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DECLARATION

I declare:

- a) that this submission is my own work;
- b) that this is written in my own words; and
- c) that all quotations from published or unpublished work are acknowledged with quotation marks and references to the work in question.
- d) that this dissertation consists of approximately 13,000 words, excluding footnotes, references, figures, tables appendices & long quotations.

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1 Introduction

This study focuses on the newspaper commentary genre in Britain and Germany, and analyses the linguistic and rhetorical resources employed by commentaries within each journalistic tradition. A synonym for what Belmonte (2007) calls ‘newspaper opinion discourse’, the newspaper commentary subsumes editorials, leaders, ‘op ed’ pages and opinion columns.¹ As a text type whose prime purpose is to persuade and even mobilize readers, the commentary is by definition subjective and evaluative, whereas the news report is bound to journalistic values such as ‘objectivity’, ‘neutrality’ and ‘impartiality’. Belmonte (2007: 2) situates commentaries within a broader generic and cultural context, describing them as “genuine examples of written argumentation” and citing Connor’s (1996: 143) assertion that they “perhaps more than any other type of writing, reflect national styles regarding modes of persuasion”.

1.1 Interpersonal analysis

My study takes the form of an interpersonal analysis – an analytical approach that is well suited to persuasive and evaluative text types. The original framework for analyzing the interpersonal in language was provided by Halliday, who situated the interpersonal within his systemic functional grammar framework as one of three layers of meaning or ‘metafunctions’ that operate in language. Halliday (1978: 187-88) defined the interpersonal metafunction as the lexicogrammatical resources employed:

- (i) to offer a proposition, (ii) pitched in a particular key (e.g. contradictory-defensive), (iii) with a particular intent towards [the addressee] (e.g. of convincing you), (iv) with a particular assessment of its probability (e.g. certain) and (v) with indication of a particular attitude (e.g. regretful).

The interpersonal therefore embraces the tonal qualities of a text, the resources it employs in order to adopt a particular stance and to indicate how warrantable this stance is, and the ways in which it attempts to position readers with regard to this stance. These aspects of the interpersonal have been elaborated by Martin (2000, 2004) and White (2000, 2003, 2006), in their comprehensive ‘Appraisal’ schema, an analytical framework that White (2001: 1) describes as “[a] particular approach to exploring, describing and explaining the way language is used to evaluate,

¹ Some commentators, such as Biber (1988) and Belmonte (2007), group newspaper editorials and comment articles together as one genre, whereas others (Murphy 2005, Virtanen 2005) believe them to be significantly different. Here I follow Biber and Belmonte in grouping together all “opinionated genres intended to persuade the reader” (Biber, 1988:148), whilst acknowledging that they may be subject to varying institutional and personal inflections.

to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positionings and relationships”. It embraces the lexical, grammatical and rhetorical resources employed, for example, to make a moral, emotional or aesthetic evaluations, to phrase a proposition in a more or less tentative manner (thereby subsuming issues previously dealt with under headings such as ‘modality’, ‘evidentiality’ and ‘hedging’), and to encourage a reader to align him-/herself with the proposition.

1.2 Literature review

Evaluation, stance, affect and interpersonal positioning represent popular and burgeoning fields of research, with recent publications by, for example, Hunston and Thompson (1999) and Martin and White (2005) exploring the topic in a variety of genres. Important analyses of media discourse from an Appraisal perspective have been carried out by, among others, Martin (2004), White (1998, 2004, 2006), Martin and White (2005), and Feez et al (2008). However, with the exception of a monograph edited by Belmonte (2007) and a study by Le (2009), there have been few studies devoted exclusively to the commentary genre, to the extent that it has been described as a ‘Cinderella’ genre (Ansari and Babaii, 2005), neglected by research. In particular, few contrastive studies of the commentary have been carried out, with contrastive discourse analysts generally focusing on reporting texts, for example Thomson and White (2008) and Pounds (2010).

1.3 The newspaper commentary in Britain and Germany

Journalistic analyses of the commentary genre in Britain and Germany suggest that it is approached rather differently in the two journalistic traditions. Commenting on the British press, Tunstall claims that the column is typically written in a “highly personalized” and “opinionated” style, by journalists noted for their “cantankerous opinions” (1996: 281-2). In German print and broadcasting journalism, however, the function of the commentary is considered to be more heuristic, with a greater commitment to balance (see, for example, *ABC Journalismus*, 1990: 109). Frank Esser (1998: 474-6) claims that commentary articles in the two nations have fundamentally different purposes. In British journalism, he states:

Die Absicht von Meinungskolumnen liegt weniger in der aufrichtigen Mitteilung der eigenen Meinung als in der Provokation der Leser. Diese sollen mit möglichst unkonventionellen Ansichten über einen aktuellen Sachverhalt konfrontiert werden.

The purpose of opinion columns is less the frank communication of one's own opinion than the provocation of the reader, who is supposed to be confronted with the most unconventional views possible concerning a current topic.

(1998: 476)

Esser develops this point by citing Tunstall's (1996: 281) assertion that "columnists' views are maverick and eccentric", and claims that the genre has in Britain a "playful character that it does not have in Germany".

These differences in newspaper opinion discourse may reflect broader contrasts in the printed press in Britain and Germany. In contrast to the bipartite division of the British press into the 'high-brow' broadsheets, and the more populist tabloids, the German press is highly fragmented. Alongside a few nationally distributed broadsheets (*FAZ*, *Zeit*), many of the papers are distributed regionally (Jeffery and Whittle, 1997: 236; Esser, 1999: 296-7). The *Bild* is the sole national tabloid; it reaches approximately 11 million Germans, and as Klein states (1998), is unarguably tabloid in terms of style and content. The restriction of the tabloid market to the *Bild* is felt by some commentators (e.g. Klein, 1998: 80; Esser, 1999) to indicate that the German press is less susceptible to the process of 'tabloidization' lamented by British commentators (e.g. Bromley (1998) Franklin, 1996: 305)) – a process that is frequently associated with such features as emotionally charged language, sensationalism, and a personalised and conversational style of writing.

1.4 Outline

My study focuses on 12 texts (6 English, 6 German), all of which comment on the introduction of the smoking ban in England and Germany, in 2007 and 2008 respectively. In the Methodology Chapter I outline my methods for selecting and then analysing the texts; this is followed by a presentation of the findings of the contrastive Appraisal analysis. In the subsequent Discussion Chapter, I consider the effects of these features in terms of the texts' interpersonal positioning, in particular, the ways in which they construe their respective authorial voices and putative readers. I then relate these aspects to broader contextual issues such as journalistic or institutional preferences.

2 Methodology

In this chapter, I summarise my procedure for selecting the texts for my corpus. Subsequently, I outline the aspects of the Appraisal theory that informed my analysis, before summarising key aspects of my lexico-grammatical analysis. Thanks to its extensive taxonomy for describing features such as emotion, value judgement, and rhetorical force, the Appraisal schema provides an ideal framework for comparing and contrasting features of the commentary genre.

2.1 Selection of texts

My analysis focuses on a sample of 12 commentaries (6 English, 6 German) on the smoking ban, all published in British and German newspapers between 2006 and 2008. The majority of the texts are taken from major national dailies, and span the market from the ‘quality press’ to the ‘tabloids’, with four of the English texts taken from newspapers in the former category (*Guardian*, *Independent* and *Daily Telegraph*) and two texts from the latter category (*Daily Mail*, *Daily Express*). Of the German texts, one is taken from the high quality *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ), one from the *Bild* tabloid, and two from the *Welt*, which is one of Germany’s more populist broadsheets. Of the remaining two, one text is taken from the *taz*, a self-styled left-wing ‘alternative’ to the mainstream dailies, and the last from one of the most widely distributed regional dailies, the *Berliner Zeitung*. The publications span the political spectrum, from the right-leaning *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express* and the conservative *Daily Telegraph* to the left-of-centre *Guardian* and *Independent* in Britain, and from the right-of-centre *Bild* and the conservative FAZ to the leftist *taz* and the *Berliner Zeitung* in Germany.

I located the texts by carrying out a search of the LexisNexis database for articles on the smoking ban that were categorised as ‘comment’ or ‘commentary’ in English, and as ‘Kommentar’ or ‘Meinung’ (*opinion*) in German. Some texts were also sourced in the online archives of the newspapers concerned (e.g. the *Guardian* and *Bild* texts). I aimed to balance my corpus along the following dimensions:

- opposition to / support for the ban
- status of the author (i.e. celebrity columnist, free-lancer or staff writer)
- political leaning of publication (left- / right-wing)

Table 2.1 below gives details of each of the texts selected for analysis (English texts, hereafter ETs, numbered E1-E6; German texts, hereafter GTs, numbered G1-G6), including the publication ‘type’ and the status of the author. Full, clause-parsed versions of the texts, together with translations of the German texts, can be found in Appendix I.

Table 2.1: Details of texts

English Texts				
Text	Publication	Newspaper ‘type’ and political leaning	Author	Function of author
E1	<i>Daily Mail</i>	Tabloid; traditionalist, conservative	Brian Masters	Free-lance journalist; crime writer
E2	<i>Guardian</i>	Broadsheet; centre-left	Simon Hoggart	Political columnist and sketch-writer for the <i>Guardian</i> ; well-known political journalist and broadcaster
E3	<i>Daily Express</i>	Tabloid; conservative	Fergus Kelly	Staff writer at <i>Daily Express</i>
E4	<i>Independent</i>	Broadsheet; liberal, centre-left	Richard Ingrams	Political columnist; well-known political journalist and broadcaster.
E5	<i>Guardian</i>	Broadsheet; centre-left	Neil Clark	Free-lance journalist; <i>Guardian</i> profile states that he is a “UK-based blogger, journalist and writer”.
E6	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Broadsheet; right-of-centre; conservative	No author named	
German Texts				
G1	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)</i>	Nationally distributed quality daily, based in Frankfurt; conservative	Rainer Hank	Staff writer at <i>FAZ</i>
G2	<i>Bild</i>	Germany’s best selling national daily; tabloid style; right-of-centre	Peter Hahne	Political columnist; well-known political author and broadcaster
G3	<i>Welt am Sonntag</i>	Sunday edition of nationally distributed, conservative “quality” daily (modelled on <i>The Times</i>)	Michael Rutschky	Free-lance journalist; author and publisher on sociological and socio-cultural issues.
G4	<i>Die Tageszeitung (taʒ)</i>	Cooperative-owned, nationally distributed daily; perceives itself as a left-wing ‘alternative’ to mainstream press	Arno Frank	Staff writer at <i>taʒ</i>
G5	<i>Die Welt</i>	Nationally distributed, conservative “quality” daily (modelled on <i>The Times</i>)	Konrad Adam	Political correspondent at <i>Die Welt</i>
G6	<i>Berliner Zeitung</i>	One of Germany’s best selling regional dailies, based in East Berlin; left-wing	Jan Thomsen	Staff writer at the <i>Berliner Zeitung</i>

Some data taken from BBC (2006)

The 12 texts selected adopt either prohibitionist or liberal argumentative positions, lauding the ban for reasons of personal taste and public health and rubbishing economic or ideological counterarguments, or playing down the health risks and criticising the government for its paternalism, intrusion into civil liberties and disregard for the economic consequences of the ban. There is thus some overlap in terms of ideational content: whether German or English, the majority of texts combine health-related, economic, ideological and socio-political arguments. However, the texts modulate, modalise or evaluate this ideational content in varying ways. This is evidenced by the contrastive analysis of their lexical features and rhetorical orientations in the Chapters 3 and 4.

2.2 Appraisal framework

My analysis offers a description and comparison of these features and their functions on the basis of the Appraisal scheme. It focuses on the resources categorised by the Appraisal framework as Attitude, Graduation and Engagement, and is particularly indebted to Martin and White's (2005) explanations and applications of this framework.

2.2.1 Attitude

The Attitude schema, described by Martin and White (2005: 42) as “a framework for mapping feelings”, comprises the three subsystems of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation. The first of these, Affect, encompasses emotions such as ‘happiness’, ‘satisfaction’, ‘security’ and ‘inclination’, and thus offers a detailed framework for analysing the use of emotive language to argue for/against the ban in my texts. The second, Judgement, concerns “attitudes towards behaviour” (Martin and White, 2005: 42): these judgements are frequently ‘institutionalised’ insofar as they are grounded, firstly, in generally held notions of what is praise-/blameworthy (“Judgements of **social esteem**”, comprising such evaluations as ‘normality’, ‘capacity’ and ‘tenacity’), or, secondly, in more codified conceptions of acceptable or unacceptable behaviour, for example, state laws (“Judgements of **social sanction**” such as ‘veracity’ and ‘propriety’) (2005: 52). This subsystem enables a detailed examination of the moral and ideological arguments presented in the texts. The final subsystem, Appreciation, relates to “evaluations of semiotic and natural phenomena” (Martin and White, 2005: 42), which are generally grounded in aesthetic or taste-related notions such as ‘reactions’ to things, their ‘composition’ and their ‘value’ (2005: 52). It

therefore provides a framework for analysing the taste and health-related arguments mooted for/against the ban.

Explicit attitudinal evaluations take the form of lexis that can be categorised according to these three subsystems. However, attitude can also be encoded more implicitly, for example through lexicon that is not explicitly emotive, but still provokes an evaluation from the reader. A further important consideration is to whom the attitude is ascribed: it may be either authorially sourced or ‘mediated’, that is, attributed to a third party. Instances of mediated attitude may also implicitly contribute to the attitudinal composition of the text, with the author either aligning himself with or distancing himself from the position outlined. However, texts that explicitly inscribe authorial attitude are likely to be a good deal more subjectively charged and directive about the value positions that they put forward than texts that invoke, provoke or mediate attitude. My interpersonal analysis reveals considerable variation in the ‘attitudinal colouring’ of the texts in my corpus, ranging from texts with a highly emotional, judgemental and personalised attitudinal composition to texts which encode attitude in a more implicit, indirect or ‘objectivised’ manner.

2.2.2 Engagement

The Engagement schema is defined by Martin and White (2005: 92) as “the linguistic resources by which speakers/writers adopt a stance towards the value positions being referenced by the text and with respect to those they address”, in other words, the meanings that they select in order to align/disalign themselves with the various attitudinal and ideological positions that they invoke, and to induce their readers to do the same. An engagement meaning may be either dialogically ‘contractive’ or ‘expansive’, meaning that it “actively makes allowances for dialogically alternative positions and voices (**dialogic expansion**), or alternatively, acts to challenge, fend off or restrict the scope of such (**dialogic contraction**).” (Martin and White, 2005: 102). The most contractive type of locution is the ‘monoglossic assertion’: ‘command’ forms such as imperatives, or bald statements that make no allowance whatsoever for other viewpoints. All other types of locutions are ‘heteroglossic’, meaning that they reference other viewpoints in some way. Martin and White offer the following taxonomy of heteroglossic locutions (2005: 97-8):

Table 2.2: Heteroglossic Engagement values

<p>Contractive values</p> <p>Disclaim – the textual voice positions itself as at odds with, or rejecting, some contrary position:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. (deny) negation (<i>You <u>don't</u> need to give up potatoes to lose weight.</i>)2. (counter) concession/counter expectation (<i>Although he ate potatoes most days he still lost weight.</i>) <p>Proclaim – by representing the proposition as highly warrantable (compelling, valid, plausible, well-founded, generally agreed, reliable etc), the textual voice sets itself against, suppresses or rules out alternative positions:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">3. (concur) <i>naturally... , of course... , obviously... , admittedly... etc</i>; some types of 'rhetorical' or 'leading' question4. (pronounce) <i>I contend... , the truth of the matter is... , there can be no doubt that... etc.</i>5. (endorse) <i>X has demonstrated that... ; X as compellingly argued... etc.</i> <p>Expansive values</p> <p>Entertain – by explicitly presenting the proposition as grounded in its own contingent, individual subjectivity, the textual voice represents the proposition as but one of a range of possible positions – it thereby entertains or invokes these dialogic alternatives</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">6. <i>it seems, the evidence suggests, apparently, I hear</i>7. <i>perhaps, probably, maybe, it's possible, in my view, I suspect that, I believe that, it's almost certain that... , may/will/must</i>; some types of 'rhetorical' or 'expository' question <p>Attribute – by representing the proposition as grounded in the subjectivity of an external voice, the textual voice represents the proposition as but one of a range of possible positions – it thereby entertains or invokes these dialogic alternatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">8. (acknowledge) <i>X said... , X believes... , according to X, in X's view</i>9. (distance) <i>X claims that, the myth that... , it's rumoured that</i>
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Slightly adapted from Martin and White (2005: 97-8)

Contractive Engagement values indicate a high degree of authorial investment in an argumentative position and strongly encourage the reader to align him-/herself. Within the context of the commentary, then, such resources construe more forcefully persuasive or even adversarial pieces. Expansive Engagement values “provide for the possibility of solidarity with those who hold to alternative positions, at least to the extent that those who hold contrary positions are recognised as potential participants in the on-going colloquy” (Martin and White, 2005: 109), and therefore construe a more moderate tone. The Engagement structure of a text also intersects with issues such as personalisation and modality. The flavour of a text will change depending on whether the author selects predominantly subjectivised modal and Engagement values indicating authorial commitment to propositions, for example, ‘I contend’ [Pronounce / subjective explicit modalisation] or ‘I think that’ [Entertain/ subjective explicit modalisation], or ‘objective’ forms such as ‘the truth of the matter is’ [Pronounce / objective explicit modalisation]

or ‘it seems that’ [Entertain / objective explicit modalisation] (see, for example, Thompson, 2004: 69-72).

2.2.3 Graduation

Graduation intersects with the previous two categories, as it refers to the lexis employed in order to grade attitudinal and engagement meanings. These meanings can be graded according to force (i.e. ‘upscaled’ or ‘downscaled’ to denote intensity or amount), or focus (i.e. ‘sharpened’ or ‘softened’ to denote prototypicality or preciseness).

2.2.4 Summary

The specific patternings of interpersonal resources within a commentary will determine its rhetorical character and the manner in which it attempts to influence the reader. For example, a preponderance of Affect/Judgement values, together with upscaling Graduation values and an Engagement orientation to subjectivised, contractive values will make for an emotive, highly personalised and opinionated piece that ‘assails’ the reader argumentatively, making ‘high-risk’ bids for his/her solidarity. On the other hand, a piece that uses many ‘objective’, expansive Engagement values, that invokes rather than inscribes attitude, and that selects down-scaling graduation values, will come across as more impersonally, subtly and moderately persuasive; in other words, it uses ‘lower-risk’ strategies for eliciting the agreement of the reader. My interpersonal analysis identifies commentaries at both ends of this spectrum, and notes a pull towards the ‘adversarial’ variety on the part of the ETs, whereas the GTs tend towards the ‘moderate’ variety.

