identification", the second, more specific unit identifies the referent of the first unit (Meyer 1992: 74f., see also Quirk et al. 1985: 1309). Their semantic relation is either "coreferential", in that it indicates "a close connection between the meaning of the units and the external world that they refer to", or the first unit refers cataphorically to the second unit (Meyer 1992: 74f). The latter occurs in those appositions in which the first unit is a noun phrase and the second unit a clause or sentence (Meyer 1992: 64). Optional markers of apposition[81], *namely* and *that is (to say)* may be inserted if the apposition is a non-restrictive one (Meyer 1992: 74).

(124) there were subordinate to him at that time in Britain three different courts, or departments, under the direction of *three principal officers*, <u>namely</u>, ***the Commes Britanniarum***, or **Count of Britain**; ***the Dux Britanniarum***, or **Duke of Britain**; and ***the Comes Littoris Saxonici***, or **Count of the Saxon Shore**. (Hasted)

The example above (124) even displays a double appositive postmodification: one is the Latin original terms (which provide a more precise description of the "principal officers"), the other is their English translation.

Apposition and the classes of appellation and characterisation

Meyer makes a valid point when he declares the act of "naming" to be an important communicative act, especially in written discourse (1992: 76). The two semantic classes I merged into one cover precisely this act. Appositions in these classes consist of two noun phrases, one of which is a proper noun. The respective other unit is either coreferential or attributively related. In the latter case, the units can optionally be linked via a relative pronoun

[80] Meyer redefines the semantic (sub)types (*equivalence*, *attribution*, *inclusion*) postulated by Quirk et al. (1985: 1308-1316) and extends them by adding classes of his own to account for a greater variety of semantic relationships (1992: 74).
[81] Biber et al. (1999: 1309) refer to these markers simply as "indicators" or "optional relator".

followed by a form of the verb *be* (Meyer 1992: 76, 78). The appositions in the following examples (42+43) illustrate these compositional strategies frequently used in historiography.

(125) …attended by *his Brother*, **the Lord Edward Bruce**, with a powerful army (Tyrell)

(126) *Her husband,* **PHILIP**, whose *father*, **the Emperor**, had now retired to a… (Cobbett)

In example (125), king Robert's brother is named in the second unit, along with his prefixed honorific that precedes him as an obvious reference to his higher rank. In (126), Cobbett not only reminds the reader of the Christian name of Elisabeth Tudor's husband, but also relates him to his father, who is characterised as "the Emperor" in the second appositive unit. Somewhat similarly, apposition in the following examples represent a spectrum typical for history writing, for it trenchantly reflects the historiographers' urge not only to identify their historical actors but also to (re)group them into the prevailing social hierarchy while, at the same time, ascribing characteristics to those individuals about whom the readers know little (or are assumed to). They function either to allocate the first unit to its social role (127) - (130) or to mark the importance of an actor by referring to personal achievements, (131)

(127) *Egbert*, **king of Wessex**,

(128) *Olgar*, **Earl of Devonshire**,

(129) *Wulfstan*, **Bishop of Winchester**,

(130) *Lord Landsdowne*, **Lieutenant of the County of Devon and Cornwall**, ...

(131) *Dr. Caius*, **founder of the college that bears his name**, ...

or, as in examples (124+125) below, to establish family affiliation.[82]

(132) *princess Caroline*, **daughter of the Duke of Brunswick**,

(133) ... *Harold*, **son of Godwin**, ...

There are a few instances where the apposition has primarily a "clarification" function (Meyer 1992: 104). These occurrences are highly interesting because, similar to "who/which now", they indicate a shift in temporal perspective. In (134), for example, Hasted relates the historical place to the contemporary denomination, in an act of elucidating, creating a marked contrast between "narrated history time" (see Munslow 2007) and the readers' present ("now"). Tyrell's appellation (135) construes Richard's historical relevance to his reflections by reminding the

[82] It is noteworthy, though not surprising given the period of the texts' composition, that female descendants of the nobility are associated with their more prominent fathers, e.g. "his wife, the unfortunate daughter of Hermocrates, ..." (Mitford), "his grandmother, daughter of James III., ..." (Hume), "a Merovingian princess, the daughter of Sigbert, ..."(Gibbon).

reader of Richard's temporary leading clerical, and thus, potentially influential position ("then").

(134) *Wibbandune*, **now Wimbledon**, ... (Hasted)

(135) there was an agreement made between *Richard*, **then Abbot**, and his convent… (Tyrell)

The clarification of the exact date or the indication of the exact day of the week is yet another appositional function attested in the data. Here, the reference is established in the second unit, firstly, to mark/justify the cultural/religious importance of the day and, secondly, to provide orientation in the chronology of the narrative, (136), The first unit "the next day" is equally interesting in that it indicates the transition from one temporal frame to another. Martin (2003: 24) considers these kind of "chaining" devices essential for the "phasing" of events in historical accounts.

(136) *The next day*, **the Sunday**, was spent by him at St. James's (Lingard)

Obligatory markers of apposition

To avoid analytical ambiguity in the interpretation of appositions as indicators of historical significance, one can resort to "obligatory markers of apposition" (Meyer 1992: 25). These markers unambiguously single out individuals (or abstract representatives) in a semantic part/whole relation in the second unit of the apposition, thus allowing the author to subtly emphasise their respective historical weight.

This process of aligning the reader with the historical relevance of the characters is thought to be facilitated by grammatical coordination of the first unit with the following unit. This means in effect that the flow of the sentence is not severely interrupted:

(137) This violence was highly resented by *the neighbouring people*, especially by **the Sabines** (Sale et al.)

(138) but he was very ill seconded by *some of his officers*, particularly by **admiral Lestock**, who, with his whole division, remained at a great distance astern (Belsham)

(139) the Queen earnestly begg'd of *the Clergy*, particularly **the Bishop of Winchester**, her Lord's Brother; to restore him to the Kingdom (Echard)

Constructions that comprise obligatory markers that enable 'focalisation' of one of the referents of the first unit (underlined in examples (137)-(139)) are classified as "particularization" (Meyer 1992: 76). The marked realisation of a first unit with negative evaluative meaning in Theme position in (140) reflects a structure in which apposition serves to foreground specific information.

(140) *The most miserable part*, **namely Connaught**, in 1733, contained 242,160 inhabitants; and in 1821, 1,110, 229. (Buckle)

Example (141) presents a complex construction in which the coreferential second unit (appelation) names the first, a noun-phrase postmodified by a prepositional phrase, and is finally extended by a relative clause that is intended to justify Bury's venerating characterization of Aspar in the first unit.

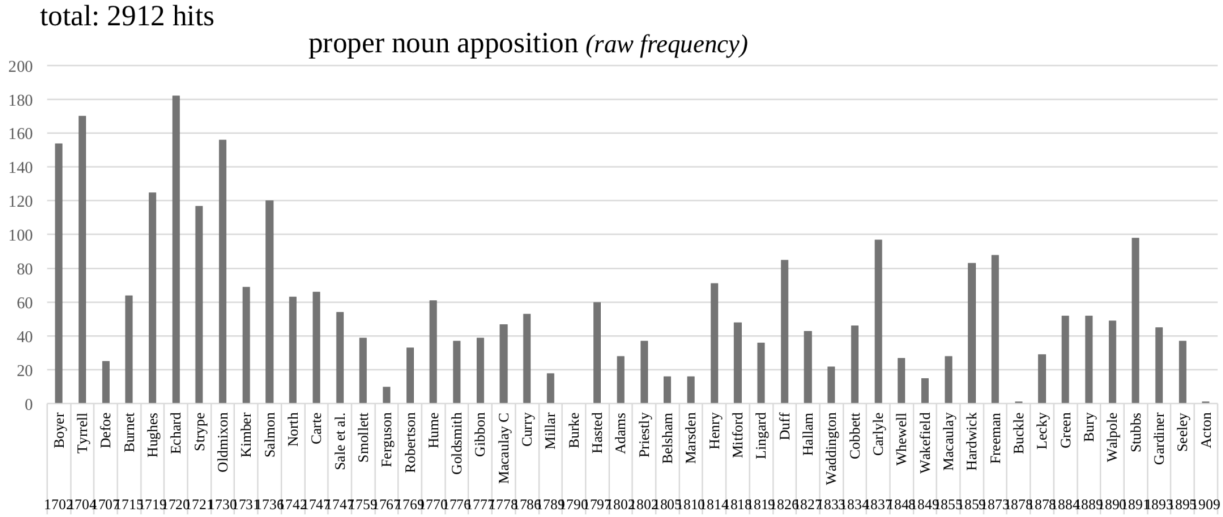
(141) he [Anthemius] was not favoured by *the man of most authority in the army*, **the patrician Aspar**, *who* with his father Ardaburius had distinguished himself thirty-five years before in the suppression of the usurper John. (Bury)

One further complex realisation of the apposition is illustrated below (134). Here, two strictly coreferential second units identify the social role of the eligible referents in the respective first units. Both constructions independently function to enhance historical significance by making the powerful/influential genealogical relationships explicit, while at the same time the contrast resulting from their coordination seems to emphasise the importance of Berengaria (and by extension her marriage to Richard).

(142) It was there that Richard married *Berengaria*, **daughter to the king of Navarre**, *who* had attended him in his expedition; and *whom* he had preferred to *Adelais*, **the king of France's sister**, *whose* charms were not so powerful, or *whose* fidelity was more suspected. (Goldsmith)

After having presented a selection of discursively relevant instances of the appositive, the last part takes a more distanced perspective on the use of appositions. Hence, the distribution of proper noun apposition across the corpus data is shown in Figure 25.

Figure 25. Proper noun apposition



The visualisation indicates that early eighteenth-century historiography has a higher frequency of proper noun appositions. This result might be explained, at least in part, by Meyer's assertion that "appositions are most necessary in some genres in which discourse participants possess a low amount of shared knowledge" (1992: 98).

6.7 Parentheses

Parenthetical expressions can be argued to disturb the natural flow of the sentence in order to supply seemingly gratuitous information or explanation.[83] 'Seemingly', because at the same time the round brackets visibly set off the additional material which in ths way becomes marked as relevant. It is this contradiction that makes parentheses appealing for the linguistic identification of historical significance. Beyond that, there is another factor which justifies a closer examination of this textual device in the historiographical data. Biber and Gray (2016: 152) observe that the use of parentheses to mark an appositive noun phrase, as opposed to its separation by commas, gained prominence in nineteenth-century scientific writing. The increase of this "structural innovation" (Biber & Gray 2016: 152) is assumed to be observable in those historiographical documents that were composed with a more 'scientific' agenda.

For the purpose of identifying the various genre-specific or genre-preferential functions and general trends in disciplinary practice, the analysis concentrated on brackets delimited by rounded opening and closing brackets "( )" and finally extracted them. After sampling the corpus data, the parentheses were mapped onto five broad functional categories (cf. Table 16).

Table 16. parentheses - functional categories

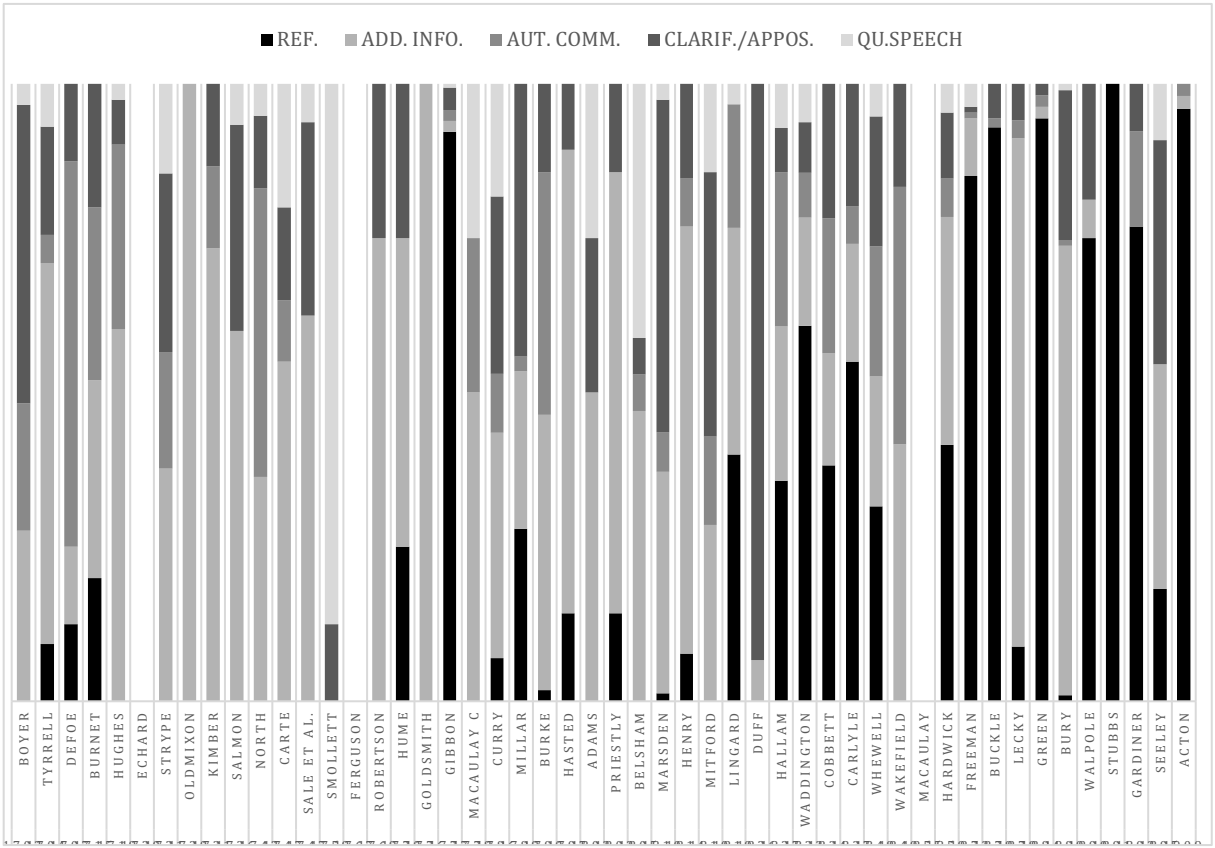
category	realisations	type count
references	William of Malmesbury **(Gest. Pont. 116b)** says only, "non adeo abjecta et obscura progenie oriundus erat." (Freeman)	768 (0.051)
additional information	The justiciary **(for the king was then absent)** summoned him before the council to answer for his conduct (Goldsmith)	685 (0.046)
authorial commentary	In his lively comparison of a king and a monk, he supposes **(what is hardly fair)** that the king will be more sparingly rewarded (Gibbon)	248 (0.017)

[83] For detailed case studies of the multitude of poets' attitudes vis-à-vis parentheses and for a survey of the historical development of this punctuation resource, see Lennard (1991).

clarification/apposition	the Propositions addressed in the name of our own king **(Henry VI.)** to pope Martin V. (Hardwick)	335 (0.022)
inquit	"Whenever it shall please God **(said he)** to call me to the throne of Britain, I hope to act as becomes me …" (Smollett)	92 (0.006)

The graph below (Figure 26) illustrates the functional distribution of parentheses in all occurrences for each author. This visualisation is particularly intriguing as it reflects the tendency for the number of parentheses used for providing authorial commentary and additional information to decrease, and the number of parentheses containing bibliographical references to increase during the period of scholarly/scientific historiography (see CH.2.1). The decline of authorial commentaries may indicate a general trend of removing the historian from the text so as to create a sense of objectivity/impartiality/scientification. In line with this objective, it is not surprising to see an increase in the number of referencing devices embedded in the text. They too could be considered as indices of the emerging scientific orientation (cf. Lorenz 2008; Hesketh 2011a).

Figure 26. functional distribution of parentheses



Postmodification and significance

Returning to the section's initial endeavour to highlight the specific evaluative potential of marking historical significance through postmodification, it can be argued that almost all examples point to what makes postmodification a powerful device in historiography, namely the embedding of additional information that - unlike pre-modification, for example - has the potential to alter the readers' initial assessment. This is done either explicitly or implicitly. The two examples below serve as illustrations of two types of evaluative meaning that is encoded as ostensibly optional:

(143) *Blake*, **a man of great courage and a generous disposition**, […], was made an admiral. (Hume)

(144) *The war with Otto*, **which naturally followed**, drew all the efforts of the Prankish king from Normandy to his eastern borderland, where for a time Lorraine passed into the hands of Lewis. (Green)

The apposition in Hume's account (143) explicitly appraises Blake's bravery to justify why he was considered capable of becoming an admiral. The postmodifying non-restricted relative clause, i.e. Green's assessment of the expectability of Otto's war, in (144), invites a different interpretation of the propositional content of the main clause. The parenthesis provides readers with new information on the basis of which they are invited to re-evaluate not only the character or event (head noun) but likewise every associated proposition that follows. Roger North's portrayal of his brother's friends, in (145), found in North's posthumously published biography of Francis North, illustrates the interplay of evaluatively charged apposition (intelligent) and postmodifying relative clause.

(145) But that *his Friends*, ***intelligent Persons***, **who** must know him to be far from guilty of any childish Levity, should believe it, was what roiled him (North)

Here, the second unit refocuses the reference of the first unit, suggesting that the lack of doubts of Francis North's friends is surprising, based on the assumption that they should be better informed. This strategy of "providing a different way of viewing the first unit", partially resembles the one Meyer (1992: 80) labels "reorientation. This reorientation is subsequently qualified by the postmodifying relative clause.

Despite Biber et al.'s claim that "the information added by non-restrictive clauses is often tangential to the main point of the text" (1999: 606), it can be argued that in LModE historiography, post-nominal modification plays a crucial role in establishing historical significance. Postmodification undoubtedly encompasses a range of discursive resources typically used to evaluate past actors, phenomena and events. In this chapter, it has been shown

that patterns of non-restrictive relative clauses signalling historical relevance often include *maximizers* (which themselves function as graduation devices). Furthermore, it has also been demonstrated that post-nominal modifiers can be used to attribute historical significance to various kinds of heads ('events', 'circumstances', 'characters', 'phenomena'…). Beyond that, it has been noted that postmodification may serve as a 'prompt' to (re)evaluate the head noun. Several patterns of non-restrictive relative clauses signalling historical relevance frequently include *maximizers* and *boosters*. This analysis has also shown that apposition involving proper nouns reflects the historian's need to identify (little known) historical actors and/or to place them within the prevailing social hierarchy. Moreover, apposition occasionally seems to serve the purpose of recalling the significance of past incidents or historical characters, as historians tend to reintegrate characterising information, which has often been already established in previous parts of their works. In historiographical documents of this period, parentheses, as interrupters, realise five major functions (viz. they provide references, additional information, authorial commentary, clarification/apposition, quoted speech).

7. Graduation

The purpose of the following section is to explore the discoursal functions of lexicogrammatical resources that can be employed to adjust the intensity and precision of evaluative meanings in historiography. This gradual adjustment of meaning is thought to be used mainly in those parts of the narration in which the historian emphasises the importance/distinctiveness of historical events, characters or actions. This strategy of prioritisation, the study argues, often serves not only to justify historians' carefully considered selection of historical phenomena but also their self-proclaimed prerogative, or interpretational sovereignty, in the process of historical knowledge construction.

The resources available to historiographers which allow them to modify the strength of the evaluative meaning expressed, are subsumed under terms such as *intensifiers* (*amplifiers*, *downtoners), emphasizers*, (Quirk et al. 1985: 445), *degree words* (Bolinger 1972), *degree modifiers* (Paradis 1997) and *graduation* (Martin & White 2005). The scaling devices classified in this way realise a range of different functions. They are used to foreground and emphasise propositions, they adjust the strength of the author's claims, and they convey authorial attitude, values and emotions (cf. e.g. Labov 1984). Further, they can index social identities and group affiliations and function as indicators of shifting norms and practices in a speech community (cf. e.g. Ito and Tagliamonte 2003).

Using lexicogrammatical resources to alter the strength of values as an act of stancetaking enables the historiographer to explicitly emphasise or to implicitly invite an attitudinal reading along two dimensions. Within the sub-system GRADUATION[84], the process of grading evaluative items can be classified by reference to "two axes of scalability", FORCE (*intensity, quantity*) and FOCUS (*prototypicality*) (Martin & White 2005: 137). The dimension of scaling with respect to the intensity of qualities and processes on the one hand, and with respect to amount and extent on the other, is classified as FORCE (Martin and White 2005: 140). Intensification of qualities and processes, INTENSIFICATION, can be realised grammatically through "isolated items" (Martin & White 2005: 141) such as a set of adverbials typically subsumed under the headings of *intensifiers*, *downtoners* and *maximizers* (*very, slightly, extremely, completely*) (see e.g. Quirk et al. 1985). Accordingly, evaluative alteration (i.e. the up/down-scaling) of constructions by a single item to adjust the level of intensity can be applied to pre-modify adjectives (*extremely variable*) as well as adverbs (*fairly abruptly*). Here, the focus lies on the adjectives.

[84] The functional categories underlying Martin & White's (2005) GRADUATION subsystem lend themselves to the analysis, as they not only facilitate the quantification of grading resources across historiographical documents, but also allow for a systematic observation of recurring (genre-specific) patterns.

The second subsystem of FORCE, QUANTIFICATION, which is used to label the assessment of the extent and quantity of entities, is genuinely conducive to the analysis of historiographical documents, as it facilitates the recognition of marked historical significance signalled, for instance, by high (or exaggerated) quantities. Simultaneously, it allows for the mapping of imprecise measurements of, for example, the number, proximity, size and mass of entities *(a few fortresses*, *many attempts*, *distant provinces*, *a crowd of*, *a horse load*) (Martin & White 2005: 141). In other words, those non-specific resources that may give some indication of the historians' degree of certainty and/or of the aspects they preferably blur.

7.1 FORCE: INTENSIFICATION

The first part of the chapter focuses on the dimension of scaling with respect to the intensity of qualities that is classified as FORCE: INTENSIFICATION. Attention is restricted to those grammatical and lexical realisations of intensification which are thought to noticeably adjust the force of the inscribed value of the modified constituent. Therefore, the initial functional allocation and quantification of scalable evaluative meaning across the different historiographical documents was conducted on the basis of the collocation pattern ([ADV] ADV + ADJ, e.g. *very important, so many things*). This pattern, comprising of an optional premodifying degree adverb (e.g. *so, very*), an adverb (as a scaling device), pre-modifying an adjective, is highly frequent and stretches across the whole data set. Studying this pattern not only has the potential to uncover idiosyncratic choices, but also allows the analyst to reveal overarching grading preferences. By investigating patterns rather than individual instances of evaluation, the study follows the comprehensive and persuasive work of Hunston (2011) on combining phraseology and corpus linguistics for the purpose of studying evaluative language.

For the purpose of establishing the particular discursive functions of the grading resources, it was decided to adopt a *semasiological* perspective, using *form-to-function mapping* as a means of i) forming preliminary categories[85] and ii) then allocating the intensifying items to these categories. Both was done using a *keyword-in-context analysis*, which eventually enabled the mapping of 4,107 items to their respective discoursal function.

The resultant taxonomy is predicated on three wider categories that reflect the main purpose/functional orientation of the grading resources (Table 17): they either index a more author-centred perspective (*focus on historiographer*), concentrate on characterising historical

[85] The various micro-functions that constitute the foundation for the final macro-systems subsuming the core discursive functions were determined on the basis of randomly extracted concordance lines collected in an initial qualitative sampling process.

personae and assessing their works/goods (*focus on actors and entities*), or function to indicate the (universal) historical significance that extends beyond the actual account (*meta-historical perspective*).

Table 17. Taxonomy: discoursal macro-functions

perspective	function and preferential place of occurrence
focus on the historiographer	Degree modifiers are classified as belonging to the first group when they are used to index the historians' expert knowledge, to signal the authors' confidence in their deduction, and for the purpose of retrospective evaluation. This is mostly the case when, for instance, the co-text features pronouns or when they are embedded in parentheses. The graders are, furthermore, employed in locations in which the historiographer attempts to 're-frame' historical phenomena by replacing their initial interpretation, e.g. *certainly wrong*.
focus on actors and entities	The second group encompasses grading resources that are used in order to characterise historical actors or to present the status or qualities of historically meaningful entities. Graders are often found in those environments in which the target of evaluation is in close proximity (e.g. as subject of the main clause) or in co-textual environments in which the raised quality is construed as epithet.
meta-historical perspective	Degree modifiers that occur in settings in which the author signals the universal historical significance of events, characters or processes are classified into this macrosystem. Beyond that, graders belonging to this category are frequently found in sequences in which the author provides explications for the uniqueness of historical consequences, effects or scope.

The subsequent selection of exemplary extracts serves to illustrate the concrete realisations of intensification that are mapped onto the aforementioned categories by additionally taking into account the influence of the co-textual environment on the assessment of degree.

Focus on the historiographer

In the first text example (146), the authorial voice presents itself as clearly invested in the proposition. Freeman signals a high degree of confidence in his evaluation of William's capacities (*no doubt, nothing but*). The up-scaling of *favoured* through *highly* further reinforces the effect. Buckle's presentation of his meteorological expertise hedged by the epistemic marker *I believe* in the first clause of a footnote (147) contrasts with an overt critique directed at his colleague Robertson, which is construed as signalling absolute conviction in the truth of what Buckle is stating (*certainly*). In the third example (148), *very* scales up the quality of considerable in a parenthetical evaluation by responding directly to the claim made. This illustration is interesting in that it reveals a discourse strategy prevalent in the data, which allows for the author to draw the reader's attention to historical relevance. In (149) both degree modifiers occur in an environment in which Macaulay contracts the dialogistic space using endorsement (*all historians agree*), thus construing the proposition as maximally sustained. The use of *so great* and *so numerous* subsequently intensifies the assessment of exceptionality.

(146) No doubt he [William the Conqueror] was **highly** *favoured* by fortune; nothing but an extraordinary combination of events could have made the Conquest of England possible. (Freeman)

(147) FOOTNOTE: [B]ut I believe they [the trade winds] are rarely found so high; though Robertson is **certainly** *wrong* in supposing that they are peculiar to the tropics; (Buckle)

(148) The sum stipulated was twenty-four thousand pounds **(**a **very** *considerable* one in those days**)** which was levied by a tax, called Danegeld, being twelve pence on every hide of land throughout England. (Hasted)

(149) All historians agree that vice of all sorts and crimes of every kind **were never so** *great* and **so** *numerous* **before**. (Macaulay)

Focus on actors and entities

The examples considered representative for this category either feature historical actor(s) or an entity that is metonymically linked to an actor as the target of evaluation (marked below as double underlined). In these cases, graduation enables the historian to convey a greater degree of intensity when evaluating the attributes in question. Consequently, it is possible to raise the attitudinal force of positive evaluations (*far superior, very valuable*) as in (150) and (152) as well as of negative evaluations (*utterly selfish, so many improbable things*) as shown in examples (151) and (153). This intensification can be applied for dramaturgical purposes, for instance, to emphasise the importance of certain character traits or documents for the respective authorial (re)construction of the past.

(150) By this Victory Redwald became **far** *superior* to the other Saxon Kings; and besides this Conquest of the North, had likewise all on this Side of the Humber at his Obedience. (Echard)

(151) He [the Earl of Shrewsbury] was an **utterly** *selfish* tyrant of the worst feudal stamp, cruel, faithless, and oppressive. (Stubbs)

(152) FOOTNOTE: There is an admirable analysis of the works of Law in Mr. Leslie Stephen's **very** *valuable* Hist. of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. (Lecky 1883)

(153) His account contains **so many** *improbable* things, especially with respect to the numbers that he found of his nation, and their flourishing circumstances, that little dependance can be placed upon it (Priestley)

Apart from this, it may simply be used to place historical personae on a relative scale informed by the historian's personal or the prevailing societal norms and expectations (*so greatly superior, greatly inferior*), and thereby to either unambiguously 'valorise' (154) or 'devalorise' (155) the target of evaluation.

(154) It was difficult to make an equal bargain with a person **so greatly** *superior* in power and influence. (Echard)

(155) The peasants composed a second order, **greatly** *inferior* in rank to the thanes of either class. (Millar)

Meta-historical perspective

Qualities that are being graded in this system have the primary function of signalling historical significance or raising the reader's awareness of either the uniqueness or the universality of historical phenomena. So, for instance, the up-scaling of the quality of great in (11) can be regarded as enhancing the effect of the lexically inscribed evaluation of *unexpectedness*, marking Tyrell's explanation for the surprising success of Edward's enemies as essential to historical knowledge construction. Example (157) features an up-scaling of the evaluation of England's position to the highest possible intensity (*extremely advantageous*). In this way, Seeley frames the result as indisputably historically significant. The last example (158) comprises three intensifiers. The first one, *very*, amplifies the former size and capacity of the Syracusian navy. The second, *so,* functions to raise awareness for the magnitude of the threat potential. Finally, the maximizer *absolutely* in Mitford's derivation serves as a means of aligning the reader with the plausibility of his argument.

(156) The unexpected Death of King Edward the First, in the beginning of his Expedition against the Scots, as it proved an irreparable Loss and Grief to his own Subjects, so it was of **very** *great* Advantage and Satisfaction to their Enemies; who thereby, not only got time to breath and recruit their weak and scattered Forces, but also, within a few Years

after, were enabled wholly to cast off the English Yoke. (Tyrell)

(157) The result was that Cromwellian England held a most remarkable position, a position **extremely** *advantageous* for a Military State such as England then was, but quite unlike the usual position of England. (Seeley)

(158) The naval force of Syracuse had formerly been **very** *considerable*, and to give any security to Sicily against an enemy **so** *powerful* by sea as Carthage, a naval force was now **absolutely** *necessary* (Mitford)

Looking at the overall figures in Table 18, it is noticeable that the macro system, which contains all resources used for scaling meaning as a degree in those settings in which the historian visibly underscores his or her authority and/or explicitly provides subjective projection of ideas, comprises only 15 percent of all assignable occurrences. More than a third of all degree-adjustment processes are attributable to the meta-historical system. Moreover, the data show a preference for the use of isolating graders in cases where entities and characters are being assessed.

Table 18. Distribution - degree modification pattern (ADV+ADJ)

focus on the historiographer	**focus on actors and entities**	**meta-historical perspective**	**unclear**
15% (n= 620)	**44%** (n=1,791)	**35%** (n=1,442)	**6%** (n= 255)

total: n= 4,108

Overall distribution

In order to answer the question of whether clusters can be found for the use of the modification pattern in the observed period, it is useful to obtain a visual overview. Figures 27 - 29 show the estimated density of point clouds (with the dots representing the individual historiographers) projected onto the three dimensions (cf. Table 17), with the x-axis representing the timescale and the raw frequencies plotted on the y-axis. In this way, it can be determined both whether there are clusters within the corpus data and how evenly the distribution of adverbial grading is among historians.

Figure 27. Contour plot of the degree modification pattern ADV+ADJ (‘historiographer’)

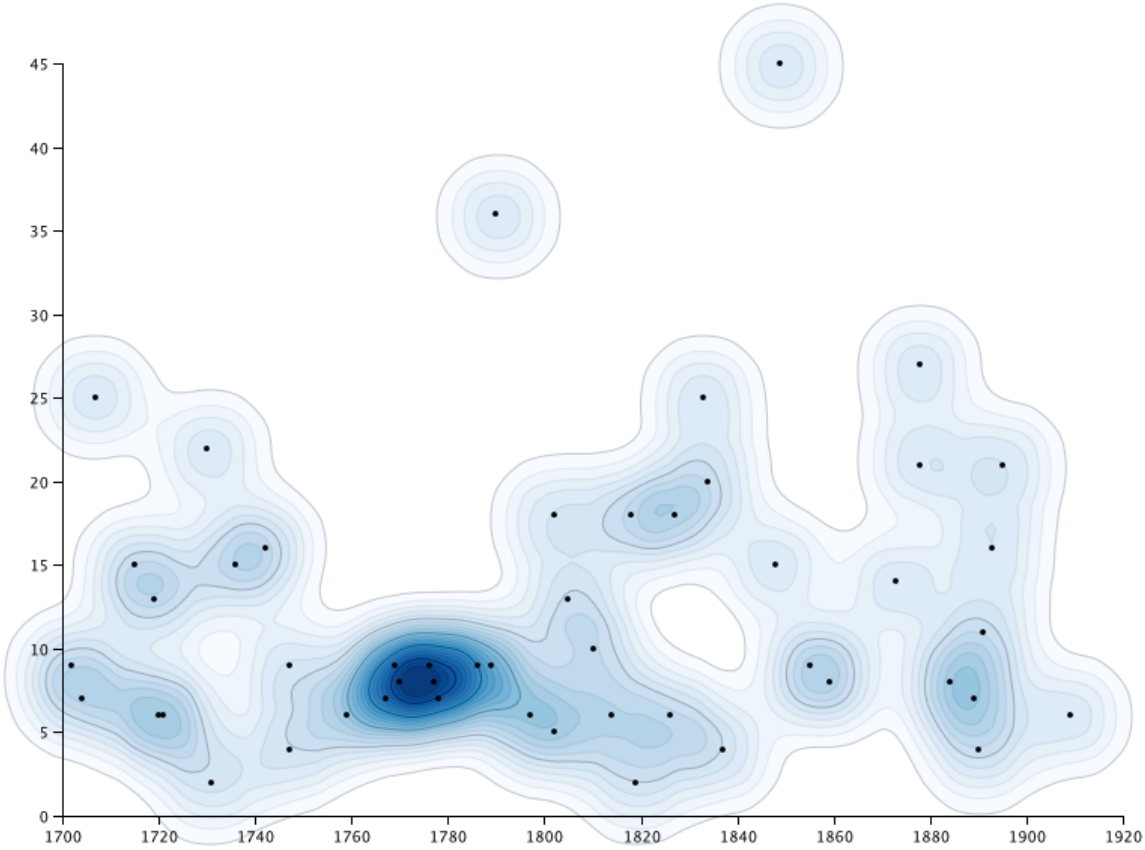


Figure 28. Contour plot of the degree modification pattern ADV+ADJ (‘meta-historical’)

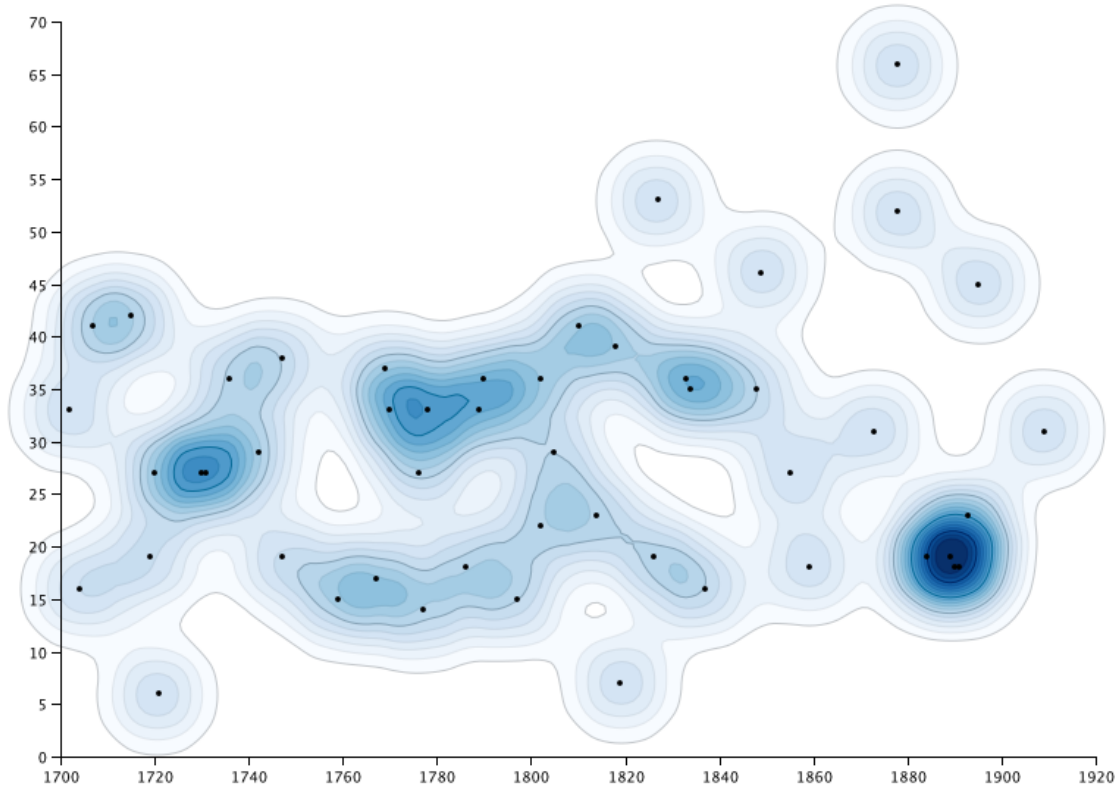
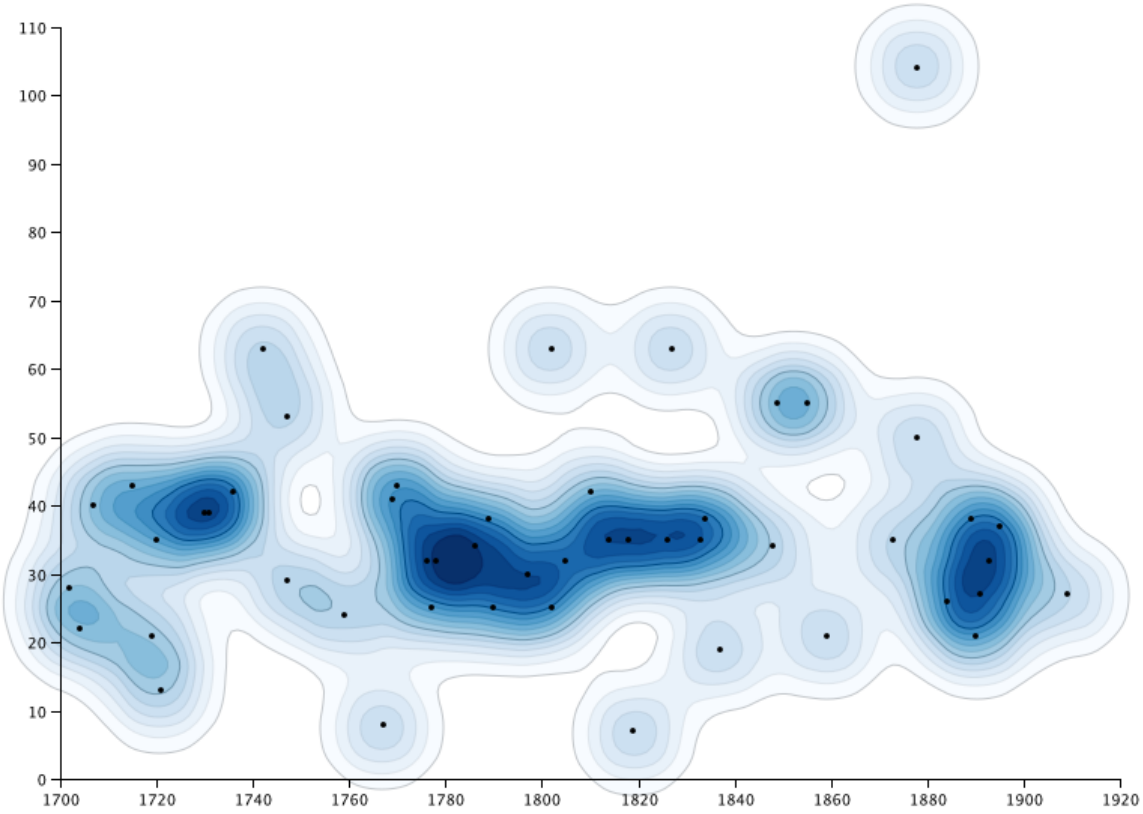


Figure 29. Contour plot of the degree modification pattern ADV+ADJ (‘actors/entities’)

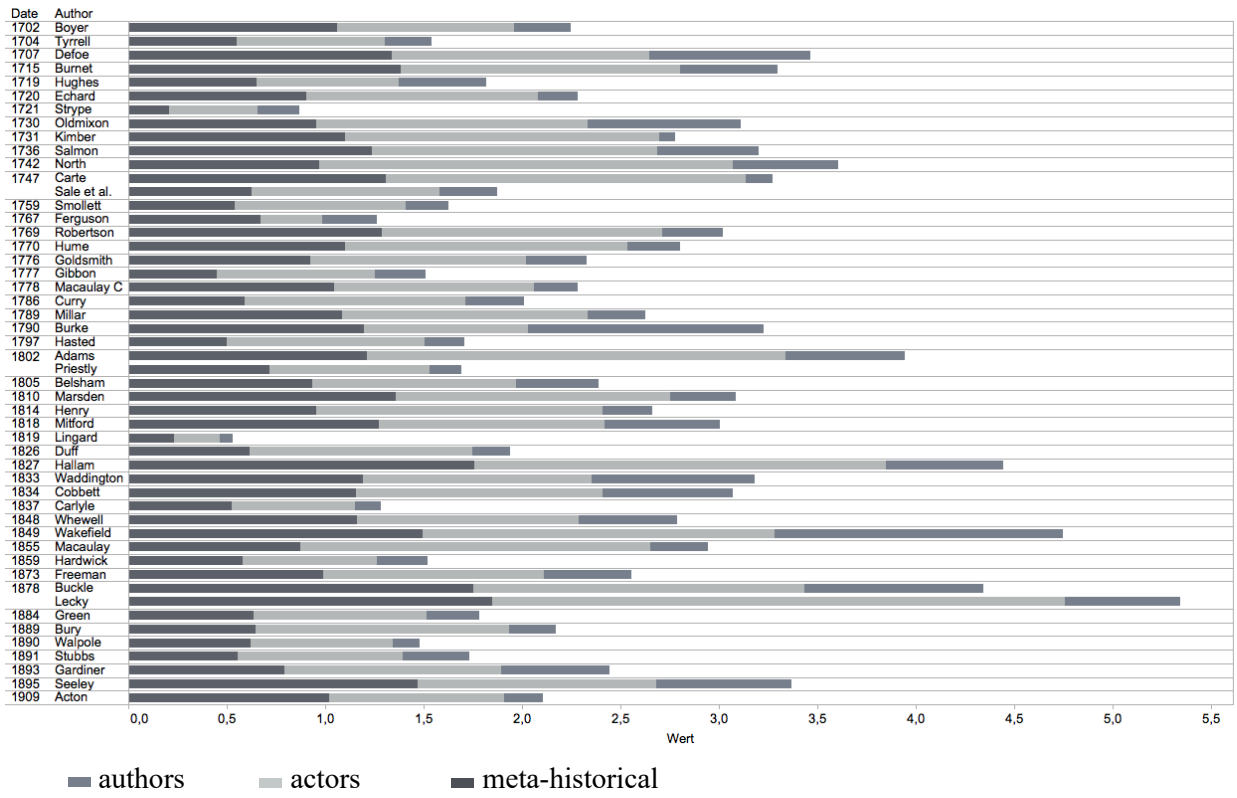


The distributional analysis, in Figure 27, first shows that the clustering of graders is widely distributed in terms of focus on historiographical expertise. There is a group of historians who use a relatively similar low quantity of the pattern between 1760 and 1800. For this group, it does not seem particularly relevant to emphasise the investment in their own authority. Within the next contour plot visualising the ‘meta-historical’ category (Figure 28), there is an accumulation of five historiographers (from about 1880 onwards) who use a similar number of devices to signal the universal historical significance of events, characters or processes (namely Green, Bury, Walpole, Stubbs, and Gardiner). Apart from this small clustering, the distribution analysis shows a very broad and irregular distribution over the entire period and cannot provide evidence of any clear tendencies that would allow conclusions to be drawn about preferences of the prevailing historiographical ‘doctrines’ (cf. CH.2.1). Thus, no epoch can be distinguished here by a clear over- or underuse of the pattern. In the last contour diagram (Figure 29), which includes the graduation resources that target actors and historically meaningful entities and primarily serve characterisation or intensification for dramaturgical purposes, a somewhat different picture emerges. Throughout the entire observation period, the values remain at a relatively similar, high level when compared to those of the other resources. One can therefore

cautiously assume that the grading of these kinds of qualities, which are classified in this system, is considered important by the majority of historians.