2.3 Appraisal and the commentary genre

‘Genres’ are described by Martin (1997, 2001; see also Martin and Rose, 2008) as distinct and recognisable configurations of linguistic resources that are employed in order to attain specific goals within specific social contexts. Appraisal analyses of genre focus on “the range of evaluations the genre draws on to achieve its goals”, on “how the genre negotiates power and solidarity with readers, and how unfolding prosodies of appraisal contribute to that negotiation” (Martin and White, 2005: 33). My contrastive study of the commentary is informed by Martin and

White's (2005: 169f.) characterisation of the 'commentator voice' as employing "the full repertoire of attitudinal values [...] without any apparent co-textual requirements" (2005: 169); it is primarily concerned "with assessments of **social sanction**, but also with making some reference to assessments of social esteem" (2005: 170). Non-attributed, i.e. authorially-sourced judgement is identified as a key feature of commentator voice, as are authorial directives – structures involving modals of obligation closely related to commands. Martin and White (2005: 180) explain this co-occurrence of authorial directives and social sanction with reference to the "rhetorical objective" of the commentary:

Many commentator voice texts take the form of hortatory expositions. They set out to persuade the reader of the need for some action to be taken and accordingly make at least some use of authorial directives. (2005: 180)

This is in stark contrast to the news report, where a more restricted range of evaluative language is used.

With reference to the structure of the commentary, Martin and White note that the argument is peppered with personal narrative and observations which:

[M]ay seem diverse, even somewhat incoherent, if we are expecting a formally conducted argument with a clearly signalled hypothesis [...] and systematically presented supporting evidence and argumentation. (2005: 214f.)

Its structure is therefore more eclectic and haphazard than that of formal argumentative genres.

2.4 Lexicogrammatical analysis

I began my analysis by tabulating all instances of inscribed Attitude (see Appendix II). This enabled me to calculate the instances of attitude type per 500 words per text, and also to calculate average ratios for the ETs and the GTs. I noted the category of attitude (Affect/Judgement/Appreciation) and its source (i.e., authorially sourced or attributed to another source?), and also considered indirect realisations, (i.e. instances in which an attitudinal response was implicitly 'invoked' or 'provoked'). Central to this analysis was the question of how forcefully, explicitly and subjectively the texts make their evaluations. For example, how frequently is Attitude inscribed explicitly, and how frequently is it invoked / provoked by the texts? How emotive are the attitudinal values used by the author, and are they intensified and sustained prosodically across passages of text? And to what degree does the author assume responsibility for this attitude?

In the Engagement analysis I annotated each of the texts for primary Engagement and Graduation values (see Appendix III), which, again, permitted me to calculate ratios per clause for engagement type per text, and overall ratios for the ETs and GTs. On the basis of this analysis, I was able to assess whether the texts show preferences for contractive or expansive Engagement values, and, consequently, to what extent they present their arguments as warrantable, hedged or speculative. I also examined to what degree the Engagement and modal values were subjectivised/objectivised.

My analysis shows that, generally speaking, the ETs employ more interpersonally charged attitudinal lexis than the GTs, including inscribed Affect, more intensifying prosody, and more highly graded attitudinal values. The GTs, by contrast, prefer values of Appreciation that are closely related to the ideational content, e.g. to the health risks of smoking. Judgement values are inscribed more explicitly and are more frequently authorially sourced in the ETs, whereas the GTs often attribute, invoke or provoke Judgement. With regard to Engagement values, I found that the ETs tend to employ higher risk strategies for engaging reader solidarity, such as direct addresses to the reader (rhetorical questions, imperative mood, inclusive 'we' in Acknowledge structures) and contractive and subjectivised Entertain values indicating a high degree of authorial investment. The GTs, by contrast, tend to employ more subtle strategies (expansive or less personalised values such as Acknowledge / Distance) to gradually close down dialogic space. As will be detailed in the Analysis and Discussion Chapters, all these features combine to make the ETs a good deal more rhetorically forceful than the GTs, which aim to align the reader by more subtle means of argumentation and dialogistic positioning.

3 Preliminary comparison and attitudinal analysis

This chapter presents the findings of the attitudinal analysis and identifies the most important parallels and contrasts between the ETs and GTs. Following a brief overview of the differing flavours and characteristics of the texts, I report on their use of attitudinal resources. The findings support my contention that the rhetorical/interpersonal themes of the texts differ, with the ETs exemplifying an orientation to intensified authorial Affect and Judgement, whereas the GTs tend to mediate or provoke Judgement and orientate themselves more to health-related Appreciation.

3.1 Preliminary comparison

The twelve commentaries selected for analysis expound their support for/opposition to the ban using a range of argumentation strategies (citing and/or discrediting statistics, evidence or other opinions, sketching hypothetical consequences, etc.). There are evident contrasts in the length, composition and tone of the pieces, as illustrated by the overview presented in Table 3.1:

Table 3.1: Overview of key features of texts

English texts				
Text	Publication	For / against ban	Word count	Other key features
E1	<i>Daily Mail</i>	Against	1268	Dubbed a “fiercely provocative blast” by the lead. Condemns the violation of civil liberties, plays down risks and lauds benefits of smoking. Uses ‘I’, generalising ‘you’ and ‘we’ pronouns.
E2	<i>Guardian</i>	For	831	Fiercely criticizes smoking on grounds of its unsociability and danger to health; includes a lot of anecdotal and humorous content. Uses ‘I’, generalising ‘you’ and ‘we’ pronouns.
E3	<i>Daily Express</i>	Against	961	Concedes health risks of smoking, but condemns restriction of civil liberties, drawing a good deal on external authorities (Frost, Lewis). Uses ‘I’, generalising ‘you’ and ‘we’ pronouns.
E4	<i>Independent</i>	Against	265	Condemns restriction of civil liberties and the “meek conformity” of the populace; plays down risks of smoking. Uses ‘I’ pronoun.
E5	<i>Guardian</i>	Against	505	Laments the ‘death of civil liberties’ in Britain; warns against further prohibitions and ends with comparison to Nazi Germany. Uses ‘you’ pronoun to address reader directly.
E6	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Against	314	Inveighs against ‘New Labour’ and their ‘social authoritarianism’, citing economic and social
E6	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Against	314	Inveighs against ‘New Labour’ and their ‘social authoritarianism’, citing economic and social arguments against the ban. Uses ‘we’ pronoun.

German texts				
G1	<i>FAZ</i>	Against	211	Cites (health) arguments by generalized proponents of ban before advocating voluntary abstinence from smoking. Does not use 'ich', 'man' or 'wir' pronouns.
2	<i>Bild</i>	For	358	'Militant non-smoker' emphatically endorses the ban, rubbishes economic counterarguments and appeals for solidarity. Uses 'ich' and generalizing 'man' pronouns.
3	<i>Welt am Sonntag</i>	Against	469	Non-smoker condemns state paternalism, plays down risk of passive smoking and is satirically critical of interfering 'grouzers'. Uses 'ich', generalizing 'man' and 'wir' pronouns.
4	<i>taz</i>	For	302	Criticises 'half-heartedness' of previous political measures, welcomes ban and highlights health benefits to smokers as well as non-smokers. Uses 'wir' pronoun.
5	<i>Die Welt</i>	For	336	Discusses the civil liberties issue and condemns smokers for damaging the health of others and burdening the public health system. Uses generalizing 'man' (also uses 'ich' and 'ihr' in citation).
6	<i>Berliner Zeitung</i>	For	228	Promotes the ban on health grounds, rubbishes economic counterarguments and criticizes half-hearted measures. Uses 'ich' and 'wir' pronouns.

3.1 Formal properties

As the table shows, the ETs are in general considerably longer than the GTs: the average word count of the ETs totals 691, whereas the GTs have an average length of 317 words. Syntactically, the ETs are more complex, with frequent expansion by means of embedding and postmodification; the syntactic possibilities afforded by German are more limited, so the texts are restricted to occasional embedding in relative or preposed adjectival clauses. The following clause-parsed excerpts from E1 and G3 are illustrative of these syntactic differences; full clause-parsed versions of the texts can be found in Appendix I:

(3.1)

It should be enough [that he respects the rules [which govern social intercourse:]] || [to refrain from theft, from violence, from intemperance;] [to bring consideration of others and their welfare to bear in all his various little decisions and declarations;] [to adhere to the gentle give-and-take, live-and-let-live compact [that underlies civilised life.]]

(3.2)

It is this natural goodness and consideration [which is insulted by legislation [designed to treat us all as idiots.]] (E1)

(3.3)

Aber ich halte das [sich vorbereitende] Rauchverbot durch Vater Staat für einen jener [durch beste Absichten motivierten] Eingriffe in das persönliche Leben, [die auch im diszipliniertesten Bürger anarchistische Impulse aufwecken müssen.]

But I consider Father State's smoking ban, which is currently in preparation, and which is motivated by the best intentions, to be one of those interventions into private life that must even awaken anarchistic impulses in the most disciplined citizen. (G3)

All the texts, whether English or German, have a relatively haphazard structure similar to that described by Martin and White (2005: 170; see Methodology Chapter): rather than stating and logically developing their thesis, many of the texts combine argument with anecdote and offer sporadic qualifications or reformulations of their position. They may also feature a coda in which the argument is restated with particular rhetorical force, as in the following final sentences from E5 and G6:

(3.4)

Isn't it sad that 60 years after playing a decisive role in the defeat of the Nazis and their loathsome, intolerant ideology, Britain, in its illiberal attitude towards smoking and smokers, is now aping them? (E5)

(3.5)

Wir fassen zusammen: Rauchen stinkt und bringt uns früher um als nötig. Also gehört es verboten. Jedenfalls drinnen.

We summarise: smoking stinks and kills us sooner than is necessary. So it should be prohibited. At least indoors. (G6)

The tabloid texts (*Daily Mail*, *Daily Express*, *Bild*) are printed in parts of one or two sentences in length, with rhetorical questions and central assertions often offset, as in the following excerpt from E1 (*Daily Mail*):

(3.6)

We shuddered at life in Eastern Europe, with their informers and street spies and their condemnation of anything suspected of being against the prescribed line.

Now look what we have come to! (E1)

The rest of the texts, i.e. all of the broadsheet commentaries, are printed in paragraphs.

3.1.1 Stylistic properties

The style is relatively personalized: all but two texts use the first-person singular pronouns 'I' or 'Ich', although the GTs tend to use the first person less liberally and with contextual restrictions, as I will discuss later. A further 4 ETs and 4 GTs use the first-person plural pronouns 'we' or

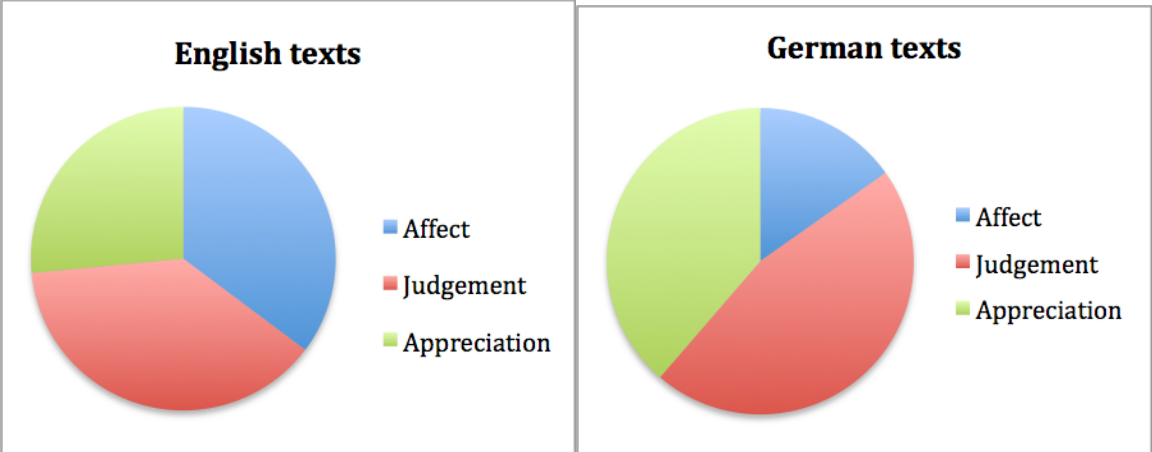
‘wir’, generally as a means of eliciting reader complicity with their argument. However, again, the GTs make more economical use of this resource. E5 uses the ‘you’ pronoun to directly address the reader; the only comparable form is the projected use of ‘ihr’ in G5.

Some of the texts (e.g. E2 and G2) cultivate a relatively casual register with occasional colloquialisms, for example ‘fag’ and ‘puff’ to refer to the activity of smoking in English, and the near equivalents ‘Glimmerstangel’ and ‘pfaffen’ in German. This deliberate use of colloquialisms is seen by some commentators as a kind of ‘vernacular ventriloquism’ (Conboy, 2002: 162), an orientation to the language of the ‘man on the street’ that is characteristic of tabloid language. The texts range in style from what I would class as ‘invectives’ making extreme claims and comparisons (E1, E4, E5), through emphatic polemics (E2, E3, E6, G2), to more moderate pieces (G1, G3, G4, G5, G6). As will be demonstrated, this categorization is borne out by the Appraisal analysis, with the texts in the first category marshalling more highly graded attitude and authorially invested, contractive Engagement resources, whereas the more moderate texts contain less inscribed, unmediated attitude, and more expansive, attributed or ‘objectivised’ Engagement resources.

3.2 Attitudinal analysis

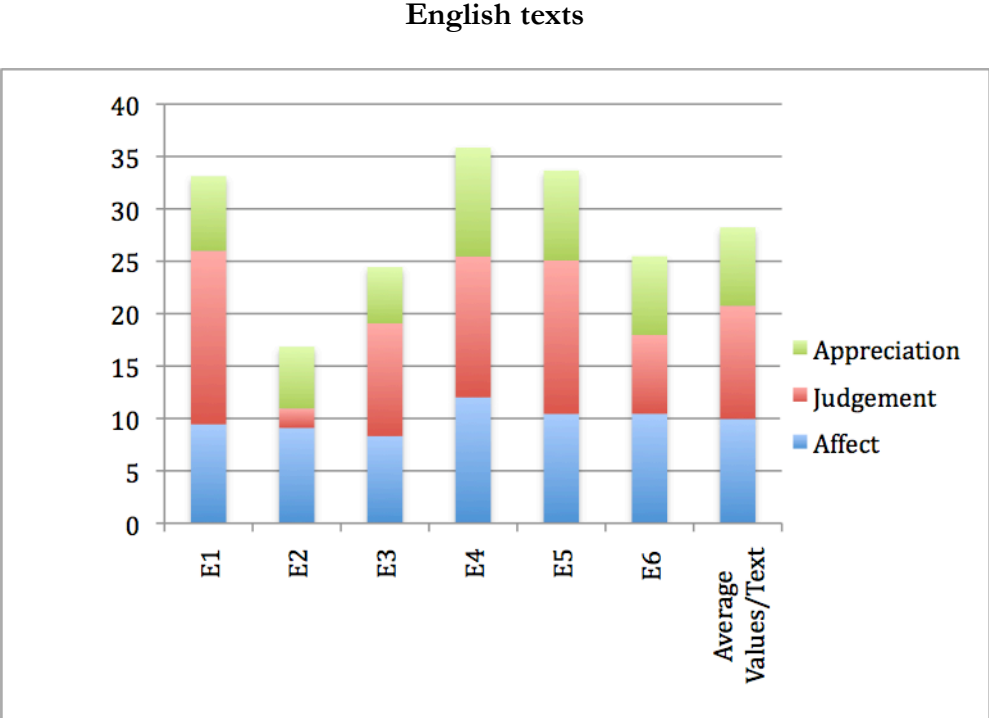
The attitudinal analysis corroborates the hypothesis that the ETs are in general more emotive and forceful than the GTs, revealing that, although, on average, the ETs inscribe slightly less attitude than the GTs, in the ETs Affect values propound, whereas the GTs employ more Appreciation values. This suggests that the ETs tend to ground evaluation in emotions, whilst the GTs couch their evaluation in more ‘aesthetic’ criteria such as ‘taste’ and ‘value’. Texts in both languages inscribe a significant amount of Judgement, in particular of positive/negative propriety. The proportions of inscribed attitude are shown in Figure 3.1 below; a full list of inscribed values, classified according to attitude type, can be found in Appendix II.

Figure 3.1: Overall type of inscribed attitude in English/German Texts

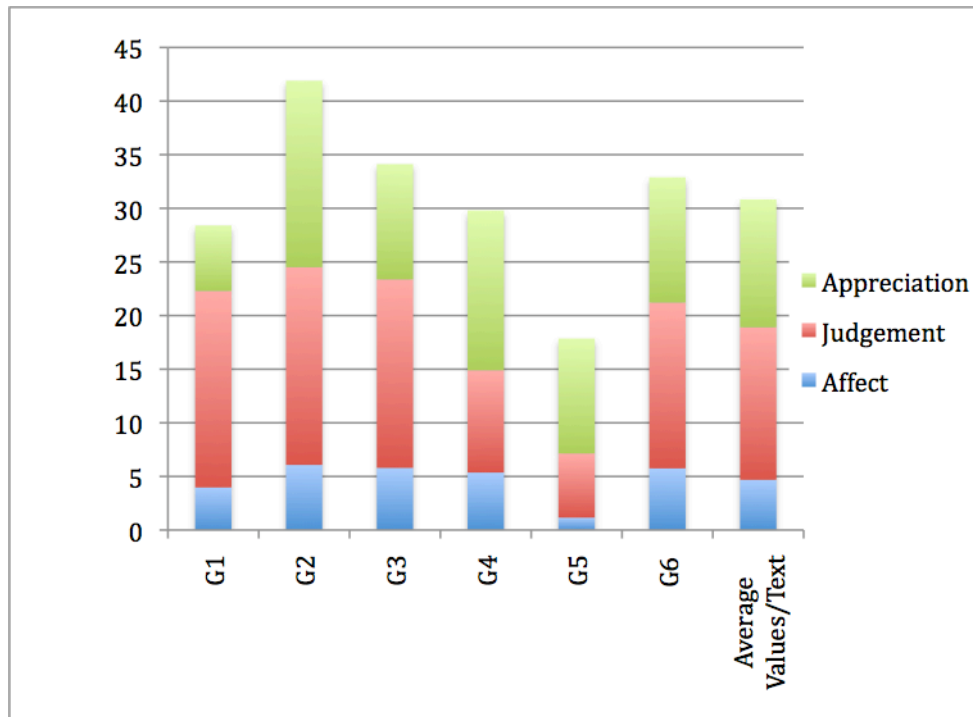


The individual texts inscribe attitude with varying frequency; E2 and G5 include the least attitudinal lexis (around 17 and 18 items/500 words); E4 and G2 inscribe the most (around 36 and 42 items/500 words). Figure 3.2 indicates frequency and type of Attitude inscribed by each text.