It emerges that the signalling historical significance via isolated adverbial graders appears to be relevant throughout the period in focus – with the exception of inter-author deviations (cf. Figure 30). Remarkably, there is no clear tendency for this clearly marked way of grading qualities to decline within the less 'involved' scientific historiographical period. It seems as if all historiographers represented in the corpus felt the need to explicitly align their readership with what they deemed historically significant. This straight forward and unambiguous mode of indexing valuation might thus, indeed, be considered relevant for the conveyance of historical knowledge across the discipline.

Figure 30. Intra- and inter-authorial distribution of the degree modification pattern ADV+ADJ



Findings – preferred lexical realisations

Beyond observing the embedding of intensifying graders in an exemplary selection of the data, it may be instructive to examine the frequency of the individual modifiers. While it is not surprising that *very* and *so* dominate in all three systems (e.g. Ito & Tagliamonte 2003), it is the marginally higher occurrence of, for instance, the highlighted adverbs (such as the emphasiser

indeed and the downtoners *almost*, *somewhat*, *rather*) whose frequency seems to be characteristic for the respective system (Table 19). Furthermore, there are fewer downtoners in the meta-historical system, which may underline its principal function of aligning readers unambiguously with the historians' interpretation of historical significance.

Table 19. The ten most frequent degree modifiers

	degree modifier "author"			**degree modifier "actor"**			**degree modifier "meta-historical"**	
1	138	very		497	so		469	so
2	118	so		493	very		421	very
3	28	**indeed**		139	too		148	too
4	26	highly		55	**almost**		34	**extremely**
5	24	too		29	much		23	purely
6	23	almost		26	somewhat		17	really
7	18	absolutely		25	well		17	almost
8	15	much		24	extremely		16	wholly
9	15	hardly		23	wholly		16	sufficiently
10	14	extremely		19	quite		13	much

As a case in point, there is the maximizer, *extremely*, which, when embedded in meta-historical context, pre-modifies various adjectives (e.g. *advantageous, analogous, cheap, effective, inexact, doubtful* etc.). The semantic evaluative orientation of those adjectives ranges from *favourable* (rather positive) to *dangerous* (rather negative). In addition, the targets of evaluation (e.g. *the external operations of its various states, examples of adultery, this book, abuses in the exercise of the executive power* etc.) are a very good reflection of the diversity of historical phenomena, locations, processes etc. that become the subject of prioritisation. When examining the surroundings of *extremely* for reoccurring co-textual patterns, it was remarkable that the intensifier occurred in close proximity to *but*. In fact, *but* preceded the graduation in 10 out of 34 instances of *extremely*.

(159) Modern writers have indeed proposed to identify him with other persons of the same name who played minor parts in the ecclesiastical history of his time, but these conjectures are **extremely** *doubtful*. (Bury)

(160) but through from these, and many other causes, the progress and conquests of the nations which overran the Empire, became **so extremely** *rapid*, they were accompanied with horrible devastations, and an incredible destruction of the human species. (Robertson)

(161) but though the Feudal policy seems to be so admirably calculated for defence against the assaults of any foreign power, its provisions for the interior order and tranquillity of

society were **extremely** *defective*. (Robertson)

This is interesting insofar as this co-occurrence could be interpreted as an illustration of another, as yet unspecified function, namely that of an 'intensified re-assessment' or even 're-evaluation'. In these cases, the concession functions to encourage a change in the way in which the reader aligns with the proposition. Subsequently, the historian marks the relevance and validity of this re-assessment by means of lexical reinforcement.

Outliers: William Lecky and John Lingard

While the majority of historiographical works in the corpus feature around 100 instances (0.33%) of the *adv+adj degree modification pattern*, two texts clearly stand out: the extracts from Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* comprise 229 instances (0.64%), whereas the excerpts taken from Lingard's *The History of England, From the First Invasion by the Romans to the Accession of Henry VIII,* exhibit only 24 occurrences (0.08%).[86]

One possible explanation for the exceptionally high frequency in Lecky's data lies in the thematic orientation of the selected chapters. For instance, in Chapter VIII, entitled "The religious revival", the historiographer first introduces his readers to the "religious condition of England" before turning to present an account of the "nature and consequences" of the religious revolution during the reign of George II. It appears as if Lecky uses this pattern with the intention of emphasising the importance of said religious revolution in particular, as he attempts to contrast it with the much more important "splendid victories by land and sea", which, among other crucial achievements, "form unquestionably the most dazzling episodes the reign of George II.". Lingard's data, on the other hand, show comparatively more instances of *concessive but* (with a relative frequency of 0.11 compared to 0.08 in Lecky's data). It seems as if concessive patterns, such as *but + these were [mere/only]* and *but + when it [became known/was suggested]*, can be cautiously interpreted as Lingard's potential substitute for signalling historical significance through the construction of evaluative meaning along the *parameter of expectedness* (cf. Bednarek 2006: 17, 43).

Comparing the lexical diversity of the modification pattern, Lecky's data exhibits a broader range of adverb types (e.g. *exceedingly, abundantly, extremely, supremely, intensely, sufficiently, purely, utterly*), while the adverbs in Lingard's data mirror less diversity: In his text

[86] For this reason, they are both considered *outliers*, i.e. they have "a value that is so far from the mean that it can be considered an exception" (Stefanowitsch 2020: 192).

excerpts, *so* (7), *very* (6), *too* (2) and *yet* (2) are the most frequent adjectival premodifiers out of a total of only eleven cluster types.

Reflecting on the two *outliers*, one advantage of this explorative corpus-assisted discourse analysis becomes apparent. Once again, patterns and expected trends can either be uncovered or refuted when looking at the distribution (cf. Figure 26). By means of a targeted qualitative "immersion" into those strands of data that clearly deviate from the rest, it is possible in a next step to determine the extent to which these show particular characteristics. This is where the comparative approach proves to be most effective (cf. Partington et al. 2013). In the case of Lecky and Lingard, it is only by contrasting the configuration of the degree modification patterns that the impact of the respective individual style and background of the authors (John Lingard was a Catholic clergyman, William Lecky a politician) as well as the importance of the respective theme of the work, a chapter or a smaller section of the text, become apparent as distinguishing factors.

Infused graders

So far, this chapter has focused on inscribed, up-scaled evaluation realised by grammatical items with grading function. The mode of intensification that enables the elision of personal involvement and thus can be attested great discourse-strategic potential for persuasive history-writing is referred to as "infusion" (Martin & White 2005: 143). "Infused graders" are concisely defined by Macken-Horarik & Isaac (2014: 77) as "lexical items that fuse evaluative meaning with a grading function". This means that historiographers subjectively position ideational meaning on a cline that implies a relative value. This is often achieved through the use of non-core lexis. For example, an author can choose between the semantically related terms, *eliminated*, *killed* and *slaughtered*, or between *victory* and *triumph* - words that differ in their degree of intensity (cf. Bolinger 1972). Still, it has to be acknowledged that it is absolutely impossible to determine this 'charge' detached from the historical/situational context, prevailing societal moral values, the idiosyncratic use by the author, the initially established reader positioning towards the term etc. Thus, in contrast to graduation via isolated lexemes, the historian can never be certain that intensification realised through semantic infusion will be interpreted by readers as desired, i.e. that they will recognise the divergence from the core-lexis, unless they are positioned prior to the non-inscribed scaling of meaning in such a way that they

can identify the author's worldview (and his distinctive lexicon).[87] Despite these issues, Hood and Martin (2005: 745) consider infused intensification capable of *flagging* and *provoking* evaluation (see CH.3.3). This means that infused graders are doing persuasive work with the help of evaluative prosodies (Hood & Martin 2005, Hunston 2007a, Hunston 2011, Morley & Partington 2009), which facilitate the spread of attitudinal meaning over a longer text segment. This strategy is thought to be particularly advantageous for writers who are induced by certain genre conventions (such as those of contemporary academic discourse) to encode their evaluation as less overtly subjective (cf. Hood 2010, Hood & Martin 2005).

Something that could be seen as more relevant to historiography (apart from the authors' attempt to conceal their stance) is the in-group/out-group assignment of the relevant/significant subjects of the historical narrative.[88] It becomes apparent that historiographers can use infused graduation to oppose, for instance, protagonists and antagonists in their historical account. To take an emblematic illustration: the historical actors who constitute the author's favoured group *give up*, whereas the enemies/adversaries *abandon* e.g. their *native country*, *the throne*, *a particular alliance* etc. While the favoured legislation exercised *pacification*, comparable actions conducted by the antagonists are deemed *repression*. This finding thus extends the initial discussion on signalling historical significance by showing the impact of infused graduation on implicit reader alignment/positioning/manipulation.

The three examples below (162)-(164) are supposed to give an impression of the different realisations of the process "defeat" realised through semantically related items. In the extract (162), Freeman chooses a rather low value (which is further embedded in a passive construction), which does not necessarily encourage an attitudinal reading. Robertson, on the other hand, intensifies the process by using a verb with a higher degree value. In combination with the cumulative attitudinal load of the co-textual environment (*conquerors*, *invaders*, *wasted*), the infused intensification, *exterminate*, serves, first, to increase the overall negative evaluative prosody of the *conquerors* and, second, to implicitly assess the actions of the *new invaders* as militarily influential and thus historically relevant. Similar to Robertson's use of non-core lexis, Gibbon's description of the Pannonian legions (164) might 'provoke' a positive evaluation of the army's military capabilities, given that he combines the non-core, hence 'marked', lexeme *vanquish* with the habitual sense of *accustomed*.

[87] However, there are cases in which the reader is assumed to very likely construe the meaning as intended, for instance, when the author employs *vital*, fusing the two distinct values *more* and *important* into one expression.
[88] The resulting *us* versus *them* distinction is likely an indication of the value-system underlying the text (see van Dijk 1991).

(162) After the English under Langdale had been **beaten**... (Freeman)

(163) The conquerors who first settled in the countries which they had wasted were expelled or **exterminated** by new invaders (Robertson)

(164) [B]ut they trembled at the name of the Pannonian legions, commanded by an experienced general, and accustomed to **vanquish** the barbarians on the frozen Danube (Gibbon)

At the same time, by substituting the inscribed evaluative lexis for grading experiential meaning, the historian can avoid taking a clearly defined, potentially vulnerable position. This means that by choosing irregularity over abnormality, infringement or violation, the author positions his descriptions of deviation from normal standards of behaviour on what could be considered the lower end of a cline. As a result, the reader is offered a range of meanings from which he or she determines the most likely one by contrasting it with the meanings of semantically related terms.

7.2 FORCE: QUANTIFICATION

The following section concentrates on assessments of both amount and extent. *Scaling with respect to amount* includes dimensions such as weight, size, strength, number, whereas *scaling with respect to extent* covers scope in time and space (e.g. how long lasting, how widely distributed) as well as temporal and spatial proximity (how near, how recent) (Martin & White 2005: 148; see also Hood 2010: 99). Quantification plays a crucial role in history writing. For instance, it is believed that particularly imbalanced or incredible numbers were frequently used to construe 'bravery'. In his lecture *Numbers in history*, Delbrück (1913: 14) states that 'bravery' as "the greatest of all warlike virtues" was often marked as undisputable "in a struggle of the minority against a majority, or indeed in a conquest of the majority by the minority". From that he concludes that it is especially the number of the armies that is often reproduced inaccurately, thus making it impossible for future historians to arrive at an "exact knowledge" and a "true understanding of martial proceedings" (Delbrück 1913: 14). *Scaling* is mainly realised in two ways: *non-figurative* or *figurative*.

Non-figurative realisations are interesting because their occurrence shows what meanings are scaled by historians. In the context of historiography, *scaling with respect to amount* has the potential to either give weight to or to relativise certain entities, as quantifications are graded with respect to *imprecise* calculations of the number or mass and presence (Martin & White 2005: 150f.). As the lexical items used for scaling are presumably not marked as, for instance, intensified adjectives, they could be susceptible to uncritical processing on the part of the reader, which in consequence means that they have the potential to be deployed to establish or

to enforce naturalised propositions. However, while Hood and Martin (2005: 745), label lexico-grammatical resources used for scaling "evocative", they claim that "scaling of meanings alerts readers to the idea that subjectivity is at play". This is because, in contrast to the intensification of items with evaluative meaning potential, it is the process of grading experiential meanings (e.g. *numbers*, *citizens, fleet*), in which said meanings take on "subjective potential" (Hood 2010: 91).

Table 20 provides a selection of items that are believed to be frequently used to realise scaling with respect to amount. The forms listed in the table are those that remain from the initial 87 potential forms, sourced from Hood (2010), Channell (1994) and the 'Quantity' sections of the Historical Thesaurus of the OED, all of which were checked for their existence in the corpus. Contrary to expectations, words such as around and phrases such as a lot of, did not function as vague quantifiers in the corpus. Although it was originally intended to have a relatively balanced number of realisations, the corpus noticeably exhibited a large number of items that were considered to be realised as 'high'. This imbalance does not seem to be specific to historiography as it is also observed elsewhere that "there seem to be more resources for turning the volume up than for turning it down" (Martin & White 2005: 37).

In their system network *Force: quantification* Martin & White (2005: 151) introduce two dimensions, viz. *number* and *mass*/*presence*. While this distinction seemed appealing at first, in the course of the analysis it proved to be irrelevant for measuring the general effects of *upscaling* and *downscaling* of the historical targets under consideration. By dispensing with this distinction, it was also possible to avoid considerable overlap between dimensions, as it was often difficult to clearly separate numerical entities from physical mass. Another key factor that equally contributes to the differentiation of the targets is the grouping into low and high amount. This process is designed to disclose the historiographers' preferences in dealing with the quantification of different entities, and hence clarify whether, for example, the number of English soldiers is likely to be upscaled while the number of 'historical antagonists'[89] (e.g. *traitors*, *rebels*, *deserters, protestants, tyrants, revolutionaries* etc.) is reduced, or vice versa. In terms of validity, it is important to note that the allocation of forms assumed to realise scaling to either a low or high amount, despite being based on extensive corpus sampling, was done by the analyst.[90]

[89] The term 'historical antagonists' serves as a variable to cover those historical actors/groups which are marked as 'oppositional' or 'defiant' in the respective historiographical account.
[90] The subjective momentum of the distribution consequently implies that overlaps cannot be ruled out.

Table 20. Scaling with respect to *amount*

dimension	**realisations**	
	low	high
number/ amount	(a) few a (certain) number of scarcely any (a) handful several (a) little some of flock of roughly almost sufficient small various slight scarce light less (than) meagre	crowd of (even) more countless all (of) almost all innumerable vast unlimited entire utmost endless exorbitant immense incalculable infinite whole numerous almost all a greater number of no(t) less than (the) large(st) huge gigantic considerable mass of vast enormous great number(s)/measure prodigious

(dimensions and formal realisations adapted from Martin & White 2005: 154 and Hood 2010: 97f. and considerably extended via the HTOED)

While it would be interesting to investigate each act of imprecise scaling in detail, the vast number of highly diverse target types that are scaled via the resources presented in Table 20 renders a logical classification impossible (targets of *a few*, for instance, range from *contiguous villages* to *fanatics in the ranks to battalions of the troops of Holstein-Gottorp*).[91] To manage the huge amount of data, it was therefore proposed to systematically study those delimited

[91] Another problem is the variety of functions some of the resources perform (cf. e.g. the pronominal and adverbial senses of *more* [OED]).

groups of targets that almost exclusively co-occurred with particular resources and whose diagnostic potential for graduation in history writing could be ascertained retrospectively.

So, in order to identify meaningful associations, the results were obtained by extracting and analysing the most pertinent collocation patterns. To achieve this, the items (Table 20) served as node words and the significance of their attraction to the collocates was statistically determined via mutual information. Here, I opted for the squared version (MI2), as this association measure can be used to compute the strength of collocation without neglecting rare co-occurrences (for a discussion of the advantages of the improved variants of the mutual information metric, see Brezina et al. 2015). In conjunction with the frequency and statistical thresholds applied, this procedure ensured that the collocational association was restricted so that it showed almost exclusively collocates associated with the targets (or their [metonymic] variants) under observation.[92] The patterns thus specified were manually interpreted, disambiguated, and finally mapped onto eight broad target types (Table 21). The resulting empirical findings are to be understood to reflect rough tendencies, as they do not represent the totality of modified instances, nevertheless, the incidents given as examples are considered to represent the most characteristic cases.

Table 21. Scaled targets

target category	prototypical examples
temporal periods	*days, weeks, hours, months, centuries, moments, period*
warfare	*ships, soldiers, officers, knights, men (non-civilian), horses, regiments, forces, attacks, armies*
civilians	*citizens, women, men (civilian), population*
clergy/religion	*priests, bishops, heretics, puritans*
official/legal documents	*acts, legislations, motions, articles, sentences*
locations	*castles, towns, kingdoms, area, empire, territories, provinces, realm*
nobility/statesmen	*kings, queens, noblemen, members, chancellors, courtiers, parties, magistrates*
capital/wealth	*treasures, possession, pounds, sums, value*

[92] The following *collocation parameters notations scheme* (Brezina et al. 2015) provides a description of the procedure that allows for its replication: CPN: 04 - MI2 (6.0)/ L0-R6/ C: 5.0-NC: 5.

The enquiry attempts to answer two questions. First, what are the most prominent graduated concrete entities, which are modified by the isolated graders in Table 20; and second, are there indicators of a strategic use of imprecise scaling?

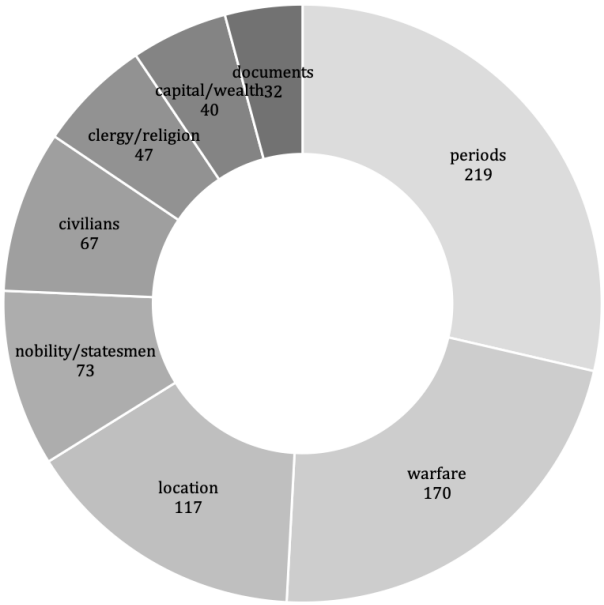
Originally, it was hypothesised that the *imprecise scaling of meanings with respect to amount* functioned primarily to either downplay, trivialise, understate, exaggerate or aggrandise the quantity of the represented target. This idea originated in the hypothesis that the construction of historical knowledge is highly dependent on the historiographer's emphasis on historical significance (cf. CH.3.3). Consequently, it is either a matter of portraying an entity in such a way that its consequences or effects are perceived as considerable, or of presenting the magnitude of an entity as insignificant in order to evoke the impression of historical irrelevance.

Contrary to these expectations, the examination of individual concordances from the sample groups, in conjunction with the emerging proportional distribution of the target types, indicated a more varied spectrum of functions.