Figure 3.2: Attitudinal values by text, showing frequency/500 words



German texts

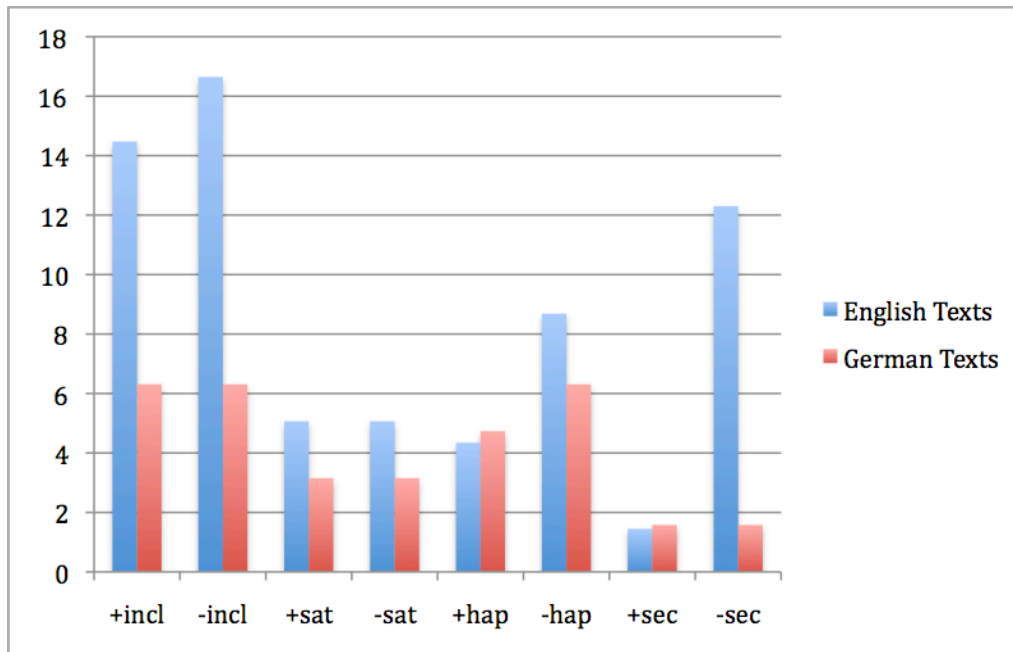


The attitudinal orientations of the ETs and GTs will be discussed in detail in the next four sections, which focus respectively on evaluations couched in Affect (3.2.1), Appreciation (3.2.2), and Judgement (3.2.3), and, finally, on implicit or ambivalent encoding of Judgement (3.2.4).

3.2.1 Emotionality

As stated above, the ETs inscribe Affect with higher frequency than the GTs. Further differences can be observed in the types of Affective lexis employed, and whether the Affect is authorial or non-authorial. Figure 3.3 below illustrates that the ETs use significantly more values of inclination (positive and negative), as well as more values of negative security.

Figure 3.3: Affect values in English/German texts, showing average frequency/500 words



The ETs' preference for inclination and security values is due to their outspokenly subjective responses to smoking and the ban, and to its opponents/proponents, as well as to their proclivity for alarmist rhetoric, particularly regarding the supposed infringement of civil liberties.

This outspokenness is reflected in the more frequent occurrence of Authorial Affect in the ETs than in the GTs. In the following excerpts, the authors explicitly foreground themselves as Emoter (i.e. the source of the Affect), sometimes with verbal or mental processes (i.e. in examples 3.8-3.10 below) that offer highly personalised emotional evaluations. These values function to establish what Martin and White (2005: 23f.) describe as a 'dominating prosody', lending an emotive colouring to the subsequent text.

Table 3.2

Example	Affect Value	Features
(3.7) I claim the right, loudly and <u>angrily</u> (E1)	-sat	adjunct; Emoter: I (author) Trigger: smoking ban?
(3.8) [I] <u>intend</u> not to heed [this legislation] (E1)	+incl	mental process; Emoter: I (author); Trigger: smoking ban
(3.9) I am still <u>ashamed</u> of the fact that I did not complain (E2)	-sat	mental process; Emoter: I (author); Trigger: failure to complain

(3.10) [D]ie unbarmherzige Intoleranz uns Nichtrauchern gegenüber <u>will</u> ich <u>nicht</u> länger hinnehmen. <i>I <u>will not</u> accept this merciless intolerance towards us non-smokers any longer. (G2)</i>	-incl	mental process; Emoter: ich (author); Trigger: unbarmherzige Intoleranz (smoking)
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With the exception of the instance from G2 cited above, the GTs do not employ authorial Affect. The citation below from G6 is revealing in this context: the author uses an inclination value (to plead) to endorse the ban, but combines it with an impersonal form (subjectless passive):

Table 3.3

Example	Affect Value	Features
(3.11) Wenn hier [...] für ein absolutes, ausnahmsloses sowie rigoroses Rauchverbot [...] <u>plädiert</u> werden soll... <i>If a <u>plea is to be made</u> (lit. <u>if it is to be pleaded</u>) here for an absolute, exception-free and rigorous smoking ban (G6)</i>	+incl	verbal process; Emoter: author; Trigger: Rauchverbot

The fact that the author does not write “If I am to plead...” suggests a reluctance to use explicitly personalised Affect.

Non-authorial Affect occurs in texts in both languages. Sometimes the attitudinal positioning is relatively straightforward, as in the following examples from E1, which denigrate opponents of smoking in public by casting “the best host” and “the worst host” as the triggers of positive and negative Affect respectively:

Table 3.4

Example	Affect Value	Features
(3.12) He will <u>want</u> you to feel <u>comfortable</u> . (E1)	+incl +sat	mental process; Emoter: the best host; Trigger: the best host’s desire attribute; Emoter: (putative) reader; Trigger: the best host’s desire
(3.13) [T]hus announcing his <u>intention</u> to make you <u>unhappy</u> . (E1)	+incl	nominalisation; Emoter: the worst host; Trigger: prohibiting smoking

-hap attribute; Emoter (putative)
reader; Trigger: prohibition
of smoking

Here, the author uses the generalising ‘you’ to implicate the reader in the Affect as well. Similar alignments of freedom to smoke with positive values of security, satisfaction and happiness are made by E1 and E4, as in the following excerpts:

Table 3.5

Example	Affect Value	Features
(3.14) [Smoking] promotes <u>ease</u> of conversation (E1)	+sat	nominalisation; Emoter: generalised smoker; Trigger: smoking
(3.15) [Smoking] <u>soothes</u> nerves (E4)	+sec	mental process; Emoter: generalised smoker; Trigger: smoking

Conversely, non-smokers associate smoking with tokens of negative Affect construing displeasure, for example:

Table 3.6

Example	Affect Value	Features
(3.16) [Smoking] <u>spoils</u> life for other people. (E2)	-hap	material process; Emoter: other people; Trigger: smoking

This type of lexis also occurs in the GTs, for example G2’s designation of smoking as an “alltäglichen Qual” [*daily torture*], or the peremptory “Rauchen stinkt” [*Smoking stinks*] in G6. However, on the whole, the GTs employ even non-authorial Affective evaluations a good deal less frequently.

Elsewhere, the use of non-authorial Affect is more complex. Frequently, values of inclination, happiness and satisfaction are used in attributed viewpoints. In the following excerpts, positive values of happiness and inclination are ascribed to proponents of the ban, in anticipation of its imminent enactment:

Table 3.7

Example	Affect Value	Features
(3.17) [M]any people will [...] <u>rejoice</u> in the news that our pubs, clubs and restaurants will shortly be smoke-free zones. (E1)	+hap	behavioural process; Emoter: many people; Trigger: the news (of the ban)
(3.18) Many people will <u>welcome</u> the legislation (E3)	+hap	mental process; Emoter: most people; Trigger: smoking ban

Conversely, in the following examples, negative happiness and satisfaction values are attributed to opponents of the ban:

Table 3.8

Example	Affect Value	Features
(3.19) [D]as große <u>Lamento</u> , die gemütliche Kneipen- und Biergartenkultur ging [...] den Bach runter <i>[T]he great <u>lament</u> that the comfortable bar and beer-garden culture will disappear (G2)</i>	-hap	grammatical metaphor; Emoter: opponents of ban; Trigger: economic consequences of ban
(3.20) Für eine Weile wird [der Raucher] [...] am Aschenbecher stehen und <u>schmollen</u> For a while he will stand by the ash tray and <u>sulk</u> (G4)	-hap	verbal process; Emoter: der Raucher; Trigger: smoking ban

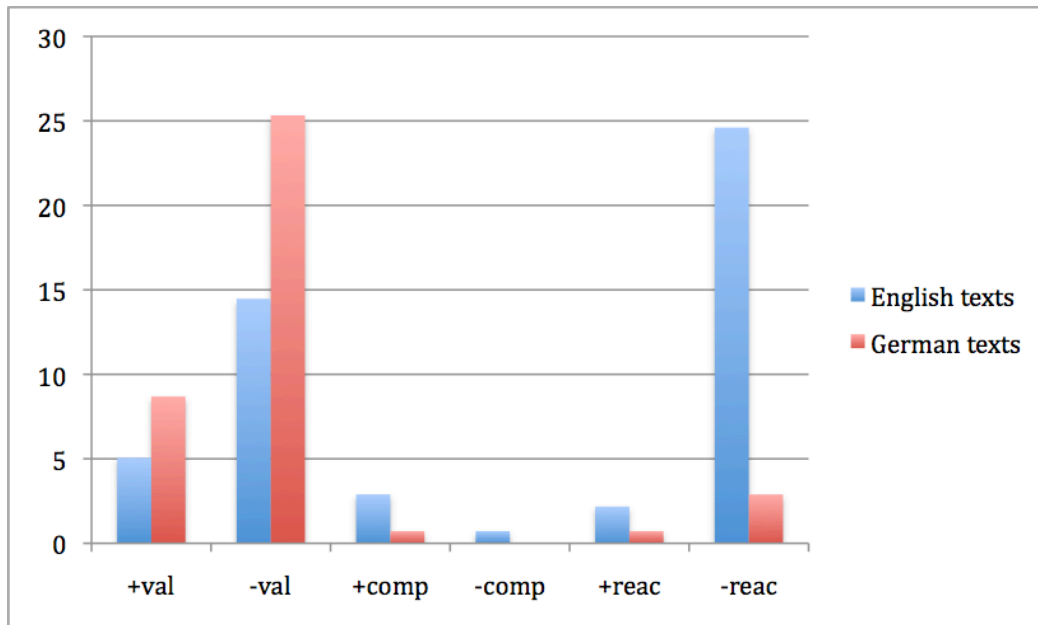
In the excerpts above, the attribution (and, in particular, the use of an Engagement value such as Acknowledge or Distance) serves to distance the authorial voice from the Affect value, and thus to discredit the expressed viewpoint, a feature that I will return to later. The majority of the few Affect values that occur in the GTs are attributed/distanced in this manner.

3.2.2 Appreciation

As stated above, the GTs tend to ground their evaluations in Appreciation rather than Affect, condemning smoking on the grounds of taste, or, more commonly, for reasons of individual or public health. This accounts for the higher frequency of Appreciation values in the GTs. As

Figure 3.4 illustrates, the ETs prefer negative reaction values, whereas the GTs contain multiple instantiations of valuation, particularly negative valuation.

Figure 3.4: Appreciation values in English/German texts, showing average frequency/500 words



The greater proportion of negative reaction values in the ETs can be explained by their liberal use of lexical items that, as Martin and White (2005: 57f.) explain, are essentially grounded in Affect, but evaluate phenomena, and are thus Appreciation values. Martin and White (2005: 67) advocate the use of “double codings” for such “borderline categories”, with the primary value (Appreciation) classified as inscribed and the secondary (Affect) as invoked attitude. These values generally take the form of modifiers or attributes in relational causes, as illustrated by the examples below:

Table 3.9

Example	Appreciation value	Features
(3.21) It is an <u>odious</u> attack on a point of principle. (E1)	-reac, token of -incl	modifier; Appraised: attack (ban); Appraiser: author
(3.22) [T]heir interfering and quite <u>loathsome</u> diktat. (E1)	-reac, token of -incl	modifier; Appraised: diktat (ban); Appraiser: author

(3.23)	We know that ours is a <u>disgusting</u> habit. (E3)	-reac, token of -incl	modifier; Appraised: habit (smoking); Appraiser: smokers
(3.24)	Most [...] regard smoking as <u>repellent</u> (E3)	-reac, token of -incl	attribute; Appraised: smoking; Appraiser: people
(3.25)	the Nazis and their <u>loathsome</u> , intolerant ideology (E5)	-reac, token of -incl	modifier; Appraised: Nazis' ideology; Appraiser: author

Some of the ETs make climactic use of such Affect-related Appreciation values, as in the examples below:

Table 3.10

Example	Appreciation value	Features
(3.26) But it is a <u>nasty, filthy, odious, vile</u> habit. (E2)	-reac, token of -incl	modifiers; Appraised: smoking; Appraiser: author
(3.27) I can quite understand why people find smoking <u>unpalatable</u> , even <u>revolting</u> . (E3)	-reac, token of -incl	modifiers; Appraised: smoking; Appraiser: people

This results in what Martin and White (2005: 23f.) describe as an ‘intensifying prosody’, meaning that a series of modifiers are used in succession to create a large ‘splash’ of attitudinal colouring. Elsewhere, the ETs employ Appreciation values as tokens of negative security. These include authorial assertions such as the following, in which negative security is invoked by the negative reactions ‘alarming’ and ‘worrying’:

Table 3.11

Example	Appreciation value	Features of realisation
(3.28) [I]o be told that I must not smoke is an echo of totalitarian control which I find foul and <u>chilling</u> .	-reac, token of -sec	modifier; Appraised: echo of totalitarian control; Appraiser: author
(3.29) [I]hat tolerant, largely good-natured side of the British character which seems to be disappearing with <u>alarming</u> rapidity (E3)	-reac, token of -sec	modifier; Appraised: alleged rapid disappearance of tolerance etc.; Appraiser: author

(3.30)	It is a <u>worrying</u> sign of the meek conformity which is gaining ground in this country (E4)	-reac, token of -sec	modifier; Appraised: rapid disappearance of tolerance etc.; Appraiser: author
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This ‘alarmist’ rhetoric is then continued in indirect realisations of extreme negative valuation/propriety such as references to Big Brother (E1 and E3) comparisons with “autocratic states” in Eastern Europe (E1) or even with the Staasi and Nazi Germany (G5).

There are also infrequent examples in the ETs of positive reaction values which shade into Affect such as satisfaction, as in the following examples, where the Affect-related lexis lends more emotive impact to the assertion:

Table 3.12

Example	Appreciation value	Features
(3.31) [A cigarette] makes a very <u>agreeable</u> nightcap (E1)	+reac, token of +sat	modifiers; Appraised: a cigarette; Appraiser: author
(3.32) [P] <u>leasantly</u> filling the brain with soporific preparations for sleep. (E1)	+reac, token of +sec	adjunct; Appraised: a cigarette; Appraiser: author

However, the vast majority of these items are of negative polarity, of very high intensity, and authorially sourced. There is no comparable lexis in the GTs.

Instead of employing the sort of Affect-related Appreciation lexis detailed above, the GTs show a tendency to evaluate the ban and smoking in relation to health benefits and risks. They therefore use a large number of (particularly negative) valuation values relating to the danger that smoking represents to public health, as illustrated by the examples below:

Table 3.13

Example	Appreciation value	Features
(3.33) Die Kosten für den Passivraucher [seien] <u>gravierender</u> ... <i>The costs for the passive smoker are <u>more damaging</u></i> (G1)	-val	attribute; Appraised: costs of passive smoking; Appraiser: supporters of ban

(3.34)	[D]as größte[n] vermeidbare[n] <u>Gesundheitsrisiko</u> <i>The greatest avoidable <u>health risk</u></i> (G2)	-val	nominalisation; Appraised: laissez-faire health policy; Appraiser: author
(3.35)	Einschränkungen ihrer <u>ungesunden</u> Freiheiten <i>Restrictions of their <u>unhealthy</u> liberties</i> (G4)	-val	modifier; Appraised: liberties; Appraiser: author
(3.36)	[D]ass [Rauchen] <u>der Gesundheit [...] nicht</u> <u>eben zuträglich</u> ist <i>[T]hat smoking is <u>not exactly beneficial to health</u></i> (G5)	-val	attribute; Appraised: smoking; Appraiser: author/everyone (‘man’)
(3.37)	sein <u>gesundheitsschädliches</u> Verhalten im Hinblick auf sein <u>Wohlbefinden</u> <i>His <u>unhealthy</u> behaviour in respect of his <u>well-being</u></i> (G5)	-val	modifier; Appraised: behaviour of smokers; Appraiser: author
(3.38)	Der Raucher <u>schadet</u> <i>The smoker <u>damages</u></i> (G5)	-val	material process; Appraised: smoker; Appraiser: author

These values may also provoke negative Judgements of propriety, but they are not grounded in Affect. The ETs also make occasional use of health-related valuation, as illustrated by the following examples:

Table 3.14

Example	Appreciation value	Features
(3.39) We know [...] that [smoking] is <u>harmful</u> and potentially <u>fatal</u> to our health. (E3)	-val	attributes; Appraiser: ‘we’; Appraised: smoking
(3.40) a dirty and <u>dangerous</u> addiction (E4)	-val	modifier; Appraiser: smokers; Appraised: smoking
(3.41) Smoking is <u>not good for you</u> . It can be <u>harmful</u> , or even <u>fatal</u> . (E6)	-val	attributes; Appraiser: author/everyone; Appraised: smoking

However, such evaluations occur significantly less frequently in the ETs.