"Low amount"

A first insight into *imprecise scaling with respect to low amount* is provided by the proportion of graded targets in focus. Figure 31 displays the presumed authorial preferences deduced from the frequencies of the modified target types. The two dominant categories are those comprising 'temporal periods' (29%) and 'military entities' (22%). The other half is divided between the remaining six categories 'location' (15%), 'nobility/statesmen' (10%), 'civilians' (9%), 'clergy/religion' (6%), 'capital/wealth' (5%) and 'legal/official documents' (4%). In the remainder of the section, the content of the categories will be discussed in more detail. Since the strategical deception with regard to the quantity of military units is deemed conspicuous, especially given the considerable effect it can exert on both readers and future historians (cf. e.g. Delbrück 1913), I will discuss all findings related to the target category 'warfare' in a separate section.

Figure 31. Proportions of low scaling samples; n= 765 tokens



It may not be surprising that once historians chart "temporal changes and continuities" (Davies 2016: 5), they tend to relativise temporal segments with "non-numerical quantifiers" (Channell 1994: 95). Apparently, this is a widespread phenomenon, as almost all historians (47/50) are represented in the 'temporal periods' sample. A typical example can be found in Henry's description of the final years of William I., in (165). The choice of grading down the entity "remaining years" via *few* serves as a strategy that essentially conveys two things: On the one hand, it can be read as a sign of the historian's explanatory sovereignty (cf. Bondi 2007), since Henry withholds the exact number of years - which is, after all, known to him. On the other hand, it emphasises the limitation of the temporal period so as to stress the juxtaposed (*so full of*) high extent of negative incidences, i.e. alarms, toils, dangers, which are supposed to restrain William's pleasure considerably.

(165) but the truth is, that the **few** *remaining years of his life* were so full of alarms, toils, and dangers, that he could have little leisure or inclination for amusement. (Henry)

Moreover, the data exhibits several instances (67%; n=148) in which *few* modifies days, weeks, months etc. thus indicating a relatively short time span (e.g. *a few years after this time; within a few month*). This frequent downscaling of duration is remarkable in so far as the subsequent temporally compression could function to manipulate the readers' perception of the succession of events by presenting them relative to longer periods of time (see e.g. Coffin 2006: 105). Another noteworthy finding is that the configuration of time is often construed relative to expectations. This facilitates the construal of a negative assessment such as the one in (166),

which is reinforced by the proclaimed brevity of the duration (*less than a century*). Here, the time in which Roman civilisation disappears is construed as being unexpectedly shorter than the evoked expectable duration of a decline (≥ a century), assuming that the reader shares this conception of time.

(166) In **less than** *a century* after the barbarous nations settled in their new conquests, almost all the effects of the knowledge and civility which the Romans had spread through Europe disappeared. (Robertson)

Putting the same temporal construction into an enumeration of Henry's accomplishments, in (167), it is likely to be read as substantiating the positive evaluation which, in accordance with Hunston's (1993: 63) notion of *goal achievement*, results from the pace at which these accomplishments were achieved.

(167) at the age of twenty he [Henry II] undertook the recovery of England, brought Stephen, partly by war and partly by negotiation, to terms which insured his own succession, and in **less than** *a year* after the pacification succeeded to the English throne. (Stubbs)

Once historians arrange the chronological sections of their narratives, temporal contrasts - such as the one in (168) – occur fairly regularly. In the present case, Freeman contrasts the time in which he situates the account (*now*) with a time in relative proximity (*a few years after this time*). *A few years after this time*, then, seems to emphasis the increase in disapproving opinions about castle-building over an unspecified, yet comparatively short period of time.

(168) This castle-building is now spoken of in Normandy with a condemnation nearly as strong as that with which it was spoken of in England, when, **a few** *years* after this time, the practice was introduced into England by the Norman favourites of Edward. (Freeman)

In contrast to the down-grading of temporal structures, the cases in which elements subsumed under the target category 'location' are scaled with respect to low amount are far more intricate. On the one hand, there are instances in which *few* and *some* function to signal the insignificance or negligibility of the locations affected by specific actions, as in Bury's extract (169) below. In the example, these locations are further marginalised via adjectival premodifications (*outlying*, *wild*).

(169) In **a few** *outlying places*, and in **some** *wild districts* where the work of conversion had been imperfectly done, the population still indulged with impunity in heathen practices. (Bury)

On the other hand, there are instances where it cannot be unambiguously assumed that evaluation is evoked by lowering the size of the target. As a vague numeral, *several* can convey

the meaning "not very many" (OED).[93] However, it is not always easy to determine the exact meaning of the quantifier in the corpus data. Based on the study of *several* in a set of vague quantifiers, Channell's (1994: 111) observation that "much of the apparent effect of a particular quantifier actually derives from the choices in the surrounding linguistic context" underlines the indisputable need to take account of the item's textual environment. A passage in which *several* might be interpreted rather as *a handful* is embedded in Priestley's description of an unsuccessful expedition of the king of France, in (170). The passage is preceded by a lengthy account of the king's activities, so that the erection of fortifications in the quoted extract is construed as incidental measures affecting only a few places.

(170) he [Lewis IX of France] continued there, fortifying **several** *places*, and redeeming captives at a great expence. (Priestley)

It is curious that, alongside *several*, the downscaling of the number of members of the nobility or of those belonging to the parliament, is realised as *some of* in almost 30 percent of all tokens. Especially since this graduation device has the function of inscribing a vague quantity while, simultaneously, evoking the non-inclusion of the residual parts within the group addressed (i.e. *the remaining majority*; in contrast to e.g. *most of*, *the majority of*). Hughes' extract, (171), illustrates this isolating function in the quantification of the loyal (*stood firm*) Irish nobles, whose unspecified low proportion, construed as a fragment of the group, subsequently serves as a justification for their inability to take countermeasures. Thus, in this illustration, the esteem of the Irish nobles is praised on the basis of a positive evaluation of *judgement: tenacity*, whereas the remainder is implicitly sanctioned.

(171) For tho' **some of** *the Irish Nobility* stood firm to our King, and particularly the Earl of Ossory, and his Son James Lord Butler, whom Fitzgerald had in vain solicited; yet they were not able to make head against him. (Hughes)

In many contributions, *scaling with respect to low amount* is employed prior to instances which supplant anticipated propositions (cf. Martin & White 2005: 120). The two instances that contain a downgrading of 'nobility' targets in Stubb's account of the process of Henry I.'s election and coronation, (172), appear to serve to further accentuate the notion of overhastiness with which this historically significant transaction is caried out. Hence, despite the fact that Henry's election is based on the decision of only a small number of nobles, Stubbs marks the process as unexpectedly complicated, by deploying the counter-expectational particle *even* (Martin & White 2005: 121, 183).

[93] For *several*, as a vague numeral the OED provides the following sense: "4. a. Of an indefinite (but not large) number exceeding two or three; more than two or three but not very many. (The chief current sense.)" (OED)

(172) He [Henry I.] then hastened to London, where **a few** *prelates and other nobles* were found, who after some discussion determined to accept him as king. [...] The election was however no mere form. Even in the **handful of** *barons* who were present there were divisions and questionings, which were allayed, as we are told, by the arguments of the earl of Warwick. (Stubbs)

Wakefield's excerpt, (173), displays a comparable use of a counter-expectational design, whose evaluative implication can be considered even more obvious as it contains intensified quantification, i.e. *very few* (Hood 2010: 94). In the example, the vanishingly small number of government representatives, who spoke out in favour of reforming colonial land sales practices, in combination with a negative judgement of their normality, i.e. *obscure and feeble* functions as a precursor to the *countering* introduced by *yet* (which is further reinforced by *all of a sudden*).

(173) the **very few** *persons* who at that time desired this change, were obscure and feeble: and yet all of a sudden, without inquiry by Parliament or the Executive government, without a word of notice to those most concerned, and without observation from anybody, out came an Imperial decree, by which, in the principal colonies of England, the plan of selling waste land was completely substituted for that of free grants. (Wakefield)

It is not only nobles and statesmen whose quantities are obscured by vague scaling to low amounts, but also targets that fall under the 'civilian' category are altered. Particularly, a passage dealing with the emigration in New South Wales in Wakefield's *A view of the Art of Colonisation*, (174), contains eight of the total of 67 instances (12%) in which *civilian* targets (e.g. *women*, *English passengers, persons, public men, classes of people*) are quantified in those contexts in which the resources primarily serve to generate a simple contrast in quantity (*greater number* vs. *handful*).

(174) Of those emigrants (they were mostly convicts), by far the greater number were men; and of the **handful of** *women*, many were past the age of child-bearing. (Wakefield)

(175) So we hear of emigrant ships bound to Adelaide or Port Philip, receiving **a few** *English passengers* in London, and filling up with the most wretched Irish at Ply. (Wakefield)

The coding of quantity in (175) could be read to emphasise the inscribed evaluation of the condition of the Irish passengers as they are juxtaposed to the small number of unmodified *English passengers*.

Turning to the category of 'clergy/religion', the most noteworthy observation is that the non-specific *some of* accounts for 55 percent of the quantifiers. In the majority of cases, as discussed above, this resource implies that the target is considered to only represent a marginal proportion of the whole group. (176) can be used here as an example of this phenomenon.

(176) The first and the steadiest opposers of the exorbitant demands of the popes were **some of**

> *the clergy* in the distant parts of Christendom, where the princes were more independent of them. (Priestley)

In the data, the three most prominent documents that are quantified with respect to low amount are primarily ‘acts’ (mostly, of parliament) (n=10, 31%), ‘letters’ (n=8, 25%), and ‘articles’ (n=7, 21%). Apparently, the exact amount of these bureaucratic devices does not seem to be relevant, as almost all of them - instead of specifying any numbers - are modified by *several*.

"High amount"

For upscaling the quantity of the target categories, the following distribution can be attested: In first place is the category ‘location’ (27%), followed by the target category ‘warfare’, which is almost the same size (26%). Targets subsumed under ‘nobility/statesmen’ (13%), ‘capital/wealth’ (10%), ‘civilians’ (10%) and ‘clergy/religion’ (8%) are ranked almost equally. In contrast, ‘periods’ (6%) and ‘documents’ (<1%) are rarely scaled upwards (cf. Figure 32).

Figure 32. Proportions of high scaling samples; n= 1036 tokens

At first glance it seems curious that texts, as soon as they exhibit a graded quantity to high amount, predominantly contain targets of the category ‘location’. This can be explained by the widespread tendency of historians to emphasise the indivisibility, above all of the nation (n=54), the country (n=37), the kingdom (n=44), the island (n=15), the world (n=13), which is realised

by an upscaling to the highest degree via the partitive *the whole*. Even though at first glance one might assume that this term realises all-encompassing meanings rather than scaling to a high degree, I would argue that the generalisations of these entities (which make up 58 percent of all targets in this category) resulting from the construal of their entireness can at times nevertheless convey a sense of vague maximisation. The reader may be aware of the borders enclosing the geographically delimited kingdom, as in (177), but the mental determination of the completeness of the abstract term *nation* (used metonymically either in the sense of a 'geographically demarcated state' or in the sense of 'a community of people'), on the other hand, may not be so easy. Answering the question of who is part of *the whole Nation* in Kimber's heroic story, (178), or in the dystopic scenario of Echard's narrative, (179), is ultimately left to the reader. At the same time, those instances in which the historian amplifies experiential meanings to the highest possible quantity (*all, entire, whole etc.*), despite the lack of sufficient empirical evidence for his proposition can even be read as exerting *hyperbolic force* (cf. Claridge 2011).

(177) During this work […] the ferment increased, and **the whole** *kingdom* seemed to be in a disorder (Defoe)

(178) CROMWELL having thus rid **the whole** *nation* in general of a great fear, […] resolv'd to prosecute his victory to the utmost, by entering into Scotland itself (Kimber)

(179) Cadwallon threatning to extirpate **the whole** *Nation*, tho' then made Christian. (Echard)

The upscaling of the quantity of geographical places through *vast* is commonly related to targets such as *tracts*, *estates* or *empires*, when describing locations which are generally either successfully ruled (180) or conquered (181). The imprecise graduation of the size of these entities thus allows for the evocation of positive evaluation (*judgement: capacity*) of the rulers/conquerors based on the extent of their achievement or territory of domination.

(180) in that notion of trade was involved the empire of the sea and a **vast** *colonial dominion.* (Seeley)

(181) These **vast** *tracts of territory* were conquered, as has already been mentioned, by Ahmed Shah Abdallee (Duff)

In contrast to the implicit praise evoked in the examples above, a more negative assessment of the *Gomerians* (182) comprises two instances in which locations are being quantified so as to construe - in their accumulation with the negative evaluative potential of *penetrated* and *insensibly* - the conquerors as powerful colonisers.

(182) They [Gomerians] penetrated gradually through many of the **vast** *northern regions* of

> Asia, as well as insensibly spread themselves westwards, towards Poland, Hungary, Germany, France, and so quite up to Spain; and even planted **numerous** *colonies* in all these countries, before any of them arrived in Italy. (Sale et al.)

One notable tendency which can be observed in the nobility/statesmen category is that the number of targets is being scaled up mainly via *the whole* (modifying *baronage, body of barristers, attorneys, Spanish monarchy etc*.) or via two partitive phrases which, in being markedly distinct from *the whole*, are likely to be read as representing the majority of a group, viz. *almost all* and *more than*. Nobles in this vaguely incomplete but superior number seem to emerge in contexts in which their numerous appearances support the respective conquerors. This is illustrated by the two extracts below: In Goldsmith's description of Henry's attempt to reclaim his hereditary kingdom, (183), both upscaling phrases, the first (*majority of*) modifying the somewhat imprecise term *people*, the partitive (*almost all*) adjusting the amount of nobles so as to exclude only a few – in conjunction with the *evaluative meaning potential* of *favour* and the assumed positive notion of the gathering's immediacy (*immediately joined*) – construe a positive overall assessment of the factors that led to the success of the invasion. It could be argued that the general support Henry draws on, in line with Hunston's (1993: 63) concept of *goal achievement*, further constitutes a subtle way of evaluating his capacity in an act of relay evaluation (cf. CH.3.3). This means that the immediate support of the barons renders the invasion successful, yet at the same time it evokes a positive assessment of Henry's popularity and leadership qualities, while simultaneously valuing him as a prolific conqueror.

(183) For this purpose, being previously assured of the dispositions of the **majority of** *the people* in his favour, he made an invasion on England, where he was immediately joined by **almost all** *the barons of the kingdom*. (Goldsmith)

In the second example, (184), part of the aristocracy (several) appears to be composed only of a selection of *noblemen*. They are then incorporated into the multiplicity of well-known individuals (*so many*), while the other part, i.e. *the surviving nobility*, which is construed to represent the majority (*almost all*), is eventually added to offer the throne to William.[94] While it is certainly true that *several* rather refers to members of a selected congregation and should thus be considered *scaling with regard to low amount*, the other two quantification strategies used by Henry could considerably increase the historical relevance of their targets – due to their sheer numbers. Another remarkable element is the interplay of concrete numbers (*two other bishops, five other principle citizens*) and vague quantifiers, when Henry's enumeration moves from being 'very specific' (providing the Archbishops' names), to being specific (providing the

[94] Similar to Goldsmith's extract, Henry's text construes a sense of temporal immediacy as the established group is *soon followed* by the surviving nobility.

numbers of the remaining bishops), to being non-specific (providing only the approximated number of noblemen).

(184) Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury, Aldred Archbishop of York, and two other bishops, five of the principal citizens of London, **several** *noblemen* […] went out to meet the conqueror, and made their submissions to him at Berkhamstead's. The example of **so many** *illustrious persons* was soon followed by **almost all** *the surviving nobility of England*, who joined with them in making William an offer of the vacant throne; which […] he accepted. (Henry)

A phrase which frequently premodifies targets of the present category is the open-class determiner *great number of* (Quirk et al. 1985: 264). In contrast to the historical environments of *almost all*, nobles quantified via *great number of* are merely passive bystanders at various wedding ceremonies. Once the phrase contains a comparative instead, it is used to counter the expectations of the first proposition (*some* vs. *greater number of*), as in (185).

(185) **Some** *distinguished senatorial families* had been converted from their errors, like the Anicii and the Bassi, but the **greater number of** *the senators* were still devoted to paganism and would have welcomed a new Julian on the Imperial throne. (Bury)

When monetary targets are the focus of upscaling, the dominating patterns are realised to an almost equal proportion either via *large sums*, *great sums* or via *more than + concrete number* (e.g. *9 pounds*, *330,000I*, *13 a week*, *fifty shillings*). Within the *great sums* pattern, there are three notable cases, viz. (186) (187) (188), in which social sanctioning is enforced. Since the act of extortion is is associated with a vague yet high quantity of money, the negative evaluation of the extortionist's propriety thus construed is further intensified.

(186) The Conqueror, [...] summoned all his prelates, nobles, and knights, to meet him at Salisbury on the first of August; where he obliged them to renew their oaths of fealty, and extorted from them **great sums of** *money* (Henry)

(187) and being now returned from thence, got a safe conduct from the king at Winchester on June 3 to pass into Scotland; where he extorted **great sums of** *money* from the churches (Carte)

(188) It is endless to enumerate all the Oppressions of his Reign; but having no Army to support him, his Tyranny was precarious, and at last his Ruin. Though he extorted **great Sums of** *Money* from his People, yet it was with so much Difficulty, that it did him little Good. Besides, he spent so much in foolish Wars and Expeditions, that he was always behind Hand: Yet he often attempted to raise an Army. (Oldmixon)

Graduation operates to construe large groups of common people made up of very diverse targets e.g. citizens, community members, people of the kingdom. Again, the scaling to the maximum quantity via *the whole* prevails across the corpus. However, in addition to the wide variety of upscaled targets, what stands out is the use of *mass of*. In the examples (189) and (190) below,

both authors scale the number of Irish citizens through the non-specific quantification *great mass of*. This resource provides both writers with a means of strengthening the historical significance of the sociopolitical consequences that resulted from the treatment of the Irish population.

(189) It was true that the **great mass of** *the people* were impoverished, half-civilised, and divided, but it was also true that taxes were lower than in England, that land, living and labour were extremely cheap, and that the events of the civil war had drawn into the country great numbers of able and energetic Englishmen. (Lecky)

(190) the principal debate on which took place on the second reading, May 4, when it was finally rejected by a decisive majority, to the inexpressible chagrin, gradually kindling into resentment and rage, of the **great mass of** *the Irish nation*. (Belsham)

The majority of the targets belonging to the clergy category are quantified so that they convey an authoritative assessment of the size of the group to substantiate their argument. In extract (191), Hume's use of *almost all* can be considered to increase reader-alignment, as it serves to reinforce the irrefutability of the claim emanating from the chosen monoglossic perspective (cf. Martin & White 2005). At the same time, the vagueness of the resources (*almost*) makes it possible to avoid the intersubjective rejection of his claim that results from a critical reading position, since Hume's assertion still contains a limited number of exceptions.

(191) The crime, for which **almost all** *the protestants* were condemned, was, their refusal to acknowledge the real presence. (Hume)

In the following excerpts, the graduation of the quantity of the targets functions to characterise the historical protagonists, i.e. the king of the Vandals and the protestant church. In his elaborating footnote, (192), Gibbon confronts the reader with the great number of clergymen, which seems to originate from the early sources and whose quantity could further underscore the endorsement of the legit religious status of Hunneric's party. The second example, (193), takes Cobbett's critical portrayal of the Protestant church as an illustration of ideologically driven quantification. Cobbett's partisan view is reflected not only in the climactic exaggeration regarding the amounts of money he accuses the Protestant clergy of receiving, but also in the repetition of the comprehensive lexical item *all*, which functions to naturalise a reading in which there are no exceptions.

(192) [FN] Hunneric refuses the name of Catholics to the Homoousians. He describes, as the veri Divinae Majestatis cultores, his own party, who professed the faith, confirmed by **more than a thousand** *bishops*, in the synods of Rimini and Seleucia. (Gibbon)

(193) But, in this view of the matter, how lucky have been the clergy of our Protestant Church, established by law! Her flock does not, if fairly counted, contain one-five-hundredth-part of the number of those who are Catholics; while, observe, her clergy receive **more**, not

only **than all** *the clergy* of **all** the Catholic nations, but **more than all** *the clergy* of **all the** *Christian people in the world*, Catholics and Protestants **all** put together! (Cobbett)

The two expressions that are preferred by historians once they are quantifying temporal periods with respect to high amount are *whole* (39%) and *more than* (56%). Collocations with *whole* are day (n=9), year (n=9), period (n=4). While the first two merely serve to provide a vague description of the duration of an event (i.e. *12/24 hours* or *365 days*, respectively), the last term, *period*, is interesting as it relies on a non-specific construal of time (cf. Martin 2003). Consequently, one could argue that the establishment of ambiguous temporal boundaries based on the individual or communally negotiated interpretations of historians allows for the labelling and hence the assessment of a temporal period of varying size. Thus, by combing *period* with *whole*, the historiographer construes the notion of an 'uninterrupted duration' in which there is hardly any room for change in the asserted conditions within the period. In the example (194) below, Walpole first provides the reader with a broad definition of what he considers to be the duration of the entire period (i.e. *nearly two centuries*) before quantifying it to the maximum reinforces the negative judgement of the authority's propriety.