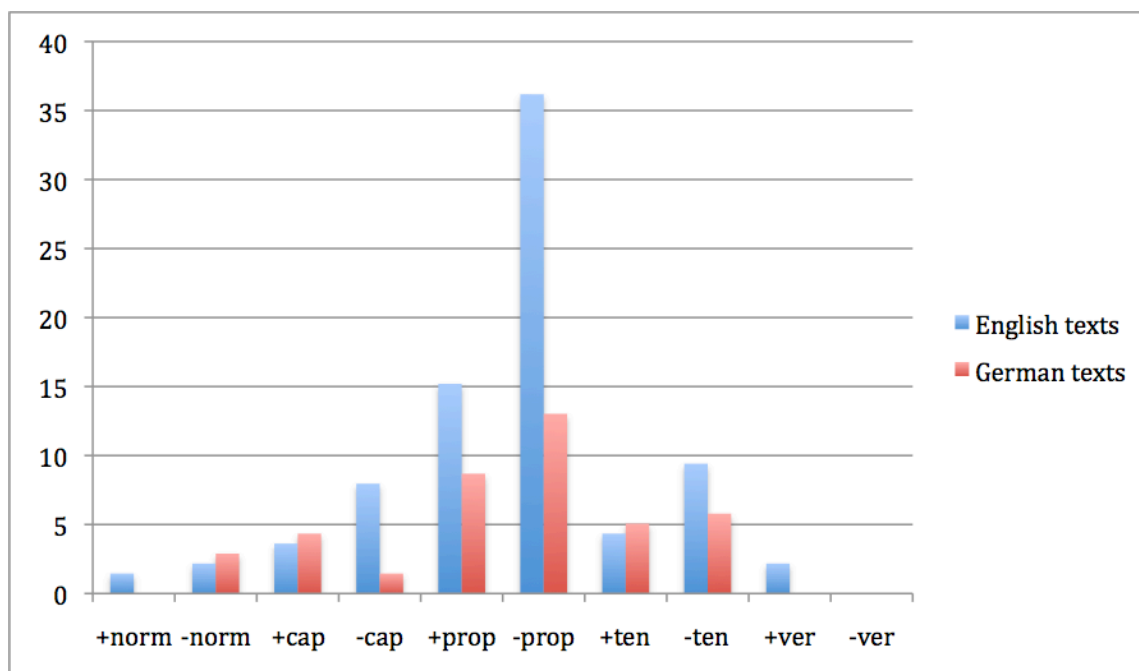
This type of Appreciation lexis is evidently closely related to the ideational content of health issues pertaining to the ban. The negative reaction values more common in the ETs, by contrast, are of greater interpersonal significance, as argued by Martin and White (2005: 57): “the **appreciation** framework might be interpreted metafunctionally – with **reaction** oriented to interpersonal significance [...] and **valuation** to ideational worth.” This suggests that the health-related arguments presented by the GTs should perhaps be approximated to ideational rather than interpersonal content, whereas the reaction values represent a clearer orientation towards the reader and more explicit attempt to influence him/her.

3.2.3 Passing Judgement

As already outlined, Martin and White (2005: 170) consider values of social sanction to be particularly characteristic of the commentator voice, particularly in the form of non-attributed, i.e. authorially sourced, Judgement. Although, as was indicated by Figures 3.1 and 3.2 above, the GTs inscribe more Judgement on average (around 14 values/500 words, whereas the ETs contain around 11 values/500 words), a sizeable proportion of the German inscriptions are attributed or used ambivalently, as will be discussed in section 3.2.4. When encoding central judgements of social sanction or esteem, the GTs often prefer to invoke or provoke Judgement, for example, by means of negative Appreciation values highlighting the health risks of smoking and the costs for passive smokers. The ETs, by contrast, in addition to invoking and provoking Judgement, frequently encode their central arguments in explicit, highly graded Judgement values, with the author explicitly casting himself as Appraiser. This frequent inscription of Judgement contributes to the ETs’ more rhetorically forceful character.

As Figure 3.5 illustrates, propriety values dominate, with the ETs in particular frequently inscribing negative propriety. However, values of social esteem (particularly capacity and tenacity) are not uncommon, with many of the texts shifting between negative sanction and negative esteem to imply that proponents or opponents of the ban are guilty of transgressing the boundaries not only of social propriety, but also of some generally accepted standard of ‘good behaviour’. This is particularly true of the ETs, hence their rather larger proportion of negative values of capacity.

Figure 3.5: Judgement values in English/German texts, showing average frequency/500 words



Explicit authorial Judgement occurs with particularly high frequency in E1 and E3. This is illustrated by the excerpts below, which contain numerous highly graded, intensified, or even maximised (e.g. 3.42), values of Judgement.

Table 3.15

Example	Judgement value	Features
(3.42) the supremely <u>foolish</u> legislation passed by our ineffably <u>immature</u> House of Commons (E1)	-cap	modifiers; Target: legislators / House of Commons; Appraiser: author
(3.43) This is a Bill which seeks to <u>interfere</u> [...] with everyone's power to choose how to interact with others, the better to achieve <u>good fellowship</u> and <u>decency</u> . (E1)	-prop +prop	material process; Target: Bill; Appraiser: author nominalisations; Target: interaction with others; Appraiser: author
(3.44) To resist it is not <u>petulance</u> , but <u>fundamental dignity</u> , standing up for the right to be treated as <u>self-accountable</u> citizens. (E1)	(negated) -prop +prop +prop	nominalisations; Target: resisting; Appraiser: author modifier; Target: citizens; Appraiser: author

(3.45) to adhere to the gentle <u>give-and-take</u> , <u>live-and-let-live compact</u> that forms the basis of civilised life (E1)	+prop	nominalisation; Target: tolerance; Appraiser: author
(3.46) It is this <u>natural goodness</u> and <u>consideration</u> which is insulted (E1)	+prop	modifier, nominalisations; +norm, Target: tolerance; Appraiser: author
(3.47) [T]he ban [...] is merely the latest manifestation of [...] <u>insufferable priggishness</u> (E3)	-prop (qualified by –sat)	nominalisation; Target: the legislators; Appraiser: author
(3.48) I believe that the chief stimulus behind banning smoking [...] is a <u>lamentable puritan tendency</u> (E3)	-prop (qualified by –hap)	nominalisation; Target: supporters of the ban; Appraiser: author

As the examples above illustrate, these texts make liberal use of Judgement lexis to construe the climate of tolerance/intolerance of smoking in public in terms of a binary opposition between positive/negative social sanction and esteem.

The GTs use highly graded Judgement lexis to support the ban, and, in particular, to censure smokers. The excerpts from G2 below target Judgements of negative propriety at the community of smokers:

Table 3.16

Example	Judgement value	Features
(3.49) unbarmherzige Intoleranz <u>merciless intolerance</u> (G2)	-prop;	modifier, nominalisation; Target: smokers' behaviour; Appraiser: author
(3.50) Überall und <u>ungefragt</u> wird man von den <u>rücksichtslosen</u> Glimmstengelhaltern eingeräuchert. <i>Everywhere and without being consulted, one is smoked in by inconsiderate fag holders</i> (G2)	-prop	attribute, modifier; Target: smokers; Appraiser: author

G4 also invokes general benchmarks of social esteem and propriety by stating that the ban is in conformity with *a civilized maturity*, and G6 brands addiction to nicotine as “*menschenunwürdig*” [*unworthy of humans*] in a Judgement of negative normality. There are also a number of Judgement values of negative tenacity in the GTs, either directed at the smokers, who are described as

“Süchtlinge” (G1) or “Süchtige” (G4) [*addicts*], or of the dithering legislators, whose conduct is evaluated as ‘half-hearted’:

Table 3.17

Example	Judgement value	Features
(3.51) <i>Halbherzig</i> ist der Bundestag dieser Einlassung gefolgt, als er beschloss, das Rauchen nur dort zu erlauben, wo dies in separaten Räumen möglich ist. <i>The Bundestag followed this plea <u>half-heartedly</u> when it voted to allow smoking only in places where it is possible to smoke in separate rooms.</i> (G4)	-ten	attribute; Target: legislators’ behaviour; Appraiser: author

The (anaphoric) deictic fronting of the attribute allowed by German syntax enables the author to establish this negative Judgement as a dominating prosody. However, such instances of explicit Judgement are the exception in the GTs, which often encode their central value orientation in indirect realisations of Judgement, as discussed in the next section.

3.2.4 Ambivalent or implicit Judgement

Whereas the ETs make frequent explicit inscriptions of authorial judgement, the GTs often employ Judgement values speculatively, or even ironically. In the following excerpt from G1, for example, Judgement values are used speculatively in open questions:

Table 3.18

Example	Judgement value	Features
(3.52) [I]st der Passivraucher nicht <u>Manns genug</u> , von sich aus verrauchte Kneipen zu meiden? <i>[I]s the passive smoker not <u>man enough</u> to avoid smoky pubs on his own?</i> (G1)	+ten	attribute; Target: passive smoker; Appraiser: author
(3.53) Haben nicht hierzulande, [...] viele auch ohne Staatsbefehl auf ihre Gauloise oder Rothändle verzichtet: freiwillig oder weil Rauchen irgendwie <u>sozial unschick</u> geworden ist?	-norm	attribute; Target: smoking; Appraiser: author

Haven't many people in this country [...] also forsworn their Gauloise of Rothhändle without being ordered to by the state; either voluntarily or because smoking has somehow become socially unfashionable? (G1)

Rather than such speculative employment of Judgement values, some of the GTs use them with distancing strategies to trivialising or ironic effect, for example in the humorous analogy between the “Querluanten” [*grouzers*] and the “tückisch” [*spiteful*] Kindergarten pupil prone to *telling tales* in G3, or the use of “sorgfältigst” [*most carefully*] to qualify “geteert” [*tarred*] with reference to the ex-smoker’s lung in G6.

The GTs contain a high frequency of indirect realisations of Judgement. In the following example from G4, for example, negative propriety is provoked by allusions to smokers’ lack of consideration concerning the health-related and financial costs of their behaviour:

(3.54)

Der Raucher schadet, [provokes -prop] will das allerdings nicht wahrhaben, [provokes -prop] weil er sich nicht mehr an Luther orientiert, sondern am modernen Dogma, das da lautet: Ich tue, was ich will. Und ihr müsst dafür zahlen. [provokes -prop]

The smoker does damage, [provokes -prop] but does not want to admit it, [provokes -prop] because he no longer orientates himself to Luther, but rather to the modern dogma that reads: “I do what I want. And you have to pay for it. [provokes -prop] (G4)

However, the author does not go so far as to explicitly brand the smokers ‘selfish’ or ‘inconsiderate’. Similarly, G4 stops short of accusing *Father State* outright of paternalism, but provokes a Judgement of negative capacity with formulations such as:

(3.55)

Vater Staat, der oft selber nur undeutlich bemerkt hat, daß seine Bürger längst aus dem Haus sind und ihrer eigenen Vernunft folgen. [provokes -cap]

Father State, who himself has often only vaguely noted that his citizens left home a long time ago and are following their own reason. [provokes -cap] (G4)

Provoked Judgement also occurs frequently in the ETs, for example, in E2, where Judgements of negative propriety are provoked in relation to smoking in public places by Affect values that simultaneously function as tokens of Judgement, as in the following excerpt:

(3.56)

But it is a nasty, filthy, odious, vile habit. It does not just rot your lungs [...], it spoils life for other people. [provokes -prop] (E2)

However, contrast to the tendency in the GTs to leave many of their Judgements implicit, many of the ETs also inscribe the Judgement explicitly in previous or subsequent assertions. In the following excerpt from E1, the legislators are censured first for an ‘offensively’ paternalistic treatment of the citizens by means of a provoked Judgement of negative propriety which is subsequently stated explicitly in the form of an intensified Appreciation/Judgement value:

(3.57)

[...] to our commissars in Westminster, we are all unruly infants who must be forbidden from making our own choices and who need protection from our own whims and fancies.

[provokes -prop]

That is why I regard this legislation as deeply offensive [-prop], and intend not to heed it.
(E1)

Thus the ETs use frequent inscriptions to ‘sign-post’ the value orientation of the texts, whereas the GTs often rely primarily or exclusively on indirect realisations of Judgement.

3.2.5 Summary

The attitudinal analysis therefore attests to a more emotive and overtly judgemental style on the part of the ETs, with frequent inscriptions of Affect and unmediated Judgement. The GTs’ attitudinal evaluations, by contrast, are more frequently grounded in health arguments, which are of lesser interpersonal significance. There are also fewer instances of unmediated Judgement in the GTs, with the authors tending to encode central Judgements implicitly as provocations.

4 Engagement analysis

This chapter examines and contrasts the interpersonal patternings in the English and German texts with reference to the Engagement framework, and reveals that contractive values predominate in the ETs, whereas the GTs contain marginally more expansive and attributive values. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 provide breakdowns of the average Engagement values used in the ETs and GTs. Fully annotated versions of the texts (for Engagement and Graduation values) can be found in Appendix III.

Figure 4.1: Proportional use of Engagement values in English/German texts

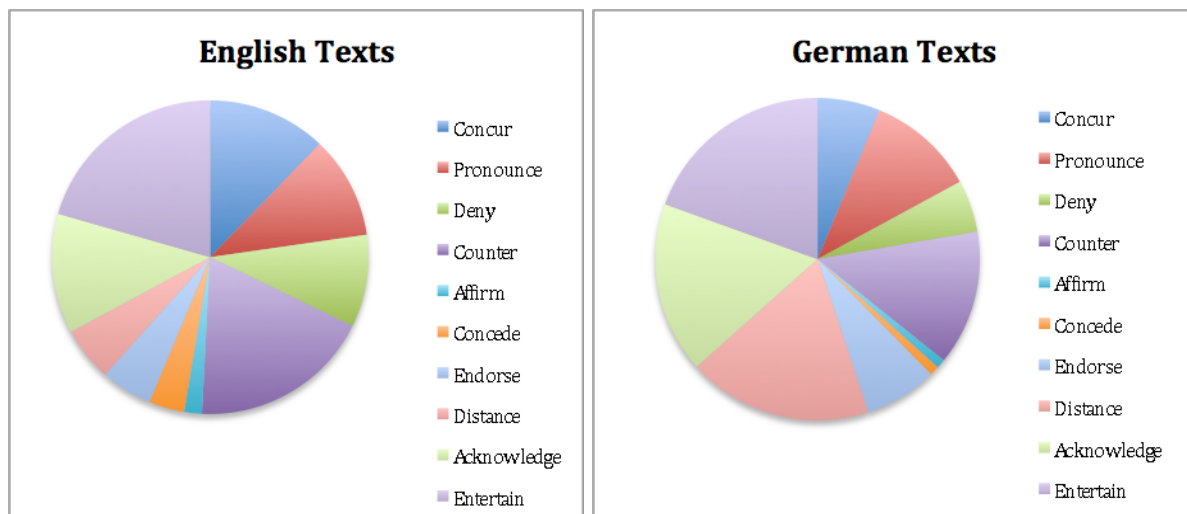
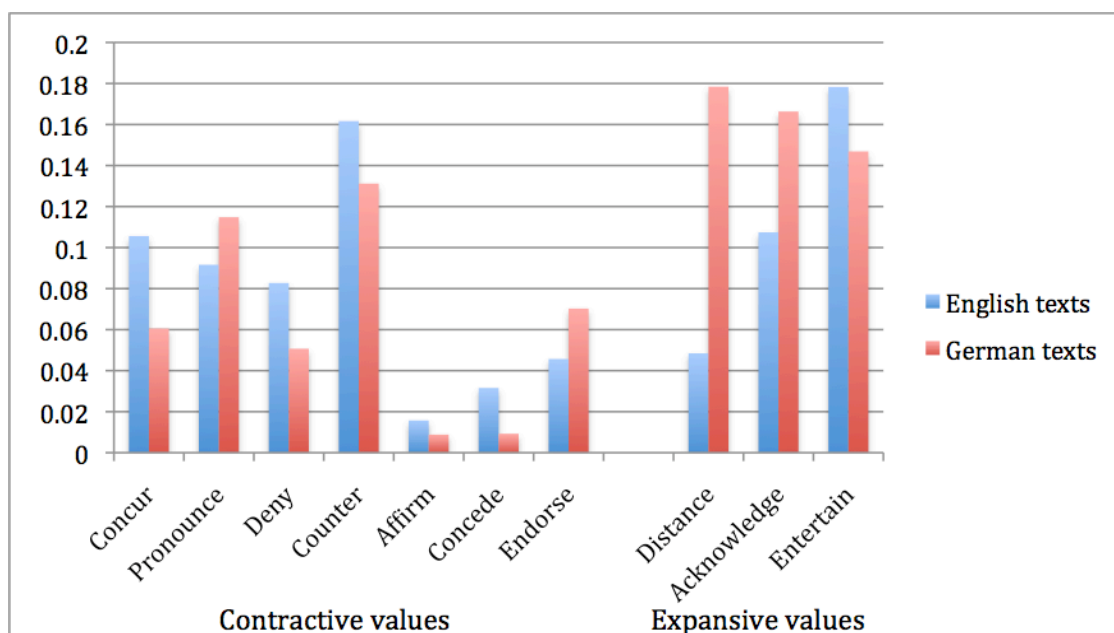


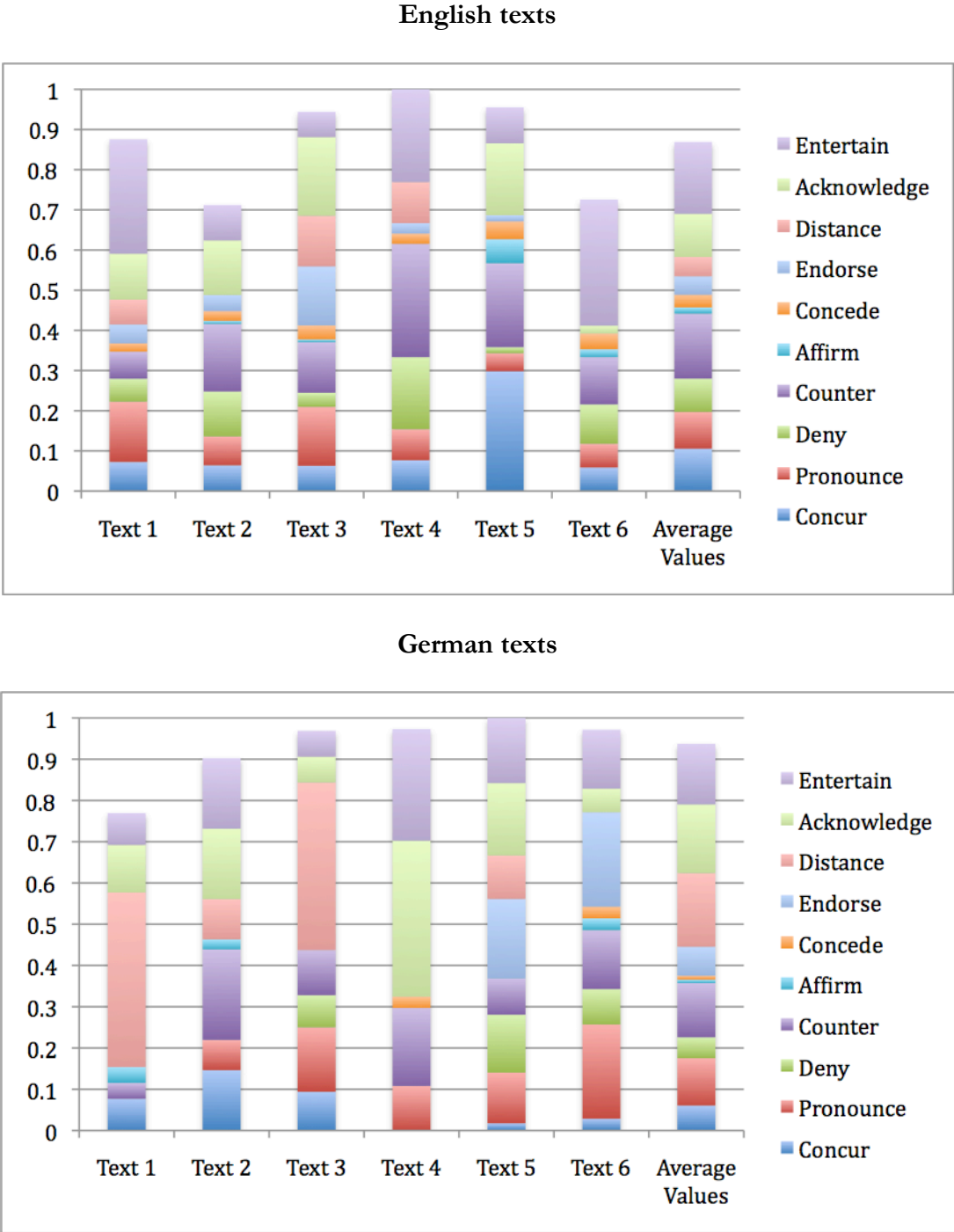
Figure 4.2: Use of Engagement values in English/German texts, showing average frequency/clause



As the graphs above illustrate, the ETs make less use of attribution than the GTs. The latter contain a high proportion of Acknowledge, in particular, Distance values.

Figure 4.3 contains a breakdown of Engagement values per text, and illustrates that G1, G3 and G4 in particular frequently employ attribution values (particularly distance in G1 and G3). E5 contains a large number of Concur values, and E1 and E3 contain a large number of Pronouncements, as does G6.

Figure 4.3: Engagement values by text, indicating frequency per clause.



These differences in Engagement structure will be addressed in the subsequent sections with reference to rhetorical themes that occur within and across the texts. These include attributions to ‘other voices’ and their dialogistic functionality (4.1), personalisation and addresses to the reader (4.2), and rhetorical effects such as authorial commitment and tentativeness (4.2.2).

4.1 Other voices

Authors in both languages introduce other voices into their texts. Some of these locutions are drawn from accredited external sources; however, others are attributed to vaguely identified ‘third parties’ invoking specific axiological communities. These voices are employed by the author when adopting a stance: he sometimes explicitly aligns himself with them by using Endorse, but he may also overtly distance himself from attributed views. In extreme cases, a generalized or unidentified interlocutor is introduced as a kind of ‘straw man’, for example, the “busybodies in the Commons” referred to in E1, or the “prodnose” cited by E3. The authors of the ETs tend to ascribe more extreme viewpoints (and thus more highly graded attitudinal values) to ‘opposing voices’ and to use more inflammatory rhetoric and emphatic distancing strategies when talking about them. The GTs, by contrast, use more subtle means of endorsing/discrediting such positions. The more extreme and emphatic alignment strategies employed by the ETs are again symptomatic of their more rhetorically forceful character.

4.1.1 Endorsement

The externally sourced locutions employed by both sets of texts to underpin their position range from accredited citations to more generalized attributions to a (postulated) body of opinion (“smokers”, “the non-smoking lobby”) or a generic noun (“any real doctor”) or stereotype (“the prodnose”). The author of E3 makes liberal use of citation, beginning with an endorsed citation of Robert Frost (“I hold it to be the inalienable right of anybody to go to hell in his own way”), and underpinning the accusations of puritanism that he levels at prohibitionists with an endorsed definition of the term:

(4.1)

[F]or the best definition of puritanism, see the early 20th century American commentator and sage HL Mencken: “The haunting fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy”. (E3)

Elsewhere, however, the endorsed locution is sourced to a vaguely identified body of opinion or third party. The author of E5, for example, uses a subjectless passive to universalize

the view of England that he presents and emphatically endorses: “England, for long regarded (rightly) as one of the freest countries in the world”. Similarly, the author of G4 presents the risks of smoking as a universally known fact by using the generalizing ‘man’ in an Endorse value:

(4.2)

[D]ass [Rauchen] der Gesundheit, der eigenen und der von anderen, nicht eben zuträglich ist, hat man schon immer gewusst.

[Q]ne has always known that it is not exactly beneficial to health, our own and that of others. (G4)

The author of E1 invokes the body of medical opinion in support of the view that moderate smoking “does minimal harm”, a view that he endorses by rather presumptuously ascribing it to “any real doctor”, the sharpening Graduation value indicating that the author is invoking a prototypical medical authority. E4 also downplays the dangers of smoking:

(4.3)

That is not to say that, in common with all drugs, [smoking] isn’t dangerous. But one alarming consequence of the anti-smoking hysteria has been to spread the notion, especially among the young, that nicotine is somehow more harmful than drugs such as cannabis or even cocaine.

The simple truth is that while smoking may shorten your life [...] it will not cause irreparable brain damage or induce schizophrenia... (E4)

Here the author endorses his argument as “the simple truth”, i.e. an intuitive, common sense position that the reader is therefore pressured to align him-/herself with. E1 employs a similar strategy to align the reader with its libertarian position, invoking a prototypical “true democracy” in contrast to the ‘degraded’ democracy that the author would have us believe Britain is becoming under the governance of the “busybodies in the Commons”. Such emphatic endorsements occur a good deal more frequently in the ETs than in the GTs.

4.1.2 Withholding endorsement

Whilst the ETs make their alignments explicit with emphatic endorsements, the GTs often employ values of attribution in more complex processes of dialogistic positioning. This is illustrated particularly effectively by G1, which poses open questions and couches the responses in Acknowledge or Distance values. In the following excerpt, for example, a response is formulated as an Acknowledge value, with the author selecting the indicative tense, suggesting that he assumes a degree of responsibility for its validity, before shading into Distance in the final

sentence as signalled by the subjunctive:²

(4.4)

Soll der Staat seine Bürger vor sich selbst und vor ihren Mitbürgern schützen?
Gewiß doch, sagen viele Zeitgenossen, um sogleich für ein allgemeines
Rauchverbot in Hotels und Gaststätten zu plädieren (das Werbeverbot für
Zigaretten kommt ohnehin bald). [Acknowledge] Denn schließlich, so lautet die
als selbstverständlich genommene Moral der Geschichte, seien die Kosten für den
Passivraucher gravierender als der Lustgewinn des Rauchers. [Distance]

Should the state protect its citizens from themselves and from their fellow citizens? Of course it should, say many of our contemporaries, so as to immediately make their plea for a general smoking ban in hotels and restaurants (the ban on cigarette advertising is coming soon in any case). [Acknowledge] Because, at the end of the day, dictates the moral of history, that is taken to be self-evident, the costs for the passive smoker are graver than the gain in pleasure for the smoker. [Distance] (G1)

This rhetorical move is then performed a second time, the author still declining to endorse or declare a position, before he finally counters with a declaration of his own position in the form of a rhetorical question:

(4.5)

Haben nicht hierzulande, wo es viel liberaler zugeht als in Amerika, viele auch ohne Staatsbefehl auf ihre Gauloise oder Rothände verzichtet: freiwillig oder weil Rauchen irgendwie sozial unschick geworden ist? [Concur]

Haven't many people in this country, where things are a lot more liberal than in America, also forsworn their Gauloise of Rothände without being ordered to by the state; either voluntarily or because smoking has somehow become socially unfashionable? [Concur] (G1)

G4 and G5 engage in a similar, complex negotiation of expansive values of attribution, with the author of G4 employing Acknowledge values to characterize the reactions of smokers to the ban before ultimately distancing himself from these reactions, and the author of G5 citing and adapting Luther whilst manoeuvring towards his stance. Altogether, the GTs show a marked preference for such complex processes of alignment over the overt endorsements of position preferred by the ETs.

4.1.3 'Straw men'

As stated at the beginning of this section, many of the texts tend to sketch extreme and discredited counterpositions that serve as 'straw men' to strengthen their argument. This part is

² See Fox (1990: 192) on the functionality of the indicative and subjunctive moods in reported speech.

generally played by the legislators or enforcers of the ban, or, in pro-ban texts, by the smokers. The authors of the ETs in particular frequently ‘ventriloquise’ such fictional adversaries, ascribing extreme views to them and employing Distance values in order to discredit their position and signal disalignment. The GTs, however, tend to sketch less extreme, and sometimes quite ambivalent, counterpositions, and to employ more subtle strategies in order to discredit them.

The ETs often attribute Judgement values to these ‘straw men’, as illustrated by the following excerpts from E1, E4 and E5, all of which refer to or ventriloquise legislators or enforcers of the ban:

Table 4.1

Example	Judgement Value	Features of realisation
(4.6) [I]o our commissars in Westminster, we are all <u>unruly infants</u> who must be forbidden from making our own choices and who need protection from our own <i>whims</i> and <i>fancies</i> . (E1)	-cap	modifier, nominalisations; Target: British citizens; Appraiser: Author, attributed to “our commissars in Westminster”
(4.7) [Smokers] seem to have accepted the official propaganda line – i.e. that they are <u>pathetic, weak-willed</u> individuals [...] <u>deserving only of pity</u> . (E4)	-ten	modifiers; Target: smokers; Appraiser: author, attributed to “the official propaganda line”
(4.8) How much simpler just to persecute those <u>feeble, weak-willed</u> souls <u>shamefully</u> puffing at their fags (E4)	-ten -prop	modifiers, adjunct; Target: smokers; Appraiser: author, attributed to legislators
(4.9) To enforce the ban, local councils will rely on legions of plain-clothes snoopers, ready to shop fellow citizens for the <u>heinous crime</u> of smoking in public. (E5)	-prop	modifier, nominalisation; Target: smoking in public; Appraiser: author, attributed to ‘snoopers’

The intensified Judgements inscribed here are distanced more or less explicitly; the intention is evidently to solicit the reader’s solidarity with the misrepresented and persecuted smokers. The excerpt below from E1 uses tokens of negative propriety in a forceful rhetorical question:

(4.10)
Do any of these busybodies in the Commons really imagine that we go around blowing smoke into other people’s faces, [provocation –prop] that we don’t give a damn, [token –prop] that we light up in front of new-born infants and the chronically ill? [provocation –prop] (E1)

The tokens of Judgement are used here to signal the alleged untenableness of the legislators' position and thus invite solidarity with the smokers.

The author of E1 also frequently attributes Judgements expressed in assessments of obligation as part of this distancing strategy, as in the three examples below:

(4.11)

[T]o our commissars at Westminster, we are all unruly infants who need protection from our own whims and fancies (E1)

(4.12)

More and more of our daily lives must be codified (E1)

(4.13)

[W]e must therefore do as we are told (E1)

Here, the modals of obligation are used to highlight the prescriptiveness and paternalism of the state, thereby provoking a negative response. The inclusive 'we'/'our' pronouns are used to implicate the reader on the side of the hen-pecked citizens, as will be discussed in more detail in section 4.2.1.

4.1.4 More ambivalent counterpositions

Rather than discrediting such counterpositions explicitly, the GTs frequently introduce a certain ambivalence or irony into evaluations of other positions. For example, G3 uses subtle attitudinal lexis that ostensibly inscribes a positive Judgement of proponents of the ban, but also suggests a negative Judgement in the following (distanced) assertion:

Table 4.2

Example	Judgement Value	Features of realisation
<p>(4.14) Diese Partei, die sich selbst als den wahren Staat im Staate erkennt, als <u>Fels der Ordnungsliebe</u> und des <u>Wohlmeinens</u>, um den herum alles im moralischen Sumpf versinkt - diese Partei bilden die Querulanten. <i>This party, which sees itself as the true state, as the rock of orderliness and benevolence around which everything is sinking into a moral swamp, this party consists of the grouchers. (G3)</i></p>	+ten / +prop	nominalisations; Target: grouchers; Appraiser: author, attributed to grouchers

Thanks to the distancing attribution, the positive Judgements acquire a negative flavour: *rock of orderliness and benevolence* becomes suggestive of naivety and officiousness (i.e. provokes negative Judgements of tenacity and propriety). This irony infuses other uses of *benevolent* in the text (for example, in its applications to *Father State*). A similar strategy is used by G1, which refers to proponents of the smoking ban as “die Hartnäckigen” [*the tenacious/intransigent ones*], a word that could be construed as inscribing positive tenacity or negative propriety.

4.1.5 Summary

The texts therefore differ markedly in their integration of other voices, with the ETs making more frequent and explicit use of Endorse and of ‘straw men’ to whom they frequently attribute extreme Judgements. Such alignment strategies are used more moderately by the GTs, which prefer to discredit counterpositions more subtly through complex negotiations of expansive attribution values.

4.2 Negotiating reader relations

In this section, I consider the interpersonal resources employed in order to anticipate, steer and counter reader responses. My analysis shows that, in general, the ETs employ much higher-risk strategies for enlisting the support of the reader than the GTs, for example, personalised, inclusive/complicitous, or directive, language (e.g. the inclusive ‘we’, or ‘you’ address to the reader). In the ETs, these features tend to co-occur with contractive or even monoglossic Engagement values which close down the dialogistic options available to the reader. Alternatively, the ETs may contain statements of their position in the form of Entertain values that are indicative of a high degree of authorial commitment. The GTs, by contrast, tend to employ lower-risk strategies for engaging reader solidarity, including expansive Entertain values which admit alternative dialogistic positions.

4.2.1 Addressing / Directing the reader

The ETs’ more direct engagement with the reader is evidenced by their liberal employment of personal pronouns that either extend the proposition to the reader (inclusive ‘we’) or even address the reader directly (‘you’), and thus pressure him/her to align him-/herself. The examples

below, in which the authors align their readers with a community of ‘hen-pecked’ citizens, illustrate this employment of ‘we’ in Acknowledge values:

(4.15)
[T]o our commissars at Westminster, we are all unruly infants who need protection from our own whims and fancies (E1; cf. 3.69 and 3.70 above)

(4.16)
Today we live in a state that increasingly ascribes to itself the responsibility to run our lives. From the “surveillance society” into which we are sleepwalking, to national identity databases, to the five-a-day lecturing on what we put into our bodies, our rulers now presume to know what is best for us on our behalf. (E3)

(4.17)
It would appear that we are largely willing to acquiesce in such busyboding on our behalf. (E3)

Elsewhere, the ETs use ‘we’ in programmatic statements of position with values/tokens of Judgement/Affect in order to extend the attitudinal value to the reader and thus to direct his/her response. This is illustrated by the following examples, in which the Affect acts as a powerful interpretative signal, dominating the prosody of the subsequent utterance:

Table 4.3

Example	Affect Value	Features
(4.18) We <u>shuddered</u> at life in Eastern Europe (E1)	-incl	behavioural process; Emoter: generalised ‘we’; Trigger: ‘life in Eastern Europe’
(4.19) We <u>do not like</u> smoking. (E2)	-hap	mental process; Emoter: generalised ‘we’; Trigger: smoking
(4.20) We are <u>wary</u> of the social authoritarianism of this government. (E6)	-sat	relational process; Emoter: generalised ‘we’; Trigger: government’s ‘social authoritarianism’
(4.21) [W]e have <u>had enough of</u> legislation designed to nationalise behaviour of which Labour disapproves. (E6)	-sat	mental process; Emoter: generalised ‘we’; Trigger

By extending the Affect to the inclusive ‘we’, the author ‘naturalises’ it, thereby placing considerable pressure on the reader to align him-/herself with the subsequent proposition.

Many of the GTs select the impersonal ‘man’ rather than the ‘wir’, whether in relatively uncontroversial statements (4.22) or in authorially-sourced assertions (4.23-4.25):

(4.22)

[D]enn dass [Rauchen] der Gesundheit, der eigenen und der von anderen, nicht eben zuträglich ist, hat man schon immer gewusst.

[B]ecause one has always known that it is not exactly beneficial to health, our own and that of others. (G5)

(4.23)

Auf das Einlösen freiwilliger Gaststättenversprechungen oder die Toleranz der Raucher kann man lange warten.

One can wait a long time for restaurants to make good their voluntary promises or for the tolerance of the smokers. (G2)

(4.24)

Nirgends ist man vor ihnen sicher – überall und ungefragt wird man von rücksichtslosen Glimmstengelhaltern eingeräuchert.

One is not safe from them anywhere – one is smoked in by inconsiderate fag-holders everywhere, and without being consulted. (G2)

(4.25)

Nun, wenn man genauer hinhört, bemerkt man, daß hier nicht Vater Staat spricht, sondern eine Partei, die ihn irgendwie gekapert hat.

Now, when one listens more precisely, one notices that it is not Father State speaking here, but rather a party that has, somehow, hijacked him. (G3)

As a low register equivalent to the English ‘one’, ‘man’ extends the reference of the assertion in a manner similar to the ‘we’ pronoun. However, as an ‘impersonal pronoun’ ‘man’ is less explicitly inclusive than ‘we’,³ and therefore stops short of overtly implicating the reader in the assertion.

Even more directive than the ‘we’ pronoun is the second person pronoun ‘you’, which is employed in text E5 together with imperative monoglossic statements and Concur structures realised by rhetorical questions to lend the text a highly directive character. This is illustrated by the excerpt below:

(4.26)

Whatever your views on smoking (and no one denies that the habit, like the officially approved New Labour ones of drinking, over-working and starting illegal wars carries a health risk) [Pronounce], ask yourself this simple question. [Monogloss] Do you really want to live in a country where lighting a cigarette, cigar or pipe in a pub or cafe, as English men and women have done for decades- is deemed a criminal offence? [Concur] Smoking may, to many people, be annoying, silly and smelly [Concede] - but criminal? [Counter] (E5)

³ König and Gast (2008: 235) state: “*Man* refers to unspecific individuals or groups of individuals and is typically used in generic contexts”.

The author of E5 here addresses the contractive locutions directly to the reader in a forceful appeal for solidarity. The only occurrence of the ‘you’ pronoun in the GTs is the use of ‘ihr’ in G5; however, this is projected and therefore does not address the reader explicitly.