(194) **For nearly** *two centuries* authority declined to allow the existence of free thought, and during the **whole** *period*, while punishing heresy, it was shaping creeds and writing homilies. (Walpole)

The use of the second resource, *more than*, is equally interesting. In its most common realisation, *more than* (n=17) measures temporal extent in specific (e.g. *nineteen years*) or less definite terms (e.g. *a generation*) (Coffin 2006: 105) and frequently involves ongoing or recurrent events. According to Channell (1994: 78), both the exact number and the plural number in the following extracts function to approximate quantities. She points out that when hearers/readers are confronted with round numbers, they infer from the contextual information that the quantities given are not to be understood as exact (Channell 1994: 79). In upscaling these inexact round numbers to construe a temporal duration, the two texts (195) and (196) exhibit two slightly different strategies. Buckle's extract (195) contains a duration which exceeds two hundred years. This mainly underlines the length of the unusual diet. Thus, in conjunction with the positive declarative structure, which renders the proposition *monoglossic* by excluding alternative viewpoints (cf. Martin & White 2005), the encoding of quantification functions to establish an implicit negative stance (see CH.7 for a discussion of quantification and invoked attitude).

(195) In Ireland the labouring classes have **for more than** *two hundred years* been principally fed by potatoes, which were introduced into their country late in the sixteenth, or early in the seventeenth century. (Buckle)

In Excerpt (196), on the other hand, Seeley uses the approximation of quantities to emphasise the astonishing nature of the rapid dissolution.

(196) That a religious community which was supposed to number **almost** *two millions*, which had subsisted **more than** *a century* and had lived **almost** *a century* under the protection of a special law, should be thus easily dissolved by the French Government, must have given the English people a wholly new conception of what was in the power of Government. (Seeley)

The vague, but nevertheless large numbers and extensive periods of time presented, concurrently serve to evaluate the capacity of the French government (*judgement: capacity*). This is realised in two stages. First, in the approximation of exactness, the inexact values generate the image of a long-standing and large religious group which evokes the expectation that this group must be protected. Subsequently, the assumed surprise on the part of the English citizens at the use of the power of the French government finds expression after the heavy postmodification of *religious community*, as the large approximated quantities are countered by the (unexpected) rapid dissolution.

"Warfare"

This section broadens the discussion to include the ways in which historians treat the targets subsumed under the 'warfare' category. The fact that this category constitutes the second largest unit in both scaling processes may reflect its relative importance in historiography. Moreover, describing the size and extent of units on the battlefield could not only be an account of the force and the tactical nature of war-making but also provides an opportunity to implicitly evaluate those who are responsible for coordination and tactical decisions.

Table 22 below shows the frequency of resources used to either downscale or upscale the quantity of the 'warfare' targets. First, the patterns related to the most prominent low quantifiers are discussed before turning to the use of a selection of devices that amplify the meaning of their targets.

Table 22. Scaling with respect to amount: *warfare*

dimensions					
low (n=148)		**high** (n=255)			
small	40	whole	56	infinite	3
several	37	considerable	27	unlimited	2
some of	25	large	26	no less than	2
sufficient	11	great	24	immense	2
few	10	numerous	21	endless	2
various	8	vast	19	not less than	1
a number of	7	more than	14	mass of	1
handful	5	more	12	innumerable	1
less	2	prodigious	10	incalculable	1
light	2	almost all	7	immense	1
a little	1	utmost	5	immense	1
		entire	5	all of	1
		innumerable	4		
		greater number	4		
		largest	3		

Typically, historiographers use the term *small* when quantifying the size of an unspecified army (e.g. a *small force*, *a small army*) or that of more specific metonymic military entities (e.g. *a small body of grenadier dragoons*). What becomes immediately apparent is that several quantifications via *small* corroborate Delbrück's (1913: 14) hypothesis that the notion of 'bravery' was often associated with the struggle of a minority against a majority. There are several examples in which *small* is juxtaposed with a markedly larger unit. This strategy is evident below in both Echard's account of the King of Northumbria's success, (197), and Henry's heroic recount of the prince's victory over the Welsh, (198).

(197) for here upon, he [king Oswy] with his Son Alfred, gathering a **small** *Army*, at Leeds in Yorkshire, engag'd and defeated the **whole** *Body of the Mercians*, tho' they were thirty Times more in Number, and led on by experienced Commanders. (Echard)

(198) Henry had sent his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, […] with a **small** *army*, against Owen Glendour; and that heroic prince defeated a **much superior** *army of the Welsh*, March 11, near Grosmont in Monmouthshire. (Henry)

In contrast to the construal of the heroic status of the historical actors, Catharine Macaulay's extract (199), depicts the initial incapacity (*dispersed with the utmost precipitation*, *retired regiment*) of the numerous English troops that is enforced in marked contrast to the small yet forceful army (*proceeding from…*, *took possession*) of 'rebels'/'insurgents'.[95] In this case, it

[95] It should be noted that the defender's army is scaled by approximation of a round number, as the exact number of local forces is not given (Channell 1994: 81-88), while Colonel Preston's military power is specified by the

could be assumed that the numerical inferiority of the historical opponent evokes a negative judgement of the defenders' capacity.

(199) The party [several high-ranking Scottish 'insurgents'] now thought themselves strong enough to enter on action at Brampton […]. **Twelve thousand of** *the posse comitatus of Cumberland*, which had been assembled by the Bishop of Carlisle, dispersed with the utmost precipitation on the approach of this **small** *army*, which, proceeding from Penrith by the way of Kendal and Lancaster, took possession of the town of Preston, from whence Stanhope's regiment of dragoons and another of militia had retired. It was not long that the rebels enjoyed this sunshine of fortune. General Wills, with six regiments of horse and dragoons, and one battalion of foot commanded by Colonel Preston, advanced to the bridge of Ribble before Foster received intelligence of their approach. (C. Macaulay)

Elsewhere, in (200) and (201), it appears as if a small army may not necessarily be a disadvantage, as the authors emphasise its exceptional status, which is characterised as 'handpicked' and 'effective'.

(200) Prince Henry […] came over into England with a **small** but **select** *Army* (Echard)

(201) The gentry of the name and following of Gordon supplied Montrose with a **small** but **efficient** *body* of cavalry. (Gardiner)

As for the second most frequent modifier, *several*, it can be observed that it occurs either in a context in which the incapacitation of enemies is central, or in the vicinity of officers or regiments. The vague quantification of engagements in example (202), functions, on the one hand, to emphasise the recurring nature of Arthur's military involvements and, on the other hand, to justify Adam's reading according to which the revival of the countrymen's courage is linked to continued military success. Example (203), displays a typical pattern of modifying the number of regiments or officers in such a way that it can be interpreted as a unit distinct from those not mentioned. The adverb *likewise* in this example can be regarded as further emphasising this notion of detachment, since it indicates that others have also been taken captive.

(202) Arthur, prince of the Silures, revived the expiring valour of his countrymen, and defeated the Saxons in **several** *engagements*. (Adams)

(203) **Several** *principal officers* of their foot were likewise taken, with all their artillery, ammunition and baggage. (Kimber)

As shown above, *some of* functions to down-scale entities comprised in the 'warfare' category relative to their evoked group in its totality, and does so in a less ambiguous way than *several*. Using this quantifier, enables the historiographer to construe exceptionality when depicting

standard measures of military units (*six regiments*; *one battalion*), which should have been familiar to Macaulay's intellectual readership (cf. O'Brien 2001).

events or behaviours. For example, in explaining Admiral Matthew's failure in the battle in (204), Belsham isolates the actors he considers guilty of very poor support (*some of his officers*) before singling out one specific person from this already condensed group (*particularly*, *Admiral Lestock*).[96]

(204) It is admitted that Matthews behaved with heroic gallantry; but he was very ill seconded by **some of** *his officers*, particularly by Admiral Lestock, who, with his whole division, remained at a great distance astern. (Belsham)

The subsequent example is striking as the quantifier is used in a much more subtle manner. Kimber construes a successful mission, in spite of the considerable casualties suffered in the process, by shifting the reader's attention to the almost undamaged fleet (205). The subtle fact that a minority of ships need repair (*some of their ships*) does not prevent the English from intervening in the Dutch trade indefinitely (*for some time*). Additionally, the isolation and downscaling of the damaged ships contributes to the text's construal of an implicit positive judgement of the sailors' tenacity (cf. Hood 2010: 93f.).[97]

(205) The loss of the English was greatest in their admiral Dean: Besides him there was but one captain, and about a hundred and fifty common seamen kill'd: More were wounded, but they lost not one ship. Having put their prisoners on shoar, and left **some of** *their ships* to be refitted, they returned to the coast of Holland, where for some time they block'd up the Dutch in their own harbours (Kimber)

It is debatable whether *sufficient* can be considered to downscale the amount of the modified entity, as the meaning of the term is more likely to denote the end point of the scale and might thus be more akin to totality modifiers combined with bounded meanings so as to indicate an absolute boundary (Paradis 2008: 333). As this item was identified as an integral part of the 'warfare' category and supports the construal of historiographical assessment, it was integrated into the 'low' dimension. However, what is considered an appropriate amount of military equipment or forces is for the historian to decide. This highly subjective determination of adequacy is illustrated in Goldsmith's assessment of the size of the army assigned to King John, whose title "put him at the head of sixty thousand men, a sufficient number indeed, but not to be relied on, and with these he advanced to Dover". The passage contains explicit *pronouncement* (Martin & White 2005: 127), which is construed via the emphasiser *indeed* and which can be read to markedly signal his commitment to the specifying proposition. In contrast

[96] As in other sections, *whole* (*division*) and *great* (*distance astern*) are employed as two optional evaluative resources that further reinforce Lestock's failure, which is coupled here to his potential possibilities for action.
[97] It can be assumed that the 'goal' of their endeavours is at least partially achieved. Consequently, the attribution of a positive value seems justified (cf. Hunston 1993).

to the exceptional numerical determination in Goldsmith's assessment above, the quantity of *the force of cavalry*, in (206), remains underspecified.

(206) Montrose had at last got a **sufficient** *force of cavalry*, and he knew how to use it. (Gardiner)

This characteristic is crucial insofar as *sufficient* enables the historian to set a benchmark against which competence of the historical actor can be measured. For instance, if those in control of a (military) unit – the scale of which is deemed appropriate – fail to resolve a conflict (e.g. win a battle, conquer a city etc.), the reader might be inclined to interpret the failure of their venture primarily in terms of the preconditions. Thus, it is not inconceivable that in these cases the resulting negative judgement of capacity is further intensified via the construed unexpectedness that results from the incongruity of the favourable precondition and the outcome.

In the remainder of the section, the focus shifts to analysing the patterns that emerge when historians amplify experiential meanings. In line with the 'non-military' findings, *whole* dominates the present category. In 20 percent (n=52) of all instances, the pattern *determiner* (*the*/*his*/*their*) + *whole* modifies *army/force/fleet*. The unifying character of *whole* is sometimes strengthened through collocating verbs (*drew up*, *assembled*, *collected*, *uniting*), which occur mainly in conjunction with the possessive pronoun *his*. On top of that, there are a number of instances in which the text construes certain incidents as historically significant via exaggeration or deliberate overestimation. In other words, the quantity of targets is upscaled to its totality in order to increase its historical 'impact'. So, in situations such as the one in (207), the exact size is irrelevant as long as the fact that the army as a whole is affected by the consequences is emphasised.

(207) For being completely surrounded by the enemy, the **whole** *army* was killed or taken prisoners, and among the latter was the king himself. (Priestley)

Quantifying via *considerable* exposes a collocational preference for the indefinite article in 85 percent (n=23) of all instances. This non-specific premodification constitutes a way of generalising, especially in a context where it is meant to markedly signal a competitive advantage, because *considerable* can be read both as "worthy of consideration by reason of magnitude" and as "worthy of consideration or regard; important, of consequence" (OED). The following example (208) illustrates the interplay of these two senses of *considerable* and shows its typical placing in a context in which the deployment of a military unit of substantial size is construed as adequate. Among the various precautions taken by Charles V. to defend Christendom against the apparent military superiority of the Turks is the armament of a force matching that of Sultan Selim II. Robertson first construes Charles' adversary as too powerful

and "ready to turn against Christendom the whole force of his arms" [98], before presenting Charles's extensive clandestine monetary, diplomatic and military countermeasures, which can be argued to evoke a positive evaluation of his tenacity.

(208) Great sums of money were remitted from Spain; all the refinements and artifice of negotiation were employed; and a **considerable** *body of troops* kept on foot by the states of the Circle of Swabia, was secretly taken into his pay. (Robertson)

Upscaling quantity does not always have to indicate a reaction to a threat. For instance, in (209) Goldsmith reinforces the threat posed by John, whom he characterised as "tyrannical and implacable monarch" prior to this passage, by associating his attempt to protrude into the realm with the remarkable size of his forces. As a result, the already existing inscribed negative judgement of John's propriety is further intensified.

(209) In the mean time, John was assembling a **considerable** *army*, with a view to make one great effort for the crown; and at the head of a **large** *body of troops*, he resolved to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. (Goldsmith)

The quantification of 'warfare' targets via *great* is realised in the cluster *great number(s) of* in 62 percent (n=15) of all instances. What is remarkable is that this vague quantifier, *to a great extent*, refers to casualties that are "lost", "cut in pieces", "slain", "swept of" etc. A vivid illustration of a case in which upscaling is considered to function as a means of highlighting the historical protagonist's valour is the evaluation of king Henry's close-combat skills. The report of the large number of killings is construed as compelling evidence of the king's courage and is thus apt to reinforce the judgement of his tenacity already expressed in the preceding clauses.

(210) The king displayed the most consummate prudence as a general, and the most undaunted courage as a soldier, killing as it is said a **great number of** *his enemies* with his own hand. (Henry)

So far, only the most representative cases of the graduation of quantity have been presented in this section. For the sake of illustrating the scope of the co-textual clues, Table 23 serves as a specimen against the background of which some observations can be made.

[98] In the passage preceding the extract, Robertson adduces severe encroachments such as the extirpation of the Mamalukes, and the annexation of Egypt and Syria to characterise the (military) dominance of the Turkish Empire.

Table 23. Concordance lines – collocations *numerous* + *army*

1731 KIMBER.	about an hour's dispute, the whole **numerous**	*army*	of the Scots was totally routed.
1747 SALE et al.	field. Tarquin faced them with a **numerous**	*army,*	composed of Romans, Latins, and Etruscans.
1770 HUME	officers, and levy regiments, and collect an	*army*	as **numerous** as he pleased. When no
1777 GIBBON	a space of time, conducted a **numerous**	*army*	from the banks of the Danube to
1777 GIBBON	after his election, to put a **numerous**	*army*	in motion. Forty days remain for this
1777 GIBBON	attacked by a **numerous** and increasing	*army,*	and afterwards by the whole naval power
1797 HASTED	ford, which was guarded by a **numerous**	*army,*	stuck full of sharp stakes, and so
1797 HASTED	at Sandwich with a **numerous** fleet and	*army.*	However, he staid there but a short
1810 MITFORD	Syracuse, and incamped with his **numerous**	*army*	about two miles from the city.
1814 HENRY	Mercia with a very **numerous**	*army;*	which obliged Burthred, the tributary King of
1814 HENRY	beheld himself at the head of a **numerous**	*army*	of his subjects, transported with joy at
1814 HENRY	himself at the head of a **numerous**	*army*	of his subjects, importuning him to lead
1814 HENRY	a great council, and collected a **numerous**	*army,*	he marched into the north, and arrived
1819 LINGARD	Scots should enter England with a **numerous**	*army,*	and call on the Presbyterians for their

(Search Term: army| Statistic: 04 - MI2| Span: 5-5| Collocation freq. threshold: 5.0| Statistic value threshold: 6.0| CPN: 04 - MI2 (6.0)/ L5-R5/ C: 5.0-NC: 5.0| numerous statistics MI2: 10.54)

The concordance lines in Table 23, make transparent two major findings: i) *numerous* premodifies the target, Hume being the only exception, ii) in three cases the army's quantity is further amplified (*whole* + *numerous*, *very* + *numerous*, *numerous and increasing*), which, according to Hood (2010: 94), further enhances the "evaluative implication".

It is curious that in those cases in which historians upscale quantity via *more than*, many of the targets are further premodified by numbers. In (211), Mitford exemplifies the "superior military knowledge and practice" of the Lacedaemonians by highlighting their ability to rapidly recruit what is presented as a considerable number of soldiers. The interplay of concrete numbers and vague quantities in Belsham's description of the devastating military force of the "arms of the republic", which had defeated the Spanish armies, is remarkable. He is very clear about the number of the regular, timed battles. This concrete figure is complemented by the exaggerated upscaling of other military confrontations in parentheses, before the reader is confronted with high, round numbers (80,000) and one that even exceeds the first by a non-defined figure exceeding 90,000. Both round numbers are used as approximations (Channell 1994: 88). The extract can be regarded as signalling two things: Firstly, the historian's precise knowledge (possibly derived from a meticulous study of the sources) and secondly, either Belsham's implicit negative evaluation of the "allied army's" conduct (*slain*), or at least his attempt to mark the practises as exceptional and thus historically significant.

(211) and shortly they had **more than** *five thousand* to bear arms. (Mitford)

(212) in twenty-seven pitched battles, besides an **innumerable multitude of** *inferior actions*, they had slain 80,000 of their enemies, and taken **more than** *90,000* prisoners. (Belsham)

These findings can be seen as evidence for the relevance of inexact round numbers in the data. To further substantiate this relevancy, the last part of this section is devoted to a brief discussion of a particular type of numerical expression that recurred in the 'warfare' data set, viz. *a thousand*. The corpus features 53 (0.35 per 10k) occurrences of this expression, 21 of which modify terms that can be assigned to the 'warfare' group. It can only be hypothesised why this vague expression is so frequently found. A poposal made by Menninger (1969: 10) concerns the cognitive processability of the structure of the number system. He claims that 1,000 is more "available" in contrast to numbers, such as 543, since the former is accessed by grouping rather than by counting (Menninger 1969: 46). Furthermore, *a thousand* is a multiple of ten and is thus, according to Channell (1994: 83), one of the numbers available for making approximations. In view of these somewhat inconclusive explanations, it is useful to look at the inexact number embedded in the respective examples. In the first of the four examples (213), the city of London is called upon to recruit a number of soldiers sufficient to successfully defend the city. Here, "a thousand men" merely represents a vague order of magnitude, which is probably meant to suggest that the threat level is serious. In contrast, there is no apparent co-textual indication of whether Boyer assesses the size of the 'party', characterised in (214), as sufficient, regular or even insufficient. While the "loss of a thousand men" in (215) in conjunction with the "disastrous repulse" is likely to evoke a negative prosody, conversely, the loss of the same number of soldiers, in (216), helps to construe a positive evaluation of the Confederates' capacity. Both examples nicely demonstrate the contextual relativity of the expression.

(213) the city of London should find **a thousand** *men*, with all manner of weapons, coats and harness (Strype)

(214) About the same time Sir John Lanier, with a Party of **a Thousand** *Horse*, *Foot* and *Dragoons*, made an attempt upon Dundalk (Boyer)

(215) The force was at first landed in St Domingo, and here it met with a disastrous repulse and retired with the loss of **a thousand** *men*. (Seeley)

(216) but the confederates made good their retreat, with the loss only of **a thousand** *men*. (Salmon)

It is worth noting that even though the expression *a thousand* does occur more frequently in the CLMET3.0 red. (0.85 per 10k), its use, however, is restricted to modifying primarily non-military entities (i.e. *years, ways, times, things, thanks, questions, pounds, pieces, miles, lives*). In line with these findings, one could debate whether the expression qualifies as idiomatic in historiography.

Figurative scaling

In the conclusion of their chapter on metaphors, Partington et al. (2013: 162) point out that metaphors in "normal discourse" are almost always evaluative, before going so far as to claim that "to evaluate is often their main function". This assertion certainly applies to scaling by means of figurative expressions and, most particularly, to metaphorical graduation in historiography. The considerable effects that evaluation via nonliteral scaling can cause are made evident by the examples given in the following section.

The examples listed below illustrate *grading by metaphor*, a process in which the modification (i.e. the assessment of quantity) is semantically *infused* in typically delexicalised head nouns (Martin & White 2005: 152). In (217), (218) and (219) the metaphors intensify the number of individuals, whereas the implied comparison in (220) exaggerates the amount/size of inanimate items.

(217) King Louis enters through **seas of** *people* (Carlyle)

(218) A constant **stream of** *emigrants* began to roll northward (Macaulay)

(219) The peace of the Eastern church was invaded by a **swarm of** *fanatics* (Gibbon)

(220) Lumbering along with its **mountains of** *bandboxes* (Carlyle)

It is crucial to examine these expressions used for nonliteral comparisons, as they are thought to be used to "present a particular interpretation of situation and events" (Deignan 2005: 23). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) one fundamental notion of *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* is that metaphors structure thinking. They do that by linking two *conceptual domain*s, a *source domain*, from which a concept is drawn, and a *target domain* onto which it is mapped. It is important that the choice of the metaphor can be conscious and thus strategic. Thus, choosing a particular, more concrete concept in order to comprehend the more abstract one allows the reader/hearer to focus on one aspect of the concept, while, at the same time, inevitably impeding him or her "from focusing on other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 10). Moreover, metaphors can be used to construe over-simplified interpretations (Deignan 2005: 23).

The search for metaphors in corpora is a complex task, since conceptual mappings are not bound to specific linguistic forms (Stefanowitsch 2006: 1-2). So, in order to systematically identify at least a fraction of figurative scaling, I decided to search for lexical items from a well-established *source domain* (i.e. the conceptual domain *water*, more precisely, items denoting a larger quantity of water e.g. *stream*, *sea* etc., or a small quantity of water, e.g. *drop[let], tear*

etc.) (see e.g. Gabrielatos & Baker 2008).[99] Prior to the establishment and investigation of the non-literal vocabulary, the corpus data was probed and collocates were identified via a KWIC analysis (cf. CH.3.5).