Such directive locutions to the reader (rhetorical questions realising Concur values, monoglossic imperatives) occur more frequently or exclusively in the ETs. As Table 4.4 illustrates, the ETs employ the imperative and exclamative as well as the declarative and interrogative moods, whereas the GTs employ only the latter two:

Table 4.4: Proportion of mood types employed by texts

English texts

Text	Declarative / Exclamative %	Interrogative %	Imperative %
Text 1	93 / 1	5	1
Text 2	97.5 / 0	1.5	1
Text 3	94 / 0	4	2
Text 4	99 / 0	1	0
Text 5	82 / 0	9	9
Text 6	98 / 0	2	0

German texts

Text	Declarative / Exclamative %	Interrogative %	Imperative %
Text 1	74 / 0	26	0
Text 2	95 / 0	5	0
Text 3	90 / 0	10	0
Text 4	95 / 0	5	0
Text 5	98 / 0	2	0
Text 6	100 / 0	0	0

Although the GTs feature a higher proportion of interrogatives than the ETs, these frequently take the form of open-ended questions, as in the following excerpts from G1 where they are followed by (often distanced) responses:

(4.27)

Soll der Staat seine Bürger vor sich selbst und vor ihren Mitbürgern schützen? Gewiss doch, sagen viele Zeitgenossen...

Should the state protect its citizens from themselves and from their fellow citizens? Of course it should, say many of our contemporaries... (G1)

(4.28)

Braucht es dazu den Staat? Klar, sagen die Hartnäckigen...

Is the state needed here? Certainly, say the tenacious/intransigent ones... (G1)

Rhetorical questions realising Concur values are used only infrequently in the GTs, in contrast to English polemics such as E1, E3 and E5, which are scattered with such contractive rhetorical questions.

4.2.2 Expressing commitment and tentativeness

Authorial commitment to a value position, or, conversely, uncertainty and tentativeness, are often signalled with the aid of resources that fall within the Engagement subsystem of Entertain. Highly invested, personalised Engagement values realise a high level of authorial commitment, with the author vouching personally for the warrantability of an assertion. Such locutions occur frequently in the ETs, where they account for a high proportion of the Entertain values. The GTs, by contrast, make more frequent use of ‘objective’ modal values, and particularly ‘evidentials’, in order to present propositions more tentatively and speculatively.

Subjectivised statements of position in the form of personalised Entertain values occur with particularly high frequency in E1 and E3, as illustrated by the examples below:

(4.29)

That is why I regard this legislation as deeply offensive, and intend not to heed it. I shall depend on my own good manners rather than their interfering and quite loathsome diktat. [Entertain]

(4.30)

[T]he ban on smoking in public places is merely the latest manifestation of what I regard as that insufferable priggishness. [Entertain]

(4.31)

I believe the overriding motivation behind the new law is the growing British mania to ban things. [Entertain]

(4.32)

[S]o I believe that the chief stimulus behind banning smoking in public places is a lamentable puritan tendency. [Entertain]

Here, the authors throw their weight behind the assertions, vouching personally for their validity. There is only one occurrence of such subjective modalisation in an Entertain value in the GTs, in the following locution:

(4.33)

[I]ch halte das sich vorbereitende Rauchverbot durch Vater Staat für einen jener durch beste Absichten motivierten Eingriffe in das persönliche Leben

I consider Father State's smoking ban, which is currently in preparation, and which is motivated by the best intentions, to be one of those interventions into private life (G3)

Otherwise, as discussed previously, the GTs tend to attribute such statements of authorial stance to the ‘man’ pronoun (cf. examples 4.23-4.25 above).

Elsewhere, the GTs employ impersonal or subjectless forms (i.e. an explicit objective modal orientation) with Entertain values. This is illustrated by the examples below, in which values of deontic modality are realized by impersonal constructions with the dummy pronoun ‘es’:

(4.34)

Diesem Anschlag auf die Gesundheit zu wehren, bedarf es einer großen Koalition der Willigen und Vernünftigen. (G2)

A coalition of the willing and the reasonable is required in order to counter this attack on health. (G2)

(4.35)

Also gehört es verboten.

So it should be? prohibited. (G6) (The example features an impersonal (i.e. explicit objective) formulation of obligation that unfortunately cannot be translated by any other means than ‘should’, i.e. a subjective implicit modal, in English.)

When the ETs encode deontic modality, by contrast, they tend to orientate to implicit subjective modalisation, as in the following excerpts, where the authors use modals of obligation in explicit authorial directives:

(4.36)

The urge to correct and control, which ought to have no place at all in a truly democratic system (E1)

(4.37)

[T]he citizen should not be coerced or bullied into being somebody he is not (E1)

(4.38)

It should be enough that he respects the rules which govern social intercourse (E1)

(4.39)

These facts should be known to everyone (E6)

(4.40)

[T]heir efforts should be concentrated on dealing with the most dramatic economic downturn for at least 30 years (E6)

The ETs also feature proportionally more high probability Entertain values, which are employed in confident predictions about the effects of the ban. E5 and E6, for example, feature a number of predictions about the social and economic effects of the ban, such as the following:

(4.41)

[L]ocal councils will rely on legions of plain-clothes snoopers, ready to shop fellow citizens for the heinous crime of smoking in public (E5)

(4.42)

A small corner shop will have difficulty finding space to store tobacco (E6)

This higher level of modal commitment construes a more explicit orientation to the reader and more direct appeals for solidarity.

In contrast to the highly invested Entertain values discussed above, the GTs tend to instantiate Entertain to suggest tentativeness on the part of the author, for example, in order to make concessions (4.43), or in irrealis formulations of speculative predictions (4.44):

(4.43)

Mag sein, dass das Rauchverbot dem zwangsinhalierenden Nichtraucher eine lange ersehnte Erleichterung bringt.

It may be the case that the smoking ban will bring a long-awaited relief to the non-smoker (G4)

(4.44)

Langfristig wäre Rasern wie Rauchern mit solcherart staatlichen Einschränkungen ihrer ungesunden Freiheiten gedient.

In the long term, speeders and smokers alike would be well served by this kind of restriction of their unhealthy freedoms. (G4)

Such statements are clearly expansive, presenting the propositions as possible outcomes among many. The ‘open-ended’ questions that feature, for example, in G1 (cf. examples 4.27 and 4.28) and G4 (“Was aber bringt es dem Raucher?” [*But what will it bring the smoker?*]) are highly expansive Entertain values, admitting more than one possible response to the question.

In the ETs, many of the Entertain values are employed not to express tentativeness, but strategically to soften or ‘hedge’ certain propositions. Perhaps the most striking examples of this tactic are the arguments for ‘protest’ smoking presented in E1 and E4:

(4.45)

In the light of the supremely childish legislation passed by our current ineffably immature House of Commons, I feel almost morally compelled to light up again. (E1)

(4.46)

Having given up smoking more than 30 years ago I feel quite tempted to take it up again, if only as a protest against the draconian measures currently being introduced to stop people from smoking almost anywhere. (E4)

The author of E4 ‘softens’ the proposition by means of the mental process “feel” and the downscaling “quite”. The author of E1 ‘boosts’ the proposition with a modal assessment of

obligation which is softened by a mental process (“feel [...] compelled”); “morally” is softened by the softening Graduation value “almost” – unsurprisingly, as most people would find the suggestion that there could be a ‘moral’ argument for resuming smoking preposterous. This theme is resumed at the end of E1, where the author entertains his advocacy of ‘militant’ smoking:

(4.47)

I suggest that, on the day the Bill becomes law, we all light up, smokers and non-smokers alike, to demonstrate our independence from government in matters which are not the province of the State. (E1)

Here, again, Entertain values are employed to ‘soften’ a highly controversial proposition.

4.2.3 Summary

In general, then, the ETs employ more forceful resources when negotiating reader relations, including personal pronouns (‘we’ and ‘you’), contractive and monoglossic locutions, and a higher level of authorial investment. The GTs, by contrast, prefer impersonal or subjectless modal forms and employ expansive Entertain values which admit other dialogistic alternatives. The ETs use such expansive values strategically in order to soften more extreme propositions, and thus convince the reader of their validity. All these resources mean that the ETs use more forceful persuasive tactics and take significantly more risks when negotiating reader solidarity than the GTs.

4.3 Conclusions

The contrastive interpersonal analysis has therefore highlighted differing Appraisal resources in the ETs and GTs. Whereas the ETs in general opt for higher attitudinal colouring, greater authorial presence and a more contractive Engagement structure, the GTs tend to moderate their attitudinal content, to depersonalise locutions, and to afford the reader more space to decide his/her dialogistic positioning. The Discussion Chapter will relate these differences to the issues of authorial voice and the construal of the putative reader.

5 Discussion

This chapter relates the findings of the analysis to standard features of the “commentator voice”, as defined by Martin and White (2005: 164-184), and examines the authorial voices and reader relations cultivated by the texts. I identify certain common patternings in the author-reader relations, and argue that, in general, the authorial voices in the English texts tend to be more forceful and adversarial than those construed by the German texts, and significantly more resistance seems to be anticipated on the part of the putative reader. The final section of the chapter considers reasons for these contrasts.

5.1 Evaluative key of commentator voice

Martin and White (2005: 164-184) characterize the evaluative positioning or ‘key’ that is characteristic of the commentator voice by comparing and contrasting the resources found in the commentary with those typically found in news reports. Table 5.1 below provides a contrastive outline of these features:

Table 5.1: Features of commentator and reporter voice

Commentator voice	Reporter voice
Socially ‘sanctioning’ and ‘esteeming’ meanings, in particular authorial, ‘hortatory’ directives, modals of obligation, unmediated judgements of social sanction	“operates with a virtual prohibition on inscribed authorial judgement and assessments of obligation” (Martin and White... 183)
Authorially-sourced Affect	Permits only inscribed Appreciation; Affect and Judgement frequently attributed.
Frequent use of intensification values	Prefers intensification by infusion
Frequent use of Denial, counter-expectational particles, Pronounce, Concur	Less frequent use of Denial and counter-expectational particles; no instances of Pronounce, Concur
Lower frequency of Acknowledge and Distance values	Higher frequency of Acknowledge and Distance values

Data taken from Martin and White (2005: 164-184)

Martin and White (2005: 181) point out that these co-occurring features are “clinal and probabilistic patternings”, rather than cut-and-dried distinctions. The data discussed in the previous chapter suggests that the ETs exemplify many features of the commentator voice – for example, unmediated Judgement, authorially-sourced Affect, contractive values such as Deny and Concur – with a considerably higher frequency than the GTs, which prefer inscribed

Appreciation and invoked/provoked Judgement as well as expansive attribution values. On the whole, then, the contrastive analysis suggests that the ETs are located further towards the ‘commentator’ extreme of the cline, whereas the GTs shift towards the reporter voice to varying degrees. In the following sections, I observe these resources in action by dividing the texts into four subcategories based on their authorial voices and interpersonal patternings.

5.2 Text categories

On the basis of their alignment within the smoking ban debate, the type of arguments they marshal, the forcefulness of their argumentation style and the type of reader that they construct, the texts can be grouped into four categories: ‘militant liberals’ (E1, E3, E4, E5, E6), ‘militant prohibitionists’ (E2, G2), ‘moderate liberals’ (G1, G3), and ‘moderate prohibitionists’ (G4, G5, G6). As I describe below, the texts in the first two of these categories are considerably more forceful rhetorically and construe more adversarial relationships with their readers; the texts in the second two categories cultivate a more measured tone and employ less adversarial tactics when negotiating reader relationships.

5.2.1 Militant liberals (E1, E3, E4, E5, E6)

This category includes two tabloid commentaries (E1 and E3, written by freelance writers for the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express*), and three broadsheet texts (E4, written for the *Independent* by the celebrity columnist Richard Ingrams; E5, written by a freelance writer for the *Guardian*; and E6, an editorial for the *Daily Telegraph*). The texts share a similar axiological orientation: all present a liberal/libertarian polemic, fiercely criticising the paternalistic legislators and ban sympathizers, although some of the argumentative content also relates to economic factors, and to the activity of smoking and its benefits/risks. E5 and E6 politicise the issue further by adopting an anti-Labour stance, accusing the government of “bossy, illiberal instincts” (E5) and “social authoritarianism” (E6).

5.2.2 Militant prohibitionists (E2, G2)

This category contains one ET (E2) and one GT (G2), both of which endorse the ban in emphatic and forceful terms. They were both penned by celebrity (political) columnists: E2 by

Simon Hoggart was published in the *Guardian*; G2 by Peter Hahne appeared in Germany's sole tabloid daily, the *Bild*. In addition, they both employ a personalized, relatively familiar style.

5.2.3 Moderate liberals (G1, G3)

The remaining liberal or anti-prohibitionist texts are G1 and G3, which are considerably more moderate in character. Both texts are taken from quality German broadsheets: G1, the shortest text in the corpus, was written by a staff writer at the *FAZ*, G3 for the *Welt* by a freelancing publicist. The two texts expound an anti-prohibitionist and social libertarian position, but in a significantly less highly invested and adversarial manner than the 'militant' texts.

5.2.4 Moderate prohibitionists (G4, G5, G6)

The three GTs (G4, G5, G6) in this category all appeared in 'quality' dailies, and offer more measured, but nonetheless firm support for the ban, largely on health grounds. Their more moderate character is reflected in their impersonal styles and subtle argumentation structures.

5.2.5 Summary

As this overview indicates, the ETs construe 'militant' authorial voices, which are more emotive, adversarial and personally invested than those in the GTs, with the exception of G2. This is true regardless of publication type (broadsheet or tabloid), and across all subgenres of opinion discourse – including texts penned by celebrity columnists and freelance writers, and even in the one editorial (E6). In the GTs, however, only the text penned by the celebrity columnist for the *Bild* construes an authorial voice that is comparably adversarial. This suggests that such 'fiesty' polemics employing adversarial Appraisal resources can be found throughout British newspaper journalism, but that certain constraints operate in German commentaries. In the following sections (5.3 and 5.4) I investigate the Appraisal resources employed by the texts to construe both the 'militant' and the 'moderate' authorial voices.

5.3 Attitudinal colouring

As the findings of the Appraisal analysis demonstrated, the texts exemplify differing intensities of attitudinal colouring, depending on the frequency and nature of the attitudinal realisations. An attitudinal colouring involving direct realisations of highly graded, authorial attitude makes for a more adversarial style, whereas lower graded or indirect realisations of attitude tend to moderate the authorial voice.

5.3.1 ‘Militant’ voices (E1, E2, E3, E4, E5, E6, G2)

The texts in this category all construe a high attitudinal colouring by inscribing highly graded values of Affect, Judgement, or Affect/Appreciation (i.e., the ‘double coded’ values discussed in section 3.2.2 of Chapter 3). Table 5.2 presents a sample of this attitudinal lexis:

Table 5.2: Sample inscriptions of attitude for ‘militant’ texts

Text	Inscriptions
E1	I claim the right, loudly and <u>angrily</u> [-incl] [This legislation] is an <u>odious</u> [-reac/-incl] attack on a point of principle. [A]n echo of totalitarian control <u>which I find foul</u> [-incl] and <u>chilling</u> [-reac]. [T]heir interfering and <u>quite loathsome</u> [-reac/-incl] diktat [-prop] I regard this legislation as <u>deeply offensive</u> [-prop]
E2	[It] is a <u>nasty</u> [-reac/-incl], <u>filthy</u> [-reac/-incl], <u>odious</u> [-reac/-incl], <u>vile</u> [-reac] habit.
E3	I can quite understand why people find smoking <u>unpalatable</u> [-incl/-reac], even <u>revolting</u> [-incl/-reac].
E4	[Smokers] seems to have accepted the official propaganda line that they are <u>pathetic</u> [-ten], <u>weak-willed</u> [-ten] individuals
E5	[L]ocal councils will rely on legions of plain-clothes snoopers [-prop], ready to shop fellow citizens for the <u>heinous crime</u> [-prop] of smoking in public [T]he Nazis and their <u>loathsome</u> [-reac/-incl], <u>intolerant</u> [-prop] ideology
E6	We are <u>wary</u> [-incl] of the social authoritarianism of this government. We have <u>had enough</u> [-incl] of legislation designed to nationalise behaviour of which Labour disapproves.
G2	[Ü]berall und <u>ungefragt</u> [-prop] wird man von <u>rücksichtslosen</u> [-prop] Glimmstengelhaltern eingeräuchert. <i>Everywhere and <u>without being consulted</u> [-prop], one is smoked in by <u>inconsiderate</u> [-prop] fag holders</i> [D]ie <u>unbarmherzige Intoleranz</u> [-prop] uns Nichtrauchern gegenüber <u>will ich nicht</u> [-incl] länger hinnehmen. <i>I <u>will not</u> [-incl] <u>accept this merciless intolerance</u> [-prop] towards us non-smokers any longer.</i>

Although some of the texts (e.g. E2 and E6) inscribe attitude with relatively low frequency, the values that do occur are employed locally with high intensity (as in E2’s pronouncement “[It] is a

nasty, filthy, odious, vile habit”) or strategically in dominant prosodic position (as in E6’s use of highly graded Affect values “We are weary...”, “We have had enough”). Much of the Attitude is authorially sourced; however, a number of the Judgement values in particular are attributed to ventriloquised counterparts, for example to the government in E4, whose projected views of smokers as “pathetic”, etc. are distanced and delegitimized, or to the “plain-clothes snoopers” charged with enforcing the law in E5.

The texts also contain frequent highly graded indirect realisations of attitude: E2, for example, provokes Judgements of extreme negative propriety with its account of Princess Margaret’s “loathsome habit” of directing smoke towards fellow diners at a restaurant. E1 underlines its inscriptions of Affect by provoking extreme negative valuation/propriety: as part of the unfolding prosody surrounding the notion of the “nanny state” it makes numerous denigrating references to “Big Brotherism” and to “autocratic” “Eastern European” states with their “informers and street spies”. E3 and E4 include somewhat less extreme provocations, with E3 censuring “the nanny state” and “Big Brother”, and E5, employs even more extreme terms of comparison than E1, likening Britain under New Labour to the Third Reich.

5.3.2 ‘Moderate’ voices (G1, G3, G4, G5, G6)

The ‘moderate’ voices, by contrast, tend to employ lower graded attitude, and frequently attribute attitudinal values or employ them ambivalently. Text G1, for example, cultivates ambiguity by the speculative employment of Judgement values in interrogatives or ambivalent uses as in the formulation “die Hartnäckigen” [*the tenacious ones*] discussed in the previous chapter. The author of G3 distances many of the Judgements of social propriety (e.g. “versäume” [*neglect*], “der stärkste Killer” [*the greatest killer*], “Volksgift Nr. 1” [*public poison number 1*]) by attributing them to the “grousters”, the text’s ‘straw men’. In contrast to the “busybodies” demonized in E1, however, the officious “grousters” are portrayed in G3 in a relatively indulgent and humorous manner, with the author playing on Judgement values such as “wohlmeinend” [*benevolent*], which acquire a negative suggestion of over-solicitousness and officiousness. These attitudinal inscriptions contrast starkly with the outspokenly negative evaluations of the ‘straw men’ in the ETs.

Alternatively, the ‘moderate’ texts may encode their central arguments in indirect attitudinal realisations which they ‘signal’ with infrequent inscriptions. This tendency is exemplified by G4 and G5, which open with judgemental inscriptions highlighting the necessity of the ban and thus establish the texts’ framework of social propriety/capacity:

(5.1)

Zu einer zivilisatorischen Reife [+prop/+cap], die sich im Alltag niederschlägt und mit derjenigen vieler europäischer Nachbarn vergleichbar ist, fehlt Deutschland seit Jahrzehnten zweierlei: ein Tempolimit auf Autobahnen und ein Rauchverbot in Gaststätten.

For decades, Germany has fallen short of a civilizing maturity [+prop/+cap] - that is reflected in daily life and that is comparable to that of many European neighbours – by lacking two things: a speed limit on motorways and a smoking ban in restaurants. (G4)

(5.2)

Hätte man sich an diesen ehrbaren Grundsatz [+prop] gehalten, hätte das Rauchen in geschlossenen Räumen niemals erlaubt werden dürfen

If one had adhered to this honourable precept, then smoking would never have been allowed in enclosed spaces (G5)

The attitudinal orientation signalled by such inscriptions is then developed through indirect realisations. For example, G4 criticises politicians for the “lächerliche[s] Theater” [*ridiculous carry-on*] [negative valuation, provoking negative Judgement of capacity] that they have caused through their hesitancy to introduce the ban. G5 implicitly provokes Judgement through values of health-oriented negative valuation (e.g. “sein gesundheitschädliches Verhalten” [*his health-endangering behaviour*], “[d]er Raucher schadet” [*the smoker causes damage*] [negative valuation, provoking Judgement of negative propriety directed at smokers]). G6 similarly provokes negative Judgements of propriety of the smoker in the peremptory conclusion “[R]auchen stinkt und bringt uns früher um als nötig” [*S]moking stinks and kills us sooner than is necessary*]. G4 indulges in a complex wordplay surrounding the term “Krebsgang”, which means in the first instance *the gait of a crab*, but can also mean *a backwards movement* [provocation of negative tenacity, targeted at the legislators], or *the walk of cancer* [token of negative valuation]. This term unifies the political and health-related arguments, as it serves variously as a token of negative tenacity, and as a token of health-related negative valuation.

With their deliberate avoidance of explicit attitudinal lexis, the texts in this category cultivate rather guarded and reserved authorial voices, which ‘prod’ the reader towards aligning with their argumentative positions.

5.4 Authorial investment

In comparison with report-style texts, all of the commentary texts are to some degree personalised, comprising some authorial attitude or other indications of personal investment. However, certain general tendencies can be observed between the ‘militant’ and ‘moderate’

voices, with the former tending towards a higher level of authorial investment, in which evaluations are personalised or subjectivised, whereas the latter tend to opt for a more impersonal (or even consciously depersonalised) tone.

5.4.1 'Militant' voices (E1, E2, E3, E4, E5, E6, G2)

Five of the texts in this category (E1, E2, E3, E4, G2) employ highly invested Attitude and Engagement values, which lend their anti-prohibitionist polemics a very subjective colouring. In E1, for example, the authorial voice liberally uses the 'I' pronoun throughout the text, beginning with the heavily hedged statement of his position as a would-be protest smoker: "I feel almost morally compelled to light up again", and the subsequent highly invested, contractive justification:

(5.3)

Why? Not because I want to huff and wheeze my path to senility; [Deny] still less because I want to inflict bad air upon my friends and companions; [Deny] but because I claim the right, loudly and angrily, to make adult social decisions in my own way, and not because the Government has made them for me. [Counter / Pronounce] (E1)

E2, E3 and E4 similarly frequently employ the 'I' pronoun in order to indicate a high degree of authorial investment, for example, the author of E3 uses the 'I' pronoun in personalised statements of his position such as the following Endorsement:

(5.4)

Many people, including thousands of Daily Express readers, will welcome the legislation. [Acknowledge] I don't blame them. [Endorse] (E3)

The author of G2 also emphatically states his position in highly invested Entertain values employing subjective explicit/implicit modality:

(5.5)

[D]ie unbarmherzige Intoleranz uns Nichtrauchern gegenüber will ich nicht länger hinnehmen.

I will no longer accept the unmerciful intolerance towards us non-smokers. (G2)

(5.6)

Durch den Duft der großen weiten Welt lasse ich mir meinen Lebensraum nicht enger machen, die Lufthoheit darf nicht länger den Nikotinkillern gehören.

I will not allow my living space to be reduced by the scent of the great wide world; the majestic air may not belong to the nicotine killers any longer. (G2)

Thanks to such locutions, G2 is certainly the most ‘subjective’ of the GTs, often personalising key inscriptions and invocations of Judgement.

In comparison with the other ‘militant’ texts, E5 and E6 are relatively impersonal. This is particularly true of E6, which (as an editorial) is the only commentary in the corpus not to be accredited to an author. However, both pieces indicate authorial investment through other resources, for example highly judgemental, authorially sourced lexis and forceful addresses to the reader.

5.4.2 ‘Moderate’ voices (G1, G3, G4, G5, G6)

The majority of the texts in this category maintain a relatively impersonal, detached style. G1, for example, entirely avoids personal pronouns, and the authorial voices of G4 and G5 present their arguments with few instances of explicit intervention or interpolation. Statements of authorial position frequently take the form of impersonal Pronouncements (5.7) or assertions attributed to the impersonal ‘man’ (5.8):

(5.7)

[Raucherzonen] sind so sinnvoll wie ausgewiesene Pinkelzonen im öffentlichen Freibad.

[Smoking zones] [...] make as much sense as urination zones in the public swimming pool. (G4)

(5.8)

Hätte man sich an diesen ehrbaren Grundsatz gehalten, hätte das Rauchen in geschlossenen Räumen niemals erlaubt werden dürfen

If one had adhered to this honourable precept, then smoking would never have been allowed in enclosed spaces
(G5)

G6 also carefully maintains an impersonal posture with the author making repeated use of impersonal contractive values as in the following statement, in which the author modalises and depersonalises an Affective mental process, before referring to himself in the third person:

(5.9)

Wenn hier nun erneut für ein absolutes, ausnahmsloses sowie rigoroses Rauchverbot in Restaurants, Kneipen, Bars und so weiter plädiert werden soll, dann ist dem Verfasser vielleicht Voreingenommenheit (Nichtraucher!) vorzuwerfen, nicht aber Kenntnislosigkeit.

If a new plea is to be made here for an absolute, all-encompassing as well as rigorous smoking ban in restaurants, pubs, bars and so on, then the author can perhaps be reproached with bias (non-smoker!), but not with ignorance. (G6)

Such instances of attitudinal colouring together with impersonal forms suggest deliberate avoidance of personalisation. G6 therefore effectively exemplifies a tendency that can be observed to a degree in all of the texts: aspects of the commentator voice that are associated with a high degree of authorial commitment (authorially sourced attitude (particularly Judgement), invested assertions of authorial position) are carefully depersonalised, creating the impression that the commentator has donned an impersonal ‘mask’.

An exception to this general tendency towards depersonalisation is provided by G3, which opens with a forthright, subjectivised statement of authorial stance in an Entertain value:

(5.10)

[I]ch halte das sich vorbereitende Rauchverbot durch Vater Staat für einen jener durch beste Absichten motivierten Eingriffe in das persönliche Leben, die auch im diszipliniertesten Bürger anarchistische Impulse aufwecken müssen.

I consider Father State's smoking ban, which is currently in preparation, and which is motivated by the best intentions, to be one of those interventions into private life that must even awaken anarchistic impulses in the most disciplined citizen. (G3)

However, this is the only occurrence of the ‘ich’ pronoun in the text, which is otherwise relatively impersonal in tone.

5.5 Aligning the reader

The tactics for eliciting reader solidarity detailed in section 4.2 of the Chapter 4 also contribute to the construal of the authorial voice as ‘militant’ or moderate. Patternings involving high authorial investment, directive addresses to the reader and numerous contractive values make for an authorial voice that comes across as forceful, or at least presumptuous, directing the reader as to what position he/she should adopt. Persuasive strategies involving expansive values and a lower degree of personalisation, by contrast, construe more moderate, and even tentative or elusive authorial voices.

5.5.1 ‘Militant’ voices (E1, E2, E3, E4, E5, E6, G2)

The texts in this category employ forceful reader alignment strategies such as contractive and monoglossic values and direct addresses to the reader. E1, E2, E3, and, in particular, E5, employ a large number of contractive rhetorical questions, and complement them with imperative monoglossic statements. E5 provides the most extreme example with its bid to align the reader

with the assertion that Britain is now “aping” Nazi Germany. The comparison is initially hedged to make it more palatable to the reader:

(5.11)

Comparisons to Nazi Germany are often tedious, [Concede / Concur] but in this instance it speaks volumes that the first country to introduce bans on smoking in public was the Third Reich. [Counter / Entertain] (E5)

However, in the final interrogative, the comparison is no longer presented as negotiable:

(5.12)

Isn't it sad that 60 years after playing a decisive role in the defeat of the Nazis and their loathsome, intolerant ideology, Britain, in its illiberal attitude towards smoking and smokers, is now aping them? (E5)

Here the author ‘goes all in’ rhetorically, exhorting the reader to join him in lamenting the decline of Britain into a pseudo-fascist regime.

A similarly high-risk strategy is use of the ‘we’ form in Acknowledge formulations to align the reader with text’s chosen axiological orientation. The author of E3, for example, attempts to ‘needle’ his compatriots into opposing the ban by crying alarm at their supposed acquiescence in the face of creeping government paternalism:

(5.13)

Today we live in a state that increasingly ascribes to itself the responsibility to run our lives. From the "surveillance society" into which we are sleepwalking, to national identity databases, to the five-a-day lecturing on what we put into our bodies, our rulers now presume to know what is best for us on our behalf. (E3)

E6 also makes strategic use of the ‘we’ pronoun when affirming its political position:

(5.14)

We are weary of the social authoritarianism of this Government. (E6)

(5.15)

[W]e have had enough of legislation designed to nationalise behaviour of which Labour disapproves. (E6)

Here, Affect values are extended to the reader, forcibly aligning him/her with the authorial stance with regard to the Government/Labour and the smoking ban. Such ‘dictatorial’ bids for solidarity construe an authorial voice that comes across as, at best, presumptuous, at worst, arrogant and imperious.

Many of the texts counter the anticipated resistance of the reader by mounting a ‘take no prisoners’ offensive on counterpositions. E1 and E4, for example, both attack the ‘received medical wisdom’ that smoking is harmful, citing medical authorities (E1) or presenting emphatically endorsed counterarguments in formulations such as “the simple truth is that...”

(E4). The author of G2 emphatically distances the economic arguments against the ban by using highly graded negative valuation, for example, “Luftnummer” [*empty words*] and “Quatsch” [*nonsense*]. The texts also frequently employ Deny – Counter and Concur – Counter relations to negotiate and negate reader expectations (reflected in G2 by the frequent use of particles such as “zwar” and “doch”).

The author of G2 actively draws attention to the adversarial character of the piece, describing himself as a “militant non-smoker”, and ending with an explicit modulated appeal for reader solidarity in the form of a military metaphor:

(5.16)

Diesem Anschlag auf die Gesundheit zu wehren, bedarf es einer großen Koalition der Willigen und Vernünftigen.

A coalition of the willing and the reasonable is required in order to counter this attack on health. (G2)

Here, the author incorporates a topical play on ‘war on terror’ jargon to soften the forcefulness of the appeal for alignment.

5.5.2 ‘Moderate’ voices (G1, G3, G4, G5, G6)

The strategies for alignment deployed by the texts in this category are on the whole more subtle and lower risk than those discussed above. Some of the texts (e.g. G1, G4 and G5) undertake a complex negotiation of attribution values in adopting their stance, using distance values to signal disalignment, but frequently withholding endorsement. Such strategies frequently lend the authorial voice a rather detached, or even elusive character, particularly when combined with indirect realisations of attitude, as value orientation and stance emerge only gradually.

As indicated in section 4.1.2 of Chapter 4, this preference for subtle alignment strategies is exemplified particularly effectively by G1. Instead of asserting or endorsing a position, the author equivocally presents arguments for and against the ban in the form of entertained, ‘open-ended’ interrogatives, with responses attributed to ambivalently evaluated parties such as “die Hartnäckigen” [*the tenacious/intransigent ones*]. This equivocation is sustained until the end, when the author explicitly interpolates his own view in an interrogative, this time realising a Concur value:

(5.17)

Haben nicht hierzulande, wo es viel liberaler zugeht als in Amerika, viele auch ohne Staatsbefehl auf ihre Gauloise oder Rothände verzichtet: freiwillig oder weil Rauchen irgendwie sozial unschick geworden ist?

Haven't many people in this country, where things are a lot more liberal than in America, also forsworn their Gauloise of Rothhändle without being ordered to by the state; either voluntarily or because smoking has somehow become socially unfashionable? (G1)

The final rhetorical question makes an emphatic bid for reader solidarity, but only after the text has consistently avoided explicit ploys to align the reader by equivocating, withholding endorsement and canvassing both sides of the argument. This creates the impression that the writer is “holding his cards close to his chest”, subtly revealing disalignments rather than aligning himself with one of the referenced positions. G4 adopts a similar tentative, enquiring approach, with open-ended interrogatives (“Was aber bringt es dem Raucher?” [*But what will it bring the smoker?*]) “Wann es so weit sein wird?” [*When this moment will arrive?*]), expansive attribution values and Entertain values realizing hypothetical conditionals or evidential hedges.

The Engagement structure of the G5 is even more dense and complex, with the authorial voice invoking opposing views through statements attributed to, for example, the “klassische-liberaler Lesart” [*classic liberal reading*], *militant smokers* and Luther. The concluding sentence, which reprises and qualifies the libertarian/economic/public health argument by varying the citation of Luther, exemplifies this complex, multilayered style of argumentation:

(5.18)

Der Raucher schadet, [Concur] will das allerdings nicht wahrhaben, [Counter] weil er sich nicht mehr an Luther orientiert, [Deny] sondern am modernen Dogma, [Counter] das da lautet: Ich tue, was ich will. Und ihr müsst dafür zahlen. [Acknowledge]

The smoker does damage, [Concur] but does not want to admit it, [Counter] because he no longer orientates himself to Luther; [Deny] but rather to the modern dogma [Counter] that reads: ‘I do what I want. And you have to pay for it. [Acknowledge] (G5)

In addition to the coding marked above, the excerpt also frames the attitude and behavior of the smoker as Distance, provoking Judgements of negative propriety of the damaging behavior of the smoker, of his projected disavowal of this damage, and subsequently by the reference to the cost issue in the (implicitly endorsed) modified Luther citation. The final assertion is addressed directly to the reader using the (informal) plural pronoun ‘ihr’, which enhances the provocation all the more; however, as it is attributed, the authorial voice is able to retain its detachment.

The authorial voice in G3 is more adversarial in character, opening with a personalised statement of the author’s position, as stated above; it also employs several interrogative Concur values, sometimes in tandem with the inclusive ‘we’, as well as intensifying and even maximizing graduation values in its criticisms of the state and the ‘grouser’. However, other features moderate this forthrightness: the text employs a good deal of Distance values with its attitudinal inscriptions, lending it a rather indulgent, mocking character. The author of E6 also occasionally employs more adversarial strategies, personalising some locutions and employing the inclusive

'we' (*We summarise*); however, the pronoun is employed as part of a textual signal rather than with the attitudinal formulation *smoking stinks* that follows it, and therefore stops short of extending the attitude to the reader. Despite making more explicit bids for solidarity than the other texts in this category, then, the authorial voices in G3 and G6 still avoid an explicitly adversarial tone.

5.6 Conclusions

As the discussion above demonstrates, the features of the commentator voice as identified by Martin and White (2005: 164-184) occur significantly more frequently in the ETs, and construe authorial voices that are more adversarial and forceful in character than those in the majority of the GTs. The ETs seem to anticipate resistance on the part of the putative reader, which they counter by employing a range of strategies, many of which are highly combative. The most extreme example is E1 (rightly dubbed a "fiercely provocative blast" in the lead), in which the author strikes a morally enraged tone and alternates highly invested statements of his position with forceful addresses to the reader and broadsides against pro-ban arguments. In Appraisal terms, the ETs are more likely to employ highly graded or intensified attitudinal lexis either when stating their own position or when assigning extreme positions to interlocutors. In addition, contractive Engagement values dominate in the ETs, particularly in personalized formulations, and explicit addresses to or implications of the reader through the use of personal pronouns occur more commonly.

The GTs, by contrast, seem to be more hesitant to use such high-risk strategies. Judgement values are more frequently mediated, and Affective lexis and highly charged monoglossic or contractive formulations are avoided, with expansive and attributive values moving to the fore. G1 and G4 in particular adopt a tentative, enquiring style, in which open-ended questions are employed in tandem with expansive values of attribution. In addition, many of the GTs seem to be concerned to preserve a posture of impersonality; they also contain few direct authorial interpolations and addresses to reader, and the inclusive 'we' pronoun is employed economically and with co-textual restrictions. As a consequence, the authorial voices often acquire a detached and elusive quality, signalling disalignments rather than alignments and encoding their positions implicitly. A notable exception, however, is G2: in my view the most 'Anglo-Saxon' of the commentaries, this text employs many of the higher-risk strategies more commonly found in the ETs, and cultivates from the outset a personalised and adversarial tone.

5.6.1 Tabloidization

As mentioned in the Introduction, a tendency towards personalization, excess and sensation in newspaper opinion discourse has been asserted, and lamented, by commentators (e.g. Franklin, 1996: 305) as symptomatic of “the stylistic convergence [...] characteristic of ‘tabloidization’” (Conboy, 2006: 211) The interpersonal features of the British commentaries detailed above could therefore be seen as symptomatic of a stylistic tendency emanating from the tabloids, with the contrasts to the German commentaries illustrating that this development has taken less firm hold in the more broadsheet-dominated German newspaper industry. The intertextual resonances between texts in the same language are certainly suggestive of such a stylistic convergence: for example, the overlap in attitudinal values, with ‘loathsome’ occurring in three ETs (E1, E2 and E5), and the references to surveillance and totalitarian states in E1, E3 and E5 suggesting that the authors are attempting to ‘outdo’ each other in provoking the reader.