Table 24. Exemplary nonliteral findings

- All France is in a roar; a **sea of** *persons*, estimated at ten thousand, whirls all this day in the Palais Royal. [FN: Arthur Young, i 119] (Carlyle)
- it is one bellowing **sea of** *Patriot terror* run frantic. (Carlyle)
- the thing impudently called the "Reformation" was begun in hypocrisy and perfidy, and cherished and fed by plunder, devastation, and by **rivers of** *innocent English and Irish blood*, (Cobbett)
- their [King James' party] (late) troubles were succeeded by a **torrent of** *vice* (Dr King cited in Curry)
- but the Saracens recovered courage after the first **torrent of** *success* was past (Goldsmith)
- They fell into the **stream** by which other states had been carried in the **torrent of** *violent passions*, and in the outrage of barbarous times. (Ferguson)
- but there is reason to conclude that it was the first **wave of** *an inundation* which afterwards created the greatest confusion in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. (Hardwick)
- and it was impossible to stem this **tide of** *distraction* for a time (Defoe)
- when the **tide of** *fanaticism* began to overbear the religion of his country (Smollett)
- The mind of Niger was not capable of receiving this sudden **tide of** *fortune* (Gibbon)
- The inhabitants […] were in a better condition to resist the general **tide of** *violence and oppression* (Millar)
- there is no saying where the **current of** *factious guilt* may drive (Duff)

The historiographers whose excerpts are listed in Table 24, appear to use non-literal scaling predominantly in conjunction with abstract terms (e.g. *vice, success, fortune, distraction, violent passion*s). It could be argued that this quantification of abstract entities by means of water metaphors invites a reading of the entities as dehumanised, agentless, out-of-control natural disasters, thereby either exonerating those required to act or praising those who nonetheless act against the evoked threat of the force of nature. Beyond that, most of the entities quantified in that way can be seen as having negative *evaluative meaning potential* (Martin & White 2005: 149). So, by combining the emotionally charged metaphors with the negative

[99] In their CDA study on the "discursive constructions of refugees and asylum seekers", Gabrielatos and Baker identify what they call "'quantity' collocations", viz. *flood/river/tide/wave* that function as "emotionally charged metaphors" (2008: 22).

polarity of targets such as fanatism, vice, violence and oppression, they are further reinforced through the strategic use of figurative resources. What is more, several of the metaphors point to a direction (*rivers, torrent, stream, current, tide*) that could carefully be linked to the construal of time, with the direction shifting from the past to the present (*succeeded by a torrent of vice, after the first torrent of success was past, stem this tide of destruction for a time*). In summary, then, it may be argued that the conceptual metaphor WATER(FORCE) IS QUANTITY reinforces the negativity of its targets and gives rise to a more deterministic notion of loss of control.

Concluding this section, it has been shown that historians use non-literal scaling mainly in conjunction with abstract terms and thereby reinforce their evaluative meaning potential. The most prominent entities which are modified via non-figurative scaling are subsumed in the categories *warfare*, *period*, and *location*. Observations of *scaling with respect to low amount* exhibit the frequent downscaling of temporal duration as well as the marginalization of locations and nobles. Upscaling the quantity of the diverse target categories are recurrently realised via a construal of the wholeness of the entity through the partitive *the whole* or of the targets' 'near' entirety (via *almost all*). It is remarkable that there exists a statistically significant difference between historiography and other material produced during the same period. Historians seem to favour the all-encompassing *the whole,* as it is used more often compared to that within the CLMET 3.0 red. (Diller et al. 2011), (t (65.59) = -5.16; $p < 0.001$). Furthermore, many of the resources used to upscale quantity (e.g. *great masses of*, *almost all*) function to strengthen the historical significance, for example, of particular political or societal phenomena. On the other hand, the corpus comprises almost no adjectival modification of *amount(s) of*, as suggested by McCarthy and Carter (2004: 179).

Another finding concerns the initially conjectured 'us vs. them' distinction, which rested on the assumption that, for instance, groups that are historically opposed to the author's individual value position are systematically marginalised or downgraded. Surprisingly, the only time this distinction was perceptibly evoked was in what can be considered 'David versus Golliath' narratives. In these cases, the downgrading of the hero's forces and the simultaneous upscaling of the enemies' troops primarily served the purpose of elevating the success of the former, resulting in an intensified, positive evaluation of the protagonists' military skills (cf. Delbrück 1913).

It is reasonable to conclude that quantification of meanings allows for a mapping of imprecise measuring of e.g. the number, size and mass of entities (Martin & White 2005: 141).

These non-specific resources can give some indication of the historians' degree of certainty and particularly of the aspects that they preferably blur.

7.3 FOCUS

On the second axis of the appraisal framework, FOCUS, scaling operates in contexts that are not gradable and which are therefore *sharpened* or *softened* by reference to prototypicality (Martin & White 2005: 137). Categories are reconstrued via graduation in such a way that they can be scaled along an artificially created/subjective cline so as to signal whether they are considered *core* or rather *marginal exemplars*. As it is primarily experiential phenomena whose boundaries are being adjusted, pre-modification functions to invoke attitude or to encode it indirectly (Hood 2010: 88). In history writing, as in genres with a similar persuasive agenda (e.g. academic writing, cf. Hood 2010: 88), the authors expound what they deem prototypes of a respective category as they claim authority over their subject matter. This means that they mark the concepts as prime-examples of a category by using pre-modifiers that restrict and/or facilitate a particular construal of the *categorial meaning*. To take a concrete example: Modifying the nouns below leads to an indisputable evaluation of the dimensions of both authenticity and truthfulness by strengthening their categorial boundaries.

- **true** philosophy (2)	- **real** discoverer (2)
- **true** sense (4)	- **real** christian (2)
- **true** spirit (6)	- **real** power (3)
- **true** interest (8)	- **real** motive (3)
- **true** cause(s) (8)	- **real** interest (4)
- **true** religion (15)	- **real** intentions (4)

The frequency of the extracted 'targets of focus' indicates that historians prefer to grade abstract nouns by reference to prototypically. Buckle's statement "there are no signs of **real** *progress*" can be taken as a compelling example. Nevertheless, there are also cases in which the noun is concrete, such as in the commentary by Defoe "[…] and like **true** *soldiers*, though in a bad cause, they fought their ground by inches". Here the categorial affiliation of the nominalised

entity *soldiers* is sharpened by the pre-modifying adjective for the purpose of juxtaposing the resulting evoked positive evaluation with their misguided actions. Alternatively, the term "true soldiers" in Defoe's commentary can be read metonymically as an indication of his ideal conception of soldiership. The perceived intensification in Defoe's comparison can be seen as a typical effect of the sharpening process, which is attested to have the potential to "strongly flag a positive attitudinal assessment" when the target of graduation is one that is commonly considered non-attitudinal (Martin & White 2005: 139).

Strengthening the categorical boundaries around the term *religion* apparently functions as a means of creating a notion of uniqueness, while at the same time this scaling mirrors the historian's authoritative evaluation (or that of an attributed voice) of exceptionality. Historiographers who determine the ultimate prototype of the term (**true** *religion*) do so in relation to what they themselves consider constitutive of *religion*. More specifically, it is their own set of values and convictions that informs the graduation choice. It is worth mentioning that marking a more or less abstract concept as *true* or *real* has the potential to evoke the corresponding antonyms (*untrue*, *illegitimate*, *false*, *dubious*, *unreal*…) and thus opens up a space for all existing alternative options, which are now placed in relation to the historian's choice.

Apart from sharpening categorial boundaries, FOCUS also includes meanings that are elsewhere labelled *hedges* (e.g. Lakoff 1973) and *vague language* (Channell 1994). FOCUS, hence, enables the 'blurring' of categorical meanings. The effect thus gained might be evoked strategically. In this way, the historian/author is capable of encoding, for instance, doubts or critique in a less subjectively manner without jeopardising a strong alignment of the reader with the author's value position. One advantage of this evaluative strategy is also confirmed by Myers (1996: 4), who claims that "vagueness can be used strategically to allow a written text to take on a range of meanings for different audiences with different interests".

Furthermore, in the context of history writing, *scaling down along a dimension of specificity* may function to indicate minimal investment in the proposition. The softening of vagueness, expressed, for instance, in the scarcely determinable degree of King Henry's gratitude in (221), results in a vague authorial positioning with regard to the negative or positive evaluative orientation of the statement. Contrary to conveying vagueness, Carte's description of the accommodation of a group of disloyal lords hostile to the Queen in the tower of London (222) seems to invite a negative value position. Despite choosing the attitudinally loaded term *confinement*, Carte immediately softens its categorial boundaries, allowing for a less clear-cut interpretation. Martin and White (2005: 139) go so far as to see in this kind of *softening* of

negative terms an indication of a reduction in the author's investment in the value position, resulting in a "conciliatory gesture" on the part of the writer that is "directed towards maintaining solidarity with those who hold contrary views".

(221) And Henry showed himself **to a certain extent** grateful (Stubbs)

(222) in the Tower, where they were kept **in a sort of** confinement (Carte)

Surprisingly, the corpus data does not contain many instances in which distinct approximators (e.g. *somewhat*, *kind of*, *almost*…) were applied to soften the categorial membership according to the historians' "interpersonal semantic" (cf. Martin & White 2005: 137). It seems as if historiographers rarely saw the need to use this strategy of marginalising categorial membership, probably because - despite its discourse-strategic advantages – it could also be viewed as creating a certain sense of 'imprecision' that left too much room for interpretation.

8. JUDGEMENT+

Bondi (2007: 69) proposes that a historian takes on three different roles, namely that of *The Recounter/Narrator*, *The Academic Arguer*, and *The Interpreter*. To accommodate for the fact that some historiographers see themselves as 'upholders of moral standards', I suggest to add the role of 'The Moral Educator' to that concept.[100] Historians, in order to make moral and ethical assessments, appraise not only the historical actors and their behaviour, but also events, institutions and causes. The subsystem that lends itself to the classification of these particular instances of moral and ethical evaluation is *Judgement* (Martin & White 2005: 52-56).

8.1 Expanding the Appraisal framework

In the original framework, *Judgement* is reduced to the appraisal of human conduct (cf. CH.3.4). However, already in the early development of the Appraisal Framework there was an awareness of the frequent categorisation overlaps at the border between evaluative meaning directed at people's behaviour ("rules and regulations") and that directed at things ("products of behaviour") (cf. Martin 2000: 147; Martin & White 2005: 59). In a similar vein, Hood (2010: 83) diagnoses an "appreciation-judgment tension" in those moments when certain lexical expressions that are commonly associated with the evaluation of people are classified as *appreciation*.[101] She refers to these instances as "a kind of latent, pending judgement" (Hood 2010: 83). Taking up the same issue, Bednarek (2009: 180) draws attention to the particular difficulty of straightforwardly distinguishing *appreciation lexis* from *judgement lexis* and suggests relating attitudinal lexis to the attitudinal target in order to classify cases in which "'judging' lexis [is] used to appreciate things" and "'appreciation' lexis [is] used to judge behaviour". Another important contribution to the discussion is Bednarek's preliminary classification of attitudinal lexis into "Emotion Lexis" and "Opinion Lexis" (2009: 181). While the first comprises affective items (e.g. *happy*, *sad*, *boring*), the latter comprises lexis used for judging and appreciating (e.g. *honest*, *real*, *normal*, *ugly*) (Bednarek 2009: 181). A reformulation of this kind could facilitate the description of semantic changes, for example, in cases where *emotion lexis* is turned into *opinion lexis*, as statements such as "it's a pity that" (Bednarek 2009: 183).

[100] This is a role which bears some resemblance to Martin's concept of the "Adjudicator Voice", which covers historians who make moral judgements about truthfulness and ethics (2002:101).
[101] That is, meanings that construe valuations of "things", especially things that are produced, performances that are given, but also natural phenomena – "what such things are worth" (Martin & White 2005: 56).

For the current study, I therefore propose to expand Martin and White's (2005) original JUDGEMENT system in such a way that evaluative meanings are additionally integrated, which refer to the normative assessment of historical concepts, events and actions.[102] To account for the fact that judgement is not restricted to the charging of *personal* qualities, but should be extended to also cover qualities that modify *inanimate* entities, the term 'JUDGEMENT+' is used in the present study to account for the duality of targets.

On the basis of this epistemological expansion, the targets of positive or negative JUDGEMENT can be distinguished into the two sub-categories '*ad hominem'* and '*ad res'*.

Targets of the ***ad hominem*** category (i.e. historical personae) are subject to a rather comprehensive definition and comprise, inter alia, armies, (military) forces, king, queen, the crown, enemies, dynasty, and pronouns.

Ad res targets (i.e. depersonalised/metonymic entities, events, actions), on the other hand, primarily encompass discourse domains such as practices/deeds, institutions/authorities, (legal) principles, motives/reasons, effects/impacts, locus (space), behaviour/manner, warfare etc.

Since historians do not limit their interpretative evaluation to human behaviour but frequently shift their focus to inanimate entities (cf. Gorman 2007, 2004), this extension is imperative for a more comprehensive analysis of moral and norm-based assessments in historiography. For instance, in the corpus there are nouns such as *doctrines* which are premodified by *corrupt*, or *acts* which are premodified by *unnatural*. Further, there are instances in which *powerful* modifies targets such as *city, resistance* or *physical resources*.

For all these cases, it is hypothesised that historiographers measure the objects of their evaluation against an assumed norm and mark them as remarkable or unusual. This assumption concurs with Coffin (2002: 226), who states that

> the JUDGEMENT framework is highly determined by cultural and ideological values and different behaviours may be classified differently according to the set of social values to which the evaluator subscribes. […] [S]uch classifications are particularly influenced by the temporal location of the evaluator.

[102] This orientation towards an expansion of the attitudinal target is further supported by Hunston and Su's research of evaluative patterns, which likewise problematises the "overlap in the lexis used to instantiate Judgement and Appreciation" and which conceptualises "the distinction between them [as] depending on the *target* of the evaluation rather than its form" (2019: 18, my italics).

She also stresses that historians are prone to shift "moral and political codes" depending on their location in time, so that "personal qualities [...] are charged with varying degrees of positive or negative meaning" (Coffin 2002: 226). With regard to the period under consideration, a significant development is the emerging tension between two ideals in historiography: an artistic, 'novelised' representation of the past with the aim of educating and entertaining (with anecdotes and biographical elements) competes with the emerging ideal of empirical, objective history (dominated by the Rankean, research-oriented conception of historiographical accuracy). Since representatives of the latter are assumed to avoid overtly judgemental assessments of historical figures, it is to be expected that the data will reveal an intricate interplay of *ad hominem* and *ad res* judgements.

Conceptually, evaluation has been regarded as consisting of an object that is compared or contrasted with the norm (cf. Labov 1972; Thompson & Hunston 2000). The identification of comparative signals could thus reveal the underlying individual or societal set of values that serve as a kind of benchmark. What is considered good, acceptable or desirable is often reflected in the marked, sometimes even categorical condemnation of deviation from the assumed norm. Since the boundaries of these norms are usually negotiated and defined alongside changing moral principles, it is important to briefly discuss their role in history writing.

Why is it that historians consider it relevant to adhere to what Butterfield (1931: 59) considers "the most useless and unproductive of all forms of reflection – the dispensing of moral judgements upon people or upon actions in retrospect"? And why do they not follow Evan's (2002: 330) recommendation to only engage in explanation and interpretation and to dispense with moral judgements? Indeed, it is assumed that particularly historians, who can be considered scholars of scientific historiography, adopted a detached and dispassionate distance from moral judgements as they sought "objectivity" (Gorman 2011: 256). However, a historiography that lacks ethical orientation "in an attempt to withdraw from the grip of the moral" (Gorman 2011: 256), may itself be morally wrong, as this orientation is not only required by historical tradition (Gorman 2004), but also because a completely impartial, detached view of events could be critically read or misconceived as 'inappropriate acceptance'.[103]

[103] This means that the failure to condemn, for example, genocides or major political catastrophes that are generally considered abhorrent at the time of writing could be construed as unprofessional or even immoral behaviour, since the historian is obliged to judge (cf. Gorman 2004, 2007).

The following sections are intended to specify the linguistic realisations of norm-based and ethical judgement in the works of historians who are believed to have been influenced by the firmly established 'demand-for-moral-orientation'.

8.2 Norm-based evaluation

Exploiting the potential of the extended sub-system (i.e. *Judgement+*), the following section presents the results of an investigation which aimed to identify and examine norm-based evaluative patterns and to gain empirical evidence in support of their assumed diachronic changes. As the newly emerging academic/empirical discipline of historiography demanded a neutral and fact-based, 'objective' recount of the past, it was anticipated that there would be a decrease of inscribed moral evaluation, as well as a potential increase in *ad res* evaluation, as the latter was seen as having the potential to provide an indirect evaluation of historical agents (see *relay evaluation* in CH.3.3).

In order to validate the assumptions, a *Keyword in Context Analysis* (KWIC) was conducted in WordSmith Tools 7.0 (Scott 2016), focusing on the *evaluative meaning potential* of 441 key items considered relevant for the realisation of JUDGEMENT.[104] The selection of items included Martin and White's (2005: 53) exemplary realisations of JUDGEMENT which were supplemented by synonyms from the *Oxford English Dictionary's Historical Thesaurus* (OEDHT) to also cover words that are no longer in use.

In the first phase of the analysis, the items, which in many cases had been extended by a wild-card, were entered into the corpus as queries. This *corpus-informed* analysis resulted in an extensive frequency list. A threshold of 0.1 hits per thousand words was set to accurately measure and assess the evaluative potential of the search terms. This adjustment allowed for a qualitative, context-sensitive inspection of the 28,603 raw hits generated by the remaining 122 key items (and the elimination of 'noise' within these hits). In the second phase, the items were clustered into two semantic groups, namely *propriety* and *normality*, following Martin and White (2005) (cf. CH.3.4). Of these items, only those were selected that were thought to realise norm-based and moral/ethical evaluation in the most unambiguous way possible (cf. Table 25 and Table 26 below).

[104] It should be noted that para-textual material (with the exception of footnotes) was excluded from the analysis.

Table 25. Typical realisations of the semantic group *normality*

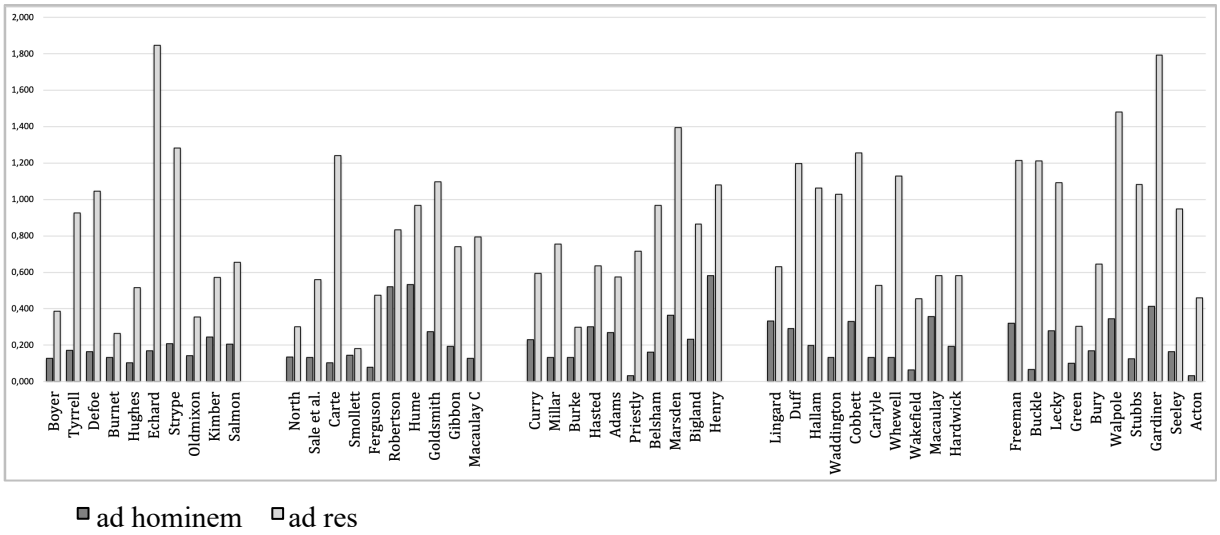
normality
(un)common (n=319+39)
considerable (n=355)
remarkable (n=188)
extraordinary (n=179)
strange (n=219)
(un)usual (n=274+33)
(un)natural (n=156+20)
vital (n=7)
conform(able) (n=39)
(ab)normal (n=4+2)
(ir)regular (n=164+49)
established (n=314)

Historians tend to signal to the reader the misconduct of historical characters, or the way in which entities or events are to be interpreted on an ethical dimension, the shaping of which, in turn only becomes tangible in the act of making these morally charged historical judgements. Even though their discourse role "interpreter" seems to require policing "esteem" (see Martin & White 2005; Bondi 2007) for conceptualising the past in a particular way, historiographers have to adjust to the potential objections of their readers. Consequently, historiographical accounts written in a period when the moral education of the audience relied heavily on presenting the subject-in-focus' behaviour as worthy of imitation (or alternatively as not conforming to the rules and therefore suitable as a negative example) could be assumed to have more instances of explicit norm-based evaluation modifying *ad hominem* targets.[105] In the same way, one might expect to find fewer norm-based evaluations aimed at *ad hominem* targets in works composed by those historiographers who advocated a 'scientific' paradigm, as this

[105] The importance of historical actors serving as virtuous or disreputable role models is evident in contemporary metahistorical texts such as Viscount Henry Bolingbroke's *Letters on the Study and Use of History*. Bolingbroke answered his rhetorical question "what then is the true use of history?" by, among other things, proposing to offer explanations based on various exemplary historical characters. He went on to assert that "to improve by example is to improve by imitation", before qualifying that "[w]e must catch the spirit, if we can, and conform ourselves to the reason of them; but we must not affect to translate servilely into our conduct, [...] the particular conduct of those good and great men, whose images history sets before us. [...] they who set such examples as these acted an heroical and a rational part too. But if a general should act the same part now, and, in order to secure his victory, get killed as fast as he could, he might pass for a hero, but I am sure he would pass for a madman. Even these examples however are of use: they excite us at least to venture our lives freely in the service of our country; by proposing to our imitation men who devoted themselves to certain death in the service of theirs." (1752 - Letter II).

strategy could be seen as undermining the widely aspired impartial, non-partisan ideal that was devoid of (overt) authorial interventions (e.g. Lorenz 2008: 393). To determine these hypothesised shifts, the targets of evaluation were identified and allocated using concordancing. The normalised results are given in Figure 33 below.

Figure 33. *JUDGEMENT+: normality.* distribution *ad hominem* - *ad res* targets *(per 1,000 words)*



Surprisingly, the chart shows neither a substantial decline in overt, explicit evaluation at the beginning of the academic period, nor any clear tendencies that can be traced back to the conventions of the respective periods (cf. CH.2.1). Apart from this, the last sub-epoch shows a slight increase in the use of inscribed judgement items: the instances of norm-based evaluation of *ad res* targets increase marginally from 0.76 pmw (1700-1740) to 1.01 pmw (1860-1914).

While the distribution analysis did not show any conclusive trends, a qualitative analysis of evaluative patterns approached the ways in which inscribed judgment was realised in the texts to see if it is possible to trace evaluative patterns that reflect the communal norms shared by historians. It was decided to look more closely at the resources historians use to mark a deviation from the perceived (social) norms. Given that instances of norm conformity are rarely addressed, this approach aimed at clarifying for the analyst the choices made in setting up the reader to endorse the norm-based, unquestioned value system. Drawing on O'Brien's (2001) characterisation of the expansion of the history market in the eighteenth-century, in which publishers primarily targeted a sophisticated readership and later broadened the thematic scope of the works to meet the demands of a growing audience, the need to align these readers, who may have adhered to different value systems (informed by prevailing philosophical schools of thought such as *scepticism*, *egalitarianism*, *positivism*, *utitliarism* etc.), becomes evident. It

may be true, for instance, that some of the Victorian historiographers may certainly have had quite different ideas about their ideal audience, which differed substantially from that addressed by the urge to diversify, and they were uncomfortable with the unrestricted dissemination of their work. (Bentley 2005: 194). Nevertheless, it can be argued that even those professional academic historians who sought to morally instruct their undergraduate target audience adapted their works to meet the needs of their audience (for a survey of the 'professionalisation of historiography' see e.g. Soffer 1994 and Slee 1986).

In the corpus data, the formal marking of deviation from the assumed (social) norm is typically explicitly construed using negative values (e.g. *irregular*, *strange*, *unnatural*, *unusual*, *uncommon*). All these items are thought to unambiguously signal the reader that the historian is highlighting behaviours, character traits or events based on assumed ethical standards. Examples of this marked deviation realised as negative judgement of *ad hominem* targets are given below.

(223) I cannot be censured by any body, in this conclusion of mine, if it be remembered what **strange** *advocates* the Church had at this time, — when those that never came to the Church, never owned the jurisdiction of the Church (Defoe)

By evoking the peculiarities of the clerical representatives ("at this time"), Defoe marks them as extraordinary through his moral evaluation of the advocates. This strategy has the potential to trigger a negative judgement on the part of the reader, which is reinforced by the implicit directive "if it be remembered". It is assumed here that the criticised 'strangeness' of the advocates is based on and contrasted with Defoe's conception of an 'ideal' advocate. In the passage that follows the above excerpt, Defoe further elaborates on the dispreferred behaviour of the advocates portrayed:

> [The advocates] were always known to maltreat her [the established church]; reject her establishment; and never joined with her, either in doctrine or discipline, worship or government, went up and down, exclaiming at the designs of the English bishops, to overthrow the established Church.

In this case, the explicit reference to the deviation from the norm could serve the purpose of delegitimising possible objection to Defoe's synopsis of measures taken against the parliamentary control of the church.

(224) But, among all this brood of **spurious** or **irregular** *heirs*, the greatest of the whole line was the one to whom the reproach, if reproach it was deemed, of **illegitimate** *birth* clave the most abidingly. (Freeman)

Freeman's ethical evaluation of those relatives of *William the Great/the Conqueror/the Bastard,*[106] who was descended from "that irregular kind of union which was called Danish marriage", finds expression in the conjoined adjectives "spurious" and "irregular". The latter is thought to prompt the reader to condemn the inheritance practices of the house of Normandy, as the adjective, reinforced by the succeeding attribute "of illegitimate birth", negatively evaluates the *ad hominem* targets' esteem. Interestingly, despite the perspicuity and the culmination of the attitudinal lexis used, the marginalia surrounding the excerpt have the function of ensuring that the reader is aligned with Freeman's moral values: The sidehead preceding the excerpt reads "Laxity of the Norman dukes as to marriage and legitimacy", the one following it "Special illegitimacy of William". The non-compliance with the normative "canonical laws of marriage" as well as the "claims of legitimate birth" is clearly sanctioned by Freeman.

It becomes evident that historiographers considered it reasonable to provide their intended audience with an ethical orientation. In large parts, however, historians seemed to avoid critical ethical assessments of historical figures. Although it is not inconceivable that the historian would preferably sanction their generally undisputed misconduct (e.g. *adultery*, *illegitimacy* or *illegality*), the limited evidence drawn from the corpus data unfortunately cannot substantiate this hypothesis. What can be ascertained, nevertheless, is that historians prefer to evaluate *ad res* rather than *ad hominem* targets. The motivation of this shift in targets can be explained with reference to Macken-Horarik and Isaac, who conclude in a summary of previous studies that "inter- and intra-cultural research indicates a preference for implicit rather than explicit construal of negative JUDGEMENT, and particularly moral evaluations" (2014: 73).

In order to examine the particularities of ethical assessment directed at norm-deviating inanimate targets, the 166 targets in the *ad res* category were mapped onto the following subcategories: 'objects', 'locus', 'actions/conditions', 'events' and 'other'. This subclassification was chosen to facilitate a further analysis by making the distribution of targets of this type transparent. The selected examples are representative of the respective ratings within the category. For example, the first sub-category 'objects' contains 12 instances (7%) that are structurally similar to Lecky's extract. In this, Lecky, by pointing out the unusual nature of the images, reveals his normative idea of what constitutes the world of religious enthusiasts.

(225) *Pictures of this kind* are ***uncommon*** in the lives of religious enthusiasts. (Lecky)

Only four percent of the *ad res* targets were sub-classified as locus (n=6).

[106] Freeman discusses the genesis of these divergent epithets in the passage under observation.

(226) [T]ey appeared in a **strange** *place*, […] (Sale)

Sales' reference to the oddity of the place simultaneously construes a location that he considers the more ideal (i.e. not strange).

The largest quantity of items was subsumed under the labels 'actions and conditions' (54%, n=89) and 'historical events' (17%, n=28). A number of examples illustrating typical realisations of the two categories are discussed below.

actions and conditions

The selection exemplifies how historians directly construe moral evaluative meanings associated with targets related to historical undertakings and activities. So, Waddington's assessment (227) of the heathen governments' "practice of exposing infants" as not being "in accordance with moral standards" (OED 'unnatural') shows the reader the inhumane dimension of this ancient custom. In addition, the negative evaluation of judgement is further enforced through the *emphasizer even*, suggesting that the proposition is unexpected. This unexpectedness is in turn substantiated by the superlative "highest civilisation" in the postmodifying prepositional phrase, with the historian setting up a contrast between the ultimate manifestation of civilised standards, construed as universally accepted, and the inhumane practices. Combining unexpectedness with negative judgement, the proposition is presented as incontrovertible, thus inviting the reader to endorse the underlying ethical values.

(227) The heathen governments, even the Roman, in its highest civilization, tolerated, and perhaps encouraged, the **unnatural** *practice of exposing infants* (Waddington)

(228) Lastly, he [Latimer] was a chief [**…**] in that black and **unnatural** *act* of bringing his brother Lord Thomas Somerset to the block (Cobbett)

Compared to this multi-layered composition, the historian's interpretation in the second example (228) seems much more uncontroversial: Cobbett markedly condemns Hugh Latimer for killing his own brother, in a "black and unnatural act".[107] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, fratricide is widely considered a mortal sin and is therefore socially sanctioned. Nonetheless, Cobbett deemed it necessary to make his readers aware of Latimer's severe misconduct. A potential answer as to why historians, and Cobbett in particular, tended to mark instances of incontrovertible moral misconduct may, indeed, lie in the aforementioned expansion of the intended audience to include less educated classes.

[107] It should be noted that "black" is likely to be read as negatively charged due to the coordination of both adjectives and consequently reinforces the overall negative evaluation (for the discussion of intensification and disambiguation by coordinated adjectives, see CH.5.5).

In Cobbett's case, this factor becomes apparent when one places his account in the period in which was written. *A History of the Protestant Reformation* was first published and circulated in sixteen separate "letters addressed to all sensible and just Englishmen"[108] at three pence apiece. By 1828, the total number sold in England was seven hundred thousand (Manning 2001: 433). Cobbett's aim was to align members of the lower classes with his 'anti-clerical idealization of the Middle Ages'. The adaptation of the material to the respective readership can be seen as a means to achieve this goal (Manning 2001: 434). Indeed, Cobbett's norm-based evaluation is combined with what can be labelled 'a stylistic adjustment'. Manning observes that Cobbett's style of history writing departs from historiographical conventions as he "offers a vernacular immediacy honed by years of political journalism and oratory" (2001: 432).

To summarise, examples (227) and (228) have in common that the historiographers base their moral evaluation on what could be called 'societal' norms, i.e. norms that are accepted as common moral ground and therefore as non-negotiable.

In contrast, it is assumed that the targets found in the subsequent excerpts (229) and (230) are measured against a different normative basis.

(229) [A]t his Coronation he [King Stephen] took an **unusual** *Oath* (Echard)

(230) He [Edgar the Peacable] imposed a new and very **uncommon** *kind of tribute* on the prince of Wales (Henry)

It seems reasonable to argue that Echard's evaluative assessment of King Stephen's oath as "unusual" and Henry's intensified judgement of "uncommon kind of tribute" are both expressions of exceptionality in the sense that their targets are marked to run counter to the empirically observed practices of the period in focus.

events

Turning to ad res targets which are subsumed under 'events' (i.e. circumstances construed as historically salient and/or exhibiting a historically determinative force), it becomes apparent that the authorial sanctioning of norm-transgressions is necessary for both causal explanations and narratological justifications. The "unnatural usurpation" in example (231) can be read either as a reflection of the parliament's stance or as an endorsement by Curry. Either way, the putative reader is positioned as complying with condemning William's usurpation, a term that in itself is already negatively charged since it contains the notion of an "unlawful appropriation". In the

[108] The letters' title might be indicative of their moralising agenda, which is expressed in the construction of their irreproachable target audience's propriety ("*just* Englishmen").

corpus it typically collocates with negatively loaded terms such as *unjust*, *barbarous heretics* and *tyranny* or is preceded by phrases indicating counteractions, e.g. *opposing the usurpation* or *against the usurpation*. Therefore, *unnatural* can be regarded as to further raise the negative evaluative load of the entire noun phrase. Seeley's judgement of the "settlement" in (232), which followed what the historian referred to as the "second Revolution" of 1714, marks its status as unusual compared to an implied image of a prototypical, 'non-strange' and hence 'conventional' settlement.

(231) [T]he address of the parliament of Ireland [...] in which they abhor the **unnatural** *usurpation of the Prince of Orange* and the treason of those who joined with him in England and Ireland. (Curry)

(232) [I]t was delayed for another century and […] in the meanwhile a different, a very **strange** and unsatisfactory *settlement* was provided for Ireland. (Seeley)

One can speculate whether Henry's statement that Brude spent time in a war that 'went against the normalised rules' (*irregular*) has the effect of further enhancing his victory.

(233) After spending some time in this **irregular** *kind of war*, he [Brude] collected his whole forces, in order to determine this quarrel by a decisive action. (Henry)

The examples discussed above lend strong support to the thesis that historiographers adopted an evaluative strategy '*ad res'*, in those moments when the agent is no longer the focus of attention (or should no longer be). This is remarkable in that it may indicate a shift from a generic evaluation of the subject towards a more balanced evaluation of his/her behaviour, manners or deeds in specific spatial or temporal contexts.

Of course, the results must be interpreted with a degree of caution, as they represent only a limited range of all the choices available to the historiographer. But despite their limitations, the findings are valuable as they provide interesting insights into the nature and origin of the core values on the basis of which historians construct their norm-based evaluations.

8.3 Ethical and moral evaluation

History writing is not limited to reminding readers of assumed (shared) norms and markedly sanctioning deviations. The subsystem JUDGEMENT+ further provides the means to identify evaluative choices used for assessing (im)moral behaviour or incidents. Ethical assessments, which Martin and White (2005: 53) subsume under the subsystem "propriety", appear in various forms in historical discourse. This is by no means surprising, since one of the early, but not uncontroversial, objectives of historiography was to provide instruction to a readership that was assumed to study history in order to better itself (cf. Phillips 1997, 2000, see also CH.2.1).

Early scholars of 'scientific' historiography such as Freeman, Stubbs, Seeley and Acton turned to Ranke, who promoted banishment of the moralising dimension from historiography, which was particularly prevalent in the accounts of Romanticism. "The historian, for Ranke, was no longer a literary genius writing about the past in the same way a novelist writes about the fictional world, full of judgements and lessons of morality." (Hesketh 2011: 3). This shift in paradigm led to the initial hypothesis that late nineteenth-century historiographers would tend to avoid explicitly moralising commentaries in the interpretative passages of their recounts.[109] The selection of items that are assumed to typically function to praise decency or to signal moral norm transgressions is found in the *propriety* group in Table 26.[110]

Table 26. Typical realisations of the semantic group *propriety*

propriety/morality/legality/equity
(un)just, justly (n=216+54)
cruel (n=96)
(ir)responsible (n=8+21)
corrupt (n=43)
(il)legal (n=61+20)
illegitimate (n=18)
honest (n=62)
(un)faithful (n=99+1)
(dis)loyal (n=37+7)
bad (n=83)
approve(d) (n=89)
(dis)orderly (n=3+11) (n=164+49)

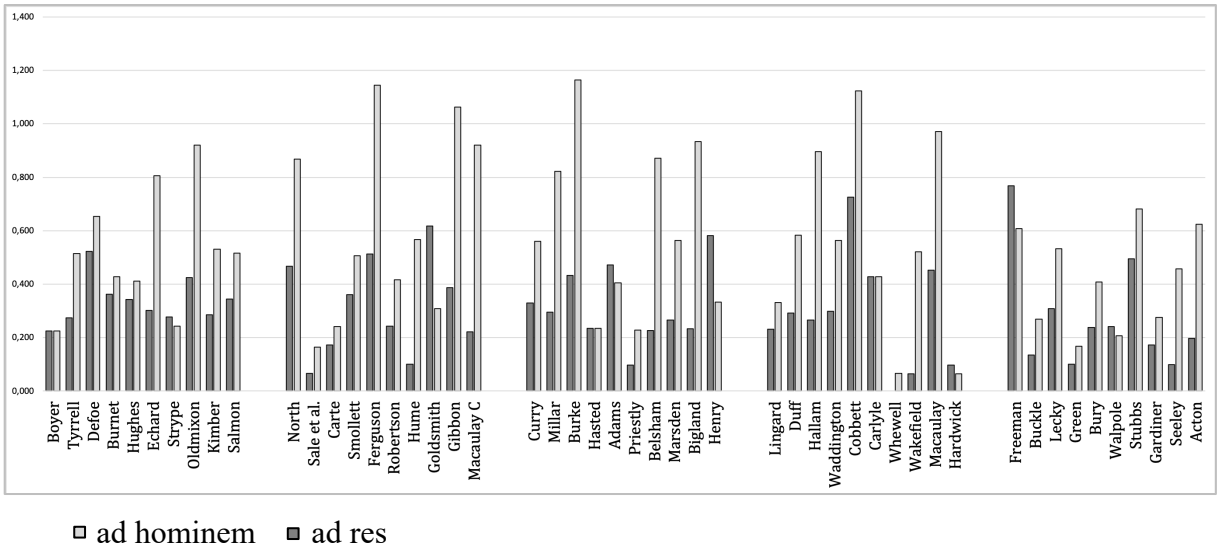
The overall frequencies of propriety items and their selection of either *ad res* or *ad hominem* targets is given in Figure 34. Overall, the normalised frequencies are lower than those of the *normality* group. While historians writing at the beginning of the eighteenth-century seem to

[109] Champion (2008: 174) is among those historical scholars who corroborate this assumption of a shift by stating that historians who acted as "public moralists […] communicating with a very wide reading public" in the nineteenth century, were "displaced by the 'footnote governed pedant'" as the discipline became more professionalised in the later nineteenth century.

[110] As was already pointed out in the conclusion of the investigation of norm-based judgements, one has to be aware of the range of alternative realisations, which are not retrieved via the chosen *form-to-function mapping* approach. For the moral judgement of *ad hominem* targets there are alternative realisation such as in Acton's polemical commentary in which he dismisses Aristotle's moral infallibility: "Aristotle, the ablest moralist of antiquity, saw no harm in making raids upon a neighbouring people, for the sake of reducing them to slavery",

address *ad res* and *ad hominem* targets in a fairly balanced way (with two exceptions), some authors writing between 1740 and 1860 stand out for making comparatively more moral judgements of the *ad hominem* type.

Figure 34. *JUDGEMENT+: propriety*. distribution of ad hominem – ad res targets (per 1,000 words)



ad hominem

In order to gain an initial understanding of the moral judgement of human targets, the most salient *Moral Educators*, their motivations and particular choices with regard to modifying *ad hominem* targets are discussed in the following section.

Close reading of the sub-corpus with regards to how the salient historians used evaluative lexis either to condemn or praise historical actors (*ad hominem*) reveals that their works deal with topics that focus on oppression, injustice, cruelty, despotism and fanatism. These themes seem to give rise to a particular need for explicit authoritative interference by the 'Moral Educators' in the (re)interpretation of the characters involved.

From the consideration of the characteristic, unifying elements of the seven outstanding authors, the focus now turns to the discussion of the typical realisations of *propriety*. An exemplary analysis of the most prominent realisations of ethical and moral evaluation by looking at their occurrence in the corpus (cf. Table 26) makes it possible to highlight not only widespread uses but also the particularities that the data exhibits with regard to the application of this evaluative resource.

The first lexical item under observation, *honest*, primarily modifies clerical targets (e.g. monk, reformers, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Nonconformists). The moral evaluation in

example (234) is particularly curious, as it points readers to a contrast between their contemporary perception of reformers (i.e. negative judgement: propriety) and the prevailing opinions in the past (i.e. positive judgement: propriety) (cf. CH.3.2).

(234) We shall believe those reformers to be then **honest** *enthusiasts*, not as now we think them, cheats and deceivers (Burke)

The item *respectable* modifies various targets. Macaulay's text, for instance, comprises "Respectable Tories" who are shocked by the "barbarity and indecency" of judge Jeffrey's judicial brutality. Here, the moral judgement of the Tories seems to be intended to create a contrast to the lengthy characterisation of Jeffrey's immoral behaviour. In a similar manner, Gibbon's representation of the "most cruel and ignominious" capital punishment the Catholics endured under the reign of Hunneric, in (235), creates a stark contrast of moral and immoral behaviour by describing the victims as "respectable", "noble" and "consecrated". These attributes combined with their vulnerable targets ("matrons", "virgins") have the potential to evoke in the reader a sense of the highest possible immoral behaviour worthy of sanction.

(235) **Respectable** *citizens*, noble matrons, and consecrated virgins, were stripped naked, and raised in the air by pulleys, with a weight suspended at their feet. In this painful attitude their naked bodies were torn with scourges, or burnt in the most tender parts with red-hot plates of iron. (Gibbon)

In the texts of five historians, *cruel* collocates with "princes" as well as with "enemies of the Catholics and their religion". In Example (236), Cobbett construes a negative moral judgement of the ruler who appears to be held responsible for the bill of attainder repealed by the newly formed parliament. As for the use of the attributive adjective at exactly this point, it should be noted that it is superfluous, as in so many contexts that are actually about the pure description of a historical moment. What its use does, however, is to clearly signal an intervention on the part of the historian.

(236) Their first act was a repeal of the attainder of Pole passed in the reign of the **cruel** *Henry VIII.* (Cobbett)

Just/justly are featured very prominently in the corpus data. In the works of the historians, one finds "**just** Englishmen", "the mind of every **just** person" and a "**just** and good, but singularly unfortunate, Queen". The adverb *justly*, in (237), is intensified so as to clearly emphasise Cranmer's immorality (*ill-gotten see*, *traitor*) in Cobbett's endorsement of his punishment.

(237) *Cranmer*, himself was in a short time, deprived of his ill-gotten se**e**, and was in prison, and most **justly**, as a traitor. (Cobbett)

Corrupt is used by Burke in his negative assessment of the French clergy, recognising "that *great bodies of men* are incurably **corrupt**". His negative judgement of propriety related to French institutions is not surprising, as Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* critically assesses those, he considers responsible for accelerating or fostering the outbreak of the French Revolution (cf. Phillips 2000). The findings suggest that historians often tend to use moral evaluation to juxtapose desirable with indecent, unkind and brutal character traits.

Beyond these results, there was an interest in using the corpus to obtain information about the special nature of the texts of those historians who stand out due to a markedly high *ad hominem* evaluation. This led to the decision to carry out a keyword analysis. *Keywords* are the words identified by an automatic, statistical comparison of a *target corpus* with another, larger corpus which is known as the *reference corpus* (McEnery & Hardy 2010: 41). The word (field) extraction of the significantly (in)frequent items, initiated in this way, served to detect the thematic focal points. These were supposed to provide a first *corpus-driven* insight into the commonalities of the texts in the sample group. The following historiographers were selected as the sample: Oldmixon, Ferguson, Gibbon, Catharine Macaulay, Burke, Belsham and Cobbett. This *target sub-corpus* was then compared with the *reference corpus*, which comprised the remaining historiographers from the CLMEH.

Alongside terms that can be attributed only to the thematic focus of the work of a single author (especially names such as *Mr Echard*, *Tom*, *Severus*), the keywords *we*, *must* and *virtue* stand out as mutually shared among the top 21 most significant keywords. All three have strong associations with reader orientation, obligation and the construal of ethical evaluation. A first insight is that the seven historians use an 'inclusive' *we* to give their readers the illusion of direct experience by evoking an atmosphere or depicting a scene by 'taking them by the hand'. The following excerpt (238) is intended to illustrate an extreme case of the construal of a close connection with the readers.

(238) Ah! **my friends**! here **we** have the real motive for all the abuse, all the hideous calumnies that have been heaped upon the Catholic religion, and upon all that numerous body of **our fellow-subjects** who adhere to that ancient faith. When **you** think of the power of this motive, **you** will not be surprised at the great and incessant pains that have been taken to deceive **us**. Even the Scripture itself has been perverted in order to blacken the Catholics. In books of all sizes and from the pulpit of every church **we** have been taught from **our** infancy that the "beast, the man of sin, and the scarlet whore," mentioned in the Revelations, were names which God Himself had given to the Pope; and **we** have all been taught to believe of the Catholic Church that her worship was "idolatrous," and that her doctrines were "damnable." (Cobbett)

Cobbett is very explicit in engaging his readers. He addresses them directly, generates a common ground that is construed as accepted by everyone, and also engages his readers with

rhetorical questions elsewhere in his narrative. It is evident that in the passage Cobbett takes up a stance oriented to judgement ("hideous calumnies", "to deceive us has been perverted", "in order to blacken"). Moreover, he a priori explicitly construes his propositions as closing the dialogistic space ("Here we have the real motive"), thereby excluding alternative voices (classified in the *Engagement* system as *contract:proclaim: pronounce*, Martin & White 2005: 127-133, see CH.4.2). In doing so, he reinforces his negative evaluation of the ethics of his target, which remains agentless in this section. While not all of the selected historians involve their readers in their texts to such an overly explicit degree, the *we* in their texts almost always points to passages with explanatory approaches that the reader is supposed to agree with. From the analysis of its bigrams and concordances, it becomes clear that *we* frequently collocates with modal verbs (*we may*, *we must*, *we should*, *we ought*) that underline the obligatory character of the 'Moral Educator' historiographers' conclusions and observations.

(239) [George the First] was liked, […] as a man who had an honest heart, and whose faults in his government, if there are any faults to be found, were entirely owing to the suggestions of a venal ministry, who, having neither sufficient **virtue**, or sufficient understanding, to govern parties by the confidence which these great qualities give, their power and influence were solely grounded on corruption. My narration, **my friend**, has furnished **you** with many proofs of the liberal, nay, the profuse manner with which every parliament gave away the money of the people. (C. Macaulay)

The passage, in Catharine Macaulay's extract (239), in which *virtue* is embedded, points to the explicit negative evaluation of the reputability of George I's ministry. In addition to directly addressing her readers in a manner similar to Cobbett's, the initial attribution of popularity to an agentless source ("was liked") is followed by the unsparing moral evaluation of the ministry ("having neither sufficient virtue", "influence solely grounded on corruption") presumably by Macaulay herself. In analogy to that of Cobbett, her section indicates a heightened investment in the proposition by the historian ("were entirely owing to"), with *pronouncement* functioning to dismiss or challenge alternative viewpoints.

ad res

As far as the moral evaluation of *ad res* targets is concerned, it turns out that it is the following group of historians who draw attention by their upwardly deviating frequencies: Goldsmith, Henry, Cobbett and Freeman. So, what unites these historians? Among the significant keywords identified, there is no evidence of commonalities that go beyond the individual work. However, the works of all these historians strongly target the consequences of historical periods. In fact, the full title of Freeman's work reads: *The History of the Norman Conquest of England: **Its***

Causes and Its Results. Consequently, many of the ethical and moral evaluations relate more to these consequences and reasons for historical events (240).

(240) But [the Norman nobles] sank below the common morality of their own age; private murder was as familiar to them as open war. […] Perhaps no period of the same length in the history of Christendom contains *the record* of **so many foul deeds of slaughter and mutilation** as the early years of the reign of William. (Freeman)

The lexical realisations that dominate this category are *just*, *bad*, *cruel*, *rude*, *evil*, *fair* and *unjust*.

Examining the bi-gram clusters in which *just* occurs, there are multiple instances in which the item is coordinated with another adjective (n=21). In four of those cases the cluster *just and reasonable* modifies *terms*, *conditions* and *satisfaction*. Further, *just* modifies *causes*, *grounds*, *resentments* and *punishments*. An illustration of the use of the latter is presented in (241).

(241) The Praetorians, who murdered their emperor and sold the empire, had received the **just** *punishment* of their treason (Gibbon)

The most prominent clusters for *bad* are effects, fortune and season. Wakefield, in example (242), considers the "equality of sexes" to be beneficial for preventing *bad moral results*.

(242) The nearer equality of the sexes in this emigration has produced the good moral results that were expected from it, or rather averted the very **bad** *moral results* that had flowed from inequality between the sexes in all previous emigration (Wakefield)

Cruel is being coordinated with adjectives such as *unjust*, *licentious*, *tyrannical* or *ignominious*. It further modifies targets with a negative evaluative meaning potential such as punishment, persecution, execution, sentence and tortures. Burke, for instance, states that in a democracy, under particular political circumstances, the majority is able to exert the "most **cruel** *oppressions*" upon the minority. *Rude* frequently collocates with *nations* and *states* (in the sense of 'conditions'). Here the modification rather realises the meanings 'primitive', 'raw' or 'crude'. These cases reflect moral or ethical evaluations that emphasise the cultural and civilisational superiority of the Late Modern observer. Consequently, *rude nations* are construed as uneducated, uncivilised, mannerless, barbaric and perpetually hostile. There are very few exceptions in which *rude* does not function unambiguously as a negative attribute. In Macaulay, for example, one finds the "rude school" of the navy in the late seventeenth century, at which "sturdy warriors" were trained. He views the latter with admiration, which leads to a retrospective valorisation of the necessarily rough training facility. However, as a component of two coordinate adjectives in (243), it can be argued that a clear concept of non-propriety is evoked.

(243) It is not likely, however, that in so **rude** and warlike *an age* any set of men, [...]would attach themselves wholly to agriculture (Millar)

Evil modifies targets such as consequence(s), counsel, customs and spirits. In Tyrell's excerpt *evil* serves to signal the dangerous potential of the king's denial and to present and justification for the Earl of Cornwall's agreement to the banishment.

(244) But fearing the **evil** *Consequence of a downright Denyal*, [...]he was at last forced [...]to agree to the Banishment of his Favourite out of England for ever (Tyrell)

It is noteworthy that among the most frequent items considered to express moral judgements, *fair* and *just* are the two items that have the potential to signal historians' positive evaluation. A *fair trial*, a *fair fight* or a *fair ground of war* reflect the most prominent ethically evaluative clusters. It seems that historians use *unjust* to condemn actions and events that are considered to be against the regulations or to the law.

(245) […] the unparalleled calamities brought on the people of France by the **unjust** *invasions* of our Henries and our Edwards. (Burke)

Thus, the corpus records present instances of *unjust* in those places where historians negatively evaluate the ethical dimension of *wars*, *policies*, *taxations*, *convictions* or *treatment* (of third parties). Also, the adjective is coordinated with adjectives of negative orientation (*so unjust and tyrannical, unjust and oppressive, unjust and most wicked, unjust and barbarous*) in nine of the total of 60 occurrences.

Historians are in a peculiarly privileged position for making moral judgements. Ranke is right in claiming that history provides historians with "the function of judging the past, of instructing men for the profit of future years" (Leopold von Ranke, *Preface to the first edition of histories of the Latin and Germanic nations*, cited in Gorman 2007: 303). For this reason, it seems, at least on the surface, that all historians followed the premise that the mistakes of the past must be exposed. However, the linguistic observations suggests that i) this disclosure is by no means always done very explicitly, and that ii) inscribed moral evaluation can nevertheless be found constantly over the entire period and does not disappear during the professionalisation phase. It is remarkable that the marked, explicit moral, ethical and norm-oriented evaluation does not increase in periods in which scholars of history attest a tendency towards moralising. It is even more astonishing, however, that precisely in the age of the scientification of historiography, which places great value on objectivity and facts, there is no clear decline in these judgement resources. Even an assumed change from person-centred sanctioning or praise to a matter-based or object-centred judgement cannot be unequivocally diagnosed. Historiographers in the period under consideration certainly do act in the capacity of "expert

witnesses in legal proceedings" (Gorman 2004: 103) while providing the historical knowledge they impart with moral and norm-based commentary. In fact, even the great admirer of the Rankean principles and Regius Professor of Modern History, William Stubbs, was not guided by the ideal of a detached, modest and especially non-judgemental historian, but sanctions Robert of Belesme's conduct quite explicitly: "He was an utterly selfish tyrant of the worst feudal stamp, cruel, faithless and oppressive."[111] The evaluative effect construed by the use of the emphasizer ("utterly") and the superlative ("worst") goes well beyond a simple behavioural assessment. One explanation for the rejection of both the principle of strict presentation of facts and the adherence to objective erudition probably lies in the strength of the strategies for conveying historical knowledge. Indeed, the inherent potential that moral and norm-based judgement offers historians is too significant to discard altogether, namely the *re-evaluation* of historical phenomena and actors to assign new or different meanings to the past. Ultimately, the role of the *Moral Educator* can be seen as a handed-down and thus integral part of the joint enterprise of the emerging Community of Practice of Late Modern period historiographers.

[111] Although the preceding and subsequent sentences are backed up with footnotes, the assessment itself is evidently that of Stubbs.

9. Summary of the main findings and conclusion

The only way for the historian to engage with the past is to first select a historical topic and then to construe the most likely narrative account. This process was believed to be guided (and sometimes even constrained) by ideal conceptions of the assumed role of historiography in society and, equally informed by the historian's personal and thematic preferences. Historical events, characters and their actions are evaluated according to what historiographers consider significant for conveying their respective conceptions of historical knowledge. This selective prioritisation and interpretative facet of history writing finds expression in the works composed in the Late Modern period and can be rendered visible at the interpersonal level. In order to identify the means involved in this process, the present corpus-assisted study attempted to provide answers to two broad research questions. In the following section, the main findings of the study are related to both questions prior to drawing a final conclusion.

1. Which linguistic items realise evaluation in Late Modern historiography and in which contexts does their evaluative meaning potential become manifest?

In the study, two general observations are made: First, marked explicit evaluation is predominantly realised via (intensified) adjectives. Secondly, there are instances in which items that are ascribed a low evaluative meaning potential can be presented in such a way that they 'evoke' an evaluation.

Concerning the use of adjectives, the study has shown that neither the works of the representatives of 'Romantic' nor those of the advocates of 'scientific' historiography use significantly more or, respectively, fewer adjectives associated with the construal of evaluative meaning. This finding was unexpected since the frequencies corroborated neither the initially postulated 'evocative literary style' of Romantic historiographers nor the 'impartial', objective style of professional history writers.

Besides the prototypical evaluative word class of adjectives, there are also nouns, verbs, etc. that have evaluative meaning potential. The study proposed an automatised semantic tagging of the corpus data to enable a replicable classification of the items' evaluative orientation. The division into different semantic classes further allowed for examining the relevance of the lexical items in the texts. It turned out that the semantic classes frequently correlated with the respective topic treated in the historians' works. For instance, the high frequency of items classified as 'A5.1+/- Evaluation: Good/Bad' reflected the explicitly

evaluative stylistic choices of Burke's *Reflections.* Likewise, the high frequency of items tagged as 'A5.2+ True' was shown to be indicative of the foregrounded facticity in Green's data.

Non-restrictive postmodification provides a space in which evaluative meaning can be construed either explicitly or implicitly. It is further argued that the choice of non-restrictive postmodification in itself constitutes an act of evoked evaluation, as the mere act of expanding the information signals to the reader that the modified head is deemed significant.

Furthermore, the study highlights the use of linguistic items that alter the strength of values (e.g. *intensifiers*, *downtoner*, *maximizers* etc). They occur in those contextual environments in which they primarily function to foreground and emphasise qualities. For example, these items serve to underscore the historians' degree of confidence, to intensify certain attributes (*a person so greatly superior*) or to signal the uniqueness of an event. Additionally, historiographers can resort to resources that enable them to either upscale or downscale the target's quantity. For the most part, these resources are used to modify temporal periods, (geographical/metonymical) locations and military targets.

2. Which evaluative strategies and patterns do historiographers of the period prefer and which (discoursal) functions do these strategies serve?

As a preliminary step in answering the second question, it was important to establish that historians writing in the Late Modern period constitute an emerging (and imagined) 'community of practice'. Irrespective of the different trends and ideals that may affect the purpose and style of history writing, historiographers share a linguistic repertoire which comprises evaluation. It is therefore assumed that the use of the resources of this repertoire is reflective of discourse-specific or discourse-preferential strategies.

The first evaluative strategy that could be attested is the historiographers' preference for sequential pairs of coordinate adjectives. It was argued that this construction allows for a disambiguation of the coordinated items' evaluative meaning and polarity (e.g. *pious and modest*), while it can likewise be employed to further intensify the historiographers' value judgements (e.g. *barbarous and cruel*).

Another strategy is reflected in the use of items whose extremely negative *evaluative meaning potential* (determined by semantic tagging) modifies historical incidences and their effects (e.g. *disastrous wars*). This strongly marked sanctioning of historically relevant entities is believed to actively instruct the reader about the undesirable consequences that result from or follow from certain socio-historical constellations (e.g. *feudal anarchy*). Evaluative meaning that is associated with the assessment of truthfulness is found in cases in which historians

defend their own position or in those parts in which the evidence provided by other historiographers is invalidated. In the data, there are instances in which historians, by explicitly evaluating one entity, evoke the evaluation of a second target, which is typically metonymically related to the first. This process is labelled 'relay evaluation' and allows the writers, for example, to foreground the evaluation of an actor's behaviour or work while eliding the recipient of their criticism.

In contrast to premodification, postmodification can alter or sharpen the readers' initial assessment by providing new information post-nominally. The strategic potential of non-restrictive postmodification enables historiographers to accomplish two things: First, they can attach longer and thus more sophisticated elaborative and/or evaluative commentaries to historical actors, actions or events. These elaborations can, secondly, function either to establish, to recall or to increase the historical significance of the respective target. *Wh*-pronouns and appositive noun phrases accommodate the historiographers need to make the reader aware of the important role the individual historical actor assumes within their respective narrative. This can be done to either specify an actor's influential socio-political position or to strengthen the reliability of characters by reference to their experience. One of the most salient strategies realised through *wh*-pronoun postmodification is the historical actors' spatio-temporal localisation (*who was then*). Apposition allows for a shift in perspective through reformulation. This is therefore a strategy that can be considered valuable as it enables a re-evaluation of the assumed meaning of the apposition's first unit. In the data, it is further used to enhance a character's significance by making explicit the influential genealogical relationships in the process of appellation and characterisation. In this way, historical actors are (re)grouped into the social hierarchy (*Her husband, Philip, whose father, the Emperor, had now retired*).

The study has also demonstrated the importance of a concessive strategy, whereby the use of intensifiers preceded by *but* functions to strongly encourage the readers to re-assess the initial proposition. A comparatively more subtle evaluative strategy is realised when historians scale meanings imprecisely with respect to amount. This technique enables the historiographer to trivialise the relevance of historical figures and phenomena or, for instance, to exaggerate the consequences of their actions. Non-literal scaling of quantity (*tide of violence*) is yet another subtle strategy that aligns the readers with the historians' emotionally evocative interpretations realised through metaphors.

Furthermore, non-figurative scaling allows for the assignment of considerable or low historical significance and can thus be used to index the marginalisation of specific actors. The

potential of this strategy is expressed in the recurring imprecise upscaling and downscaling of targets that can be semantically classified under a military/warfare heading. Another strategy dedicated to strengthening the categorial boundaries around the concepts of *authenticity* and *truthfulness* so as to evoke exceptionality and veracity (*true religion*).

It is precisely in their apparent diversity that these findings provide conclusive evidence for the relevance of evaluation in Late Modern English history writing. Though this pioneering study does not claim to have covered all possible realisations, it is to be hoped that it has raised an awareness of the various (strategic) functions that evaluative meanings can take on in the field of Late Modern historical discourse. In examining the manifestations of evaluation across the data, the study has uncovered the following prevailing tendencies:

- Contrary to expectations, instances of explicit evaluation can be found throughout the period. Originally, it was expected to discover a decline in lexical items with a marked evaluative meaning potential, especially in the 'scientific' period. This hypothesis was derived from claims of present-day historians who repeatedly emphasised the ideals of fact-based *impartiality* and *objectivity* in scholarly, professional historiography (e.g. Hesketh 2011a; Lorenz 1998). In contrast, the choices of the individual historiographers regarding the items used to realise explicit evaluative meaning are rather informed by the thematic focus of their work than by programmatic choices determined by the changing historiographic movements.
- Above and beyond this, the study discloses the historiographers' constant need to justify their interpretation of the past and occasionally reject and devalue alternative interpretations as the locus where evaluative strategies become prominent. Their accounts therefore comprise a variety of lexico-grammatical items that either explicitly or implicitly establish or reinforce 'historical significance' that is a product of the evaluation realised by these items.
- The majority of historiographers who deal with issues related to warfare and military tactics employ imprecise scaling with respect to the targets' amount. They either give weight to certain entities or relativise others. This is related to an observation regarding *ing* postmodification, in which the specification of the composition of military units was also found to be prominent. This shows that military issues are a topic that is particularly susceptible to evaluation.

It goes without saying that these findings are to be considered preliminary, as there exist no linguistic studies or corpora of adequate size which could be used to (empirically) corroborate

the study's observations. Historiography is by necessity inherently subjective. The diversity of the findings can thus be interpreted as a direct representation of this discourse-specific characteristic. Conditioned by its exploratory nature, this study covered the most relevant instantiations of evaluation in the period in focus. Designed in this way, it is intended to create incentives for future research by raising questions and by enabling the formation of new hypotheses that transcend the period and the domain of discourse.

One way of widening the perspective and thus refining the investigation would be to look at the prefaces of the works, as they comprise instances of authorial reader alignment which are incorporated ahead of the main text. By implication, the study of prefaces could be indicative of acts of prospective evaluation and naturalisation of attitudes towards historical events and characters.

In addition, the scope could be broadened by looking at history books specifically designed for children or for school lessons. Educational works such as Charlotte Mary Yonge's *Young folks history of England* (1879), Maria Callcott's *Little Arthur's history of England* (1835), or Edward Freeman's *Old English History for children* (1871) offer yet another angle on the subject, as they are expected to represent an approach to historiography that differs (e.g. in terms of audience design and pedagogical accentuation) from that adopted in the selected works examined in the current study.

Another useful contribution, which is believed to shed more light on the specificities of historical writing, and thus provide more answers to genre-constitutive questions, would be a linguistic investigation of the differences and similarities in the representation of the past in historiography and fiction. So far, major contributions on this topic are located in the fields of historical studies (e.g. Macfie 2015) and literary studies (e.g. Hamnett 2010), but substantial contributions from a linguistic perspective have yet to be made.

In light of this void, the results of this study are intended to stimulate further research, both synchronic and diachronic, on the relationship between evaluation and history writing, the fundamental value of which is expressed in a quote from medievalist Geoffrey Barraclough (1955: 14): "The history we read though based on facts is, strictly speaking not factual at all, but a series of accepted judgements."

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