5.6.2 Commentary genre

However, rather than dismiss these tendencies with the value-laden term ‘tabloidization’, it may be more fruitful to look to the generic framework and broader institutional context for an explanation. Given that the majority of the GTs diverge significantly from the characteristics of the commentator voice as outlined by Martin and White, it seems likely that the contrasts originate in differing conceptions of the ‘commentator voice’, and thus in differences in the evaluative regimes preferred in the institutional contexts of the individual newspapers, and, more generally, in the national journalistic cultures.

In my view, the differing interpersonal themes are suggestive of different rhetorical objectives pursued by the commentary genre in Britain and Germany. These differences are flagged by Esser in his assertion (cited in the Introduction) that British commentaries have “a playful character that they do not have in Germany”, and that their purpose is “less the frank communication of one’s own opinion than the provocation of the reader, who is supposed to be confronted with the most unconventional views possible concerning a current topic.” (1998: 476) Tunstall (1996: 281) offers a similar characterization, developing his description of columnists’ views as “maverick and eccentric” with the assertion that they are “especially notable for the strength of their opinions; most of them have decided that understatement is a vice, while robust opinions are a virtue”. These generalizations are borne out by the interpersonal analysis, which has identified a tendency towards extreme provocation and confrontation of the reader throughout the English corpus.

The contrast is reflected by observations that I made when compiling my corpus: it quickly became evident that the ETs preferred to adopt a libertarian positioning (around 7 anti-ban texts to every pro-ban text), whereas the relationship was reversed in the German newspapers I examined (around 8 pro-ban texts to every anti-ban text). Given that, in both countries, the overwhelming majority of the population supported the ban, this suggests a preference for controversial and provocative positionings on the part of the ETs, whereas the GTs prefer to align themselves with ‘public opinion’.

We could therefore explain the differing interpersonal themes in the texts as consequences of these primary alignments: the GTs tend to support the ban, and are therefore more confident that their arguments will find resonance among their readership, whereas the anti-ban ETs, by contrast, are more likely to anticipate resistance and therefore to adopt a ‘militant’ authorial stance. However, this alone does not explain the contrast: E2 supports the ban, but also employs highly Affective vocabulary and a forceful style of argumentation; G2 is also a pro-ban text, but is by far the most adversarial of the GTs, and employs a repertoire of resources more commonly found in the ETs. Presumably, then, the differences originate with institutional, and perhaps even cultural, preferences: for a provocative style in the ETs and a more moderate style in the GTs.

This assumption is substantiated by the apparent relish with which the ETs provoke their readers. As detailed previously, many of the ETs employ provocations that are intensified to the point of absurdity, e.g. E5’s comparisons with the Staasi and Nazi Germany, or E1’s rhetorical question:

(5.19)

Do any of these busybodies in the Commons really imagine that we go around blowing smoke into other people’s faces, that we don’t give a damn, that we light up in front of new-born infants and the chronically ill?

The author of E2 also enlivens his text with exaggeration, absurd comparisons and intensification, as in his assertion: “It is easier to change sex than to cease being a smoker.” The GTs, by contrast, tend to employ an understated, knowing irony encoded in equivocal attitudinal values, e.g. G3’s description of the “grouzers” as a “rock of orderliness and benevolence”, which subtly prods the reader towards a negative evaluation. This relish for extreme provocations in the ETs is indicative of the delight in “robust opinions”, in unconventional and adversarial positioning, that constitutes a central aspect of their ‘playful’ or entertaining character.

5.6.3 Argumentation Styles

Finally, perhaps the context of culture should be broadened to include “national styles regarding modes of persuasion”, as suggested by Connor (1996: 143) in the proposition that I cited in my Introduction. Various studies (Polenz (1981), Panther (1981), see also Siliakus (1984) have attested to a high degree of impersonalisation in German academic register, with agentless passives, and impersonal and reflexive constructions propounding. This has also been borne out by contrastive analyses of academic register (e.g. Clyne (1987)). In one such analysis, Vassileva (1998: 166) comments: “It appears that many German writers are rather conservative [...] and tend to adhere to the traditional recipe for ‘objective’ presentation.” This would suggest that the institutional pull towards a more objective and moderate style on the part of German newspaper columnists is actually symptomatic of broader tendencies in German writing styles. However, in the absence of more far-reaching cross-genre studies, this explanation must remain hypothetical.

6 Conclusion

This contrastive analysis of the Appraisal resources employed in British and German newspaper commentaries took as its starting point assertions such as that by Esser (1998: 476, cited in Introduction) that British and German commentaries are different in character and pursue different rhetorical objectives. It was hypothesized that British comment pieces tend towards extreme positioning and rhetorical forcefulness, whereas German commentaries take a more balanced and heuristic approach. The analysis of the Appraisal resources employed in the English and German texts has confirmed this hypothesis, revealing that the ETs employ more forcefully emotive, judgemental and personalized language to present their argument, and communicate this argument more insistently to the reader. In the GTs, the author is less likely to commit explicitly to propositions, and the persuasive strategies employed are more moderate.

Analysis Chapters 3 and 4 revealed that these rhetorical effects are achieved by more frequent instantiation of highly graded, unmediated and authorially-sourced Attitude in the ETs, as opposed to indirect realizations of attitude and an overall greater orientation to health-related ideational themes in the GTs. In addition, the ETs have more frequent recourse to contractive Engagement values when positioning themselves interpersonally, thereby closing down other dialogistic options and ruling out possible alternative reader alignments. The GTs, by contrast, employ more expansive values and thus provide at least the possibility for alternative alignments. These effects are accentuated by the more personalized realizations of interpersonal meanings in the ETs, which raise the stakes in their bids for reader solidarity.

The Discussion Chapter asserted that these interpersonal configurations construe authorial voices that tend in the ETs to be adversarial or ‘militant’ in character, and to take risks in their attempts to align the reader, who is often treated as potentially resistant. In the GTs, the authorial voices are more ‘moderate’ – impersonal and detached, sometimes even elusive and ironic – affording the notional reader greater interpretative freedom. On the basis of the fact that the ETs are closer to the characteristics of the “commentator voice” identified by Martin and White (2005: 164-184), it was argued that the differences identified by the study are symptomatic of differing rhetorical objectives, with the English commentary aiming to provoke the reader by presenting “unconventional” or “maverick” views, whereas the German commentary is concerned with developing a viable viewpoint. My study ends with the hypothesis that the differing interpersonal regimes that operate in British and German newspaper commentaries may be indicative of differences in styles of argumentation in the two cultures, a hypothesis that is offered as a stimulus to further, cross-genre research.

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Appendix I: Clause-parsed versions and translations

A. English Texts

E1

Damn You, Nanny! – Brian Masters

***Daily Mail*, 16.02.2006**

In this ferociously provocative blast, one man says he's so furious about Labour's smoking ban that he's thinking of taking up the cigs again

[1]PASS those cigarettes over, please. [2]I feel the need for a puff. [3]As it happens, | | I gave up smoking four months ago. [4]What a mistake that was; | | what an irrelevant and foolish decision.

[5]In the light of the supremely childish legislation passed by our current ineffably immature House of Commons, | | I feel almost morally compelled [[to light up again.]]

[6]Why? [7]Not because I want to huff | | and wheeze my path to senility; | | still less because I want to inflict bad air upon my friends and companions; | | but because I claim the right, loudly and angrily, [[to make adult social decisions in my own way, | | and not because the Government has made them for me.]]

[8]I know | | many people will disagree, | | and rejoice in the news | | that our pubs, clubs and restaurants will shortly be smoke-free zones. [9]I respect their views, of course. [10]And, yes, doubtless many lives will be richly improved | | by cutting out the weed.

[11]But this legislation is not just about smoking. [12]It is an odious attack on a point of principle. [13]This is a Bill | | which seeks to interfere with your life, with mine, with everyone's power [[to choose how to interact with others | | in order the better to achieve good fellowship and decency.]]

[14]It is the kind of interference | | that tells us | | we cannot be relied upon [[to do the right thing,]] | | because 'Mummy knows best' | | and we must therefore do [[as we are told]].

[15][[To resist it]] is not petulance, | | but fundamental dignity, | | standing up for the right [[to be treated as self-accountable citizens.]]

[16]It used only to be in autocratic states | | that the citizen had to be guided into proper behaviour - states [[that we called 'totalitarian' | | and that we regarded as inimical to our standards of personal freedom.]]

[17]We shuddered at life in Eastern Europe, with their informers and street spies and their condemnation of anything [[suspected of being against the prescribed line.]]

[18]Now look [[what we have come to!]]

[19]MORE THAN half a century ago, George Orwell warned how impoverished and cringing life would be under governments [[which always knew best | | and forbade their citizens [[to know better.]]

[20]Well, Big Brotherism has been creeping up on us by stealth, | | and it is horribly ironic [[that it should be so boldly advanced now by the faded heirs of the Left.]]

[21]The total ban on smoking is just one instance - a seemingly trifling one - of this urge [[to correct | | and control, | | which ought to have no place at all in a truly democratic system.]]

[22]In a true democracy, it is a matter of crucial importance [[that the citizen should not be coerced | | or bullied into being somebody [[he is not;]] | | that he is not treated as a socially ignorant individual [[who has to be instructed on [[what to do]] at every turn.]]]]

[23]It should be enough [[that he respects the rules [[which govern social intercourse:]]]] | | [[to refrain from theft, from violence, from intemperance;]] [[to bring consideration of others and their welfare to bear in all his various little decisions and declarations;]] [[to adhere to the gentle give-and-take, live-and-let-live compact [[that underlies civilised life.]]]]

[24]It is this natural goodness and consideration [[which is insulted by legislation [[designed to treat us all as idiots.]]]]

[25]What, after all, is at stake here?

[26]Many of us think, <<and I still include myself, | | despite no longer being a smoker,>> | | that a cigarette after dinner is the completion of a meal; | | it is the natural complement to a post-prandial drink; | | it promotes ease of conversation, particularly among the young and least confident; | | and it makes a very agreeable nightcap, | | pleasantly filling the brain with soporific preparations for sleep.

[27]And, as any real doctor will tell you, | | if he is free of political pressure, | | in moderation it does minimal harm.

[28]The best host will offer you a cigarette | | even if he does not smoke himself.

[29]Or he will make sure | | there are some available on a side-table. [30]He will want you | | to feel comfortable.

[31]The worst host is the one [[who will tell you proudly | | that he never permits the filthy habit within his walls, | | thus insulting you by insinuation | | and announcing his intention | | to make you unhappy.]]

[32]I once had to walk out of a house [[where such language was used, | | even though I did not feel like smoking at the time.]]

[33]Now it looks | | as if that host's prissy superiority is [[to be made part of our national character, by parliamentary decree.]] [34]Well, not in any company [[that I choose | | to frequent,]] | | that's for sure.

[35]Whatever happened to the tolerance [[that forms the basis of good manners?]]

[36]I would always ask people around me, <<especially if I was in somebody else's house, | | but also in my own,>> whether they minded [[my having a cigarette.]] [37]Most people would respond with common sense and maturity, | | and say they didn't mind at all.

[38]If somebody did object, <<because the smell made him or her feel ill,≥≥ | | then I would naturally desist. [39]Never would I have insisted on my right [[to smoke]] - | | that is not the point at all. [40]But [[to be told | | that I must not smoke]] is an echo of totalitarian control [[which I find foul and chilling.]]

[41]As it happens, | | I belong to three private members clubs.

[42]Because they are private, | | and the rules are democratically decided, | | we are free to make our own decisions | | and happily abide by them. [43]Smoking is for the most part allowed, | | providing consideration is given to those around, | | as it always is, | | and since clubs are congenial places [[wherein good nature prevails,]] | | no quarrels ever erupt.

[44]If we were to yield to this iniquitous Bill, | | then the clubs would no longer be private, | | and the Government might as well walk into my home | | and instruct me | | how to pull the chain on my lavatory.

[45][['But what of the staff,']] we are told? [46]'You don't ask them | | whether you can smoke, | | and they need | | to be protected against the dreadful consequences of your dirt.' [47]Well, first I am deeply sceptical about the true risks from so-called passive smoking | | and I know plenty of doctors [[who share my doubts.]]

[48]Secondly, it is not true [[that the staff are not taken into account.]] [49]'They are consulted, | | and smoke is not directed towards them.

[50]Do any of these busybodies in the Commons really imagine | | that we go around | | blowing smoke into people's faces, | | that we don't give a damn, | | that we light up in front of new-born infants and the chronically ill?

[51]BUT TO our commissars in Westminster, we are all unruly infants [[who must be forbidden from making our own choices | | and who need protection from our own whims and fancies.]]

[52]That is [[why I regard this legislation as deeply offensive,]] | | and intend [[not to heed it.]] [53]I shall depend on my own good manners rather than their interfering and quite loathsome diktat.

[54]To make the point, | | I suggest | | that, <<on the day the Bill becomes law,>> we all light up, smokers and non-smokers alike, | | to demonstrate our independence from government in matters [[which are not the province of the State.]]

[55]For those not used to it, | | you might feel a bit dizzy at first, | | but one puff would suffice | | to make the point. [56]Then we can all be reported en bloc, | | and fill police cells for a night. [57]That is, | | if the police were so daft [[as to try to apply this law.]]

[58]I suspect | | that, <<as with the foxhunting measures,>> they will simply ignore it, | | and devote their energies to more important things.

[59]I certainly hope so.

E2

Is the smoking ban a good idea? - Simon Hoggart

The Guardian, 14.05.2007

[1]It was in the early 1970s. [2]I smoked at least 20 cigarettes a day, | | rising to 40 | | if it was busy at work, | | and as many as 60 | | when the pressure was on, | | or if there was a party.

[3]Early one morning, I was coming back from Paris, | | where my parents then lived. [4]There was a rail strike in Britain - a common event then - | | and, after a sleepless night, four other stranded travellers and I decided [[to share a cab from Dover to London.]] [5]It was around 6am. [6]I was desperate for a fag, | | and asked my fellow passengers for permission [[to smoke.]] [7]A grand, well-spoken woman announced, | | "Most certainly not!", | | and at that moment I decided | | that <<when I gave up - | | like almost all smokers I was in a permanent state of being about to give up - >>I would never, ever allow myself [[to become an anti-smoking bore.]]

[8]This resolution has always been tough, | | and over the years it got tougher. [9]For one thing, there is no such thing as an ex-smoker [[who becomes a non-smoker.]] [10]Once you are a smoker, | | you are trapped for ever. [11]You might be able [[to give up]] - | | in my case, I hope to the end of my days - | | but you are still a smoker in the way [[that a dry drunk is an alcoholic.]] [12]It is easier [[to change sex]] than [[to cease being a smoker,]] though at least you can ameliorate the effects | | by not actually smoking.

[13]I gave up a couple of years later. [14]My boss and I, <<pursuing late-night beverages as always,>> heard sounds of revelry inside the 'Tory whips' office at the House of Commons. [15]We finally left at 5am | | having consumed, along with other people, several bottles of scotch and most of a bottle of Blue Curacao, a fluid so fluorescently horrible [[that it might have been invented by the Temperance League | | to cure people of boozing.]] [16]Next day I didn't wake up, | | though my brain returned to a primitive form of consciousness, | | and I decided | | there

would never be a better moment [[to quit.]] [17]Now I am not cured – || nobody is - || but the agonies have gone.

[18]But it is a nasty, filthy, odious, vile habit. [19]It does not just rot your lungs || <<and having seen [[one close friend die of lung cancer,]] || his voice weakening, || his skin falling back into his emaciated body, || I would not wish that on my worst enemy, never mind on someone [[for whom I cared]],>> it spoils life for other people. [20]Go for a pleasant drink in the pub || and you come home || stinking of stale smoke. [21]A bad moment for me came || when I had lunch in Green's restaurant in Westminster. [22]Princess Margaret was at the next table. [18]She did not just smoke between courses; || she smoked between mouthfuls. [23]And she had that loathsome habit of holding the cigarette out at arm's length, || so the smoke drifted away from her and into our nostrils. [24]I am still ashamed of the fact [[that I did not complain at the time.]] [25]What could she have done? [26]Sent me to the Tower?

[27]Smoking is not like drinking. [28]Booze has its drawbacks, || as a visit to any British town centre on a Friday night will demonstrate. [29]But we drink wine and beer || because we like it. [30]People do not like smoking. [31]They smoke || because smoking is the only relief from the pain of not having a cigarette. [32]It is a wholly negative pleasure. [33]That is [[why there has been so little fuss over the ban.]] [34]Most smokers are privately relieved || that it might help || them give up. [35](When, in the 1980s, Northwest Airlines in the US banned all smoking, || it was predicted || that it would lose business. [36]In fact, passenger numbers improved so much [[that every other airline had to follow.]])

[37]And this is not a freedom issue. [38]It is no stride on the long march to serfdom. [39]Go to any meeting of Forest, the displeasing pro-tobacco lobby, || and you will see that quickly. [40]Their predecessors were no doubt around centuries ago || defending the right of householders [[to empty their chamber pots into the street.]] [41]Virtually all smokers know this. [42]I cannot recall || when anyone lit up in our house - or, more to the point, in anyone else's. [43]Most guests would rather smoke outside in the cold and rain || than ask their host for permission [[to light up.]] [44]Smokers do not regard the ban as an infringement of their ancient liberties. [45]They think of it as a helpful way [[to help || them help themselves.]] [46]And if they must, || they can always smoke at home, or in the street, or under the patio heater outside the pub.

[47]In America I saw this sign in an office: || "My pleasure is beer, || and this creates urine. || Your pleasure is smoking, || and this creates poisonous fumes. || Don't pollute my air space, || and I promise || not to piss on your desk. " [48]Precisely.

Smoking ban just stinks of a new puritan tyranny – Fergus Kelly

The Express, 16.05.2007

[1]THE American poet Robert Frost once said: | | "I hold it to be the inalienable right of anybody [[to go to hell in his own way.]]" [2]Luckily for Frost he isn't alive in 21st-century Britain, | | otherwise he'd find | | that going to hell has been outlawed.

[3]We smokers know exactly | | what Frost means. [4]We know | | that ours is a disgusting habit, | | that it is harmful and potentially fatal to our health. [5]We choose to do it anyway | | and accept the possible consequences.

[6]Only, increasingly, the choice is being taken out of our hands.

[7]In little over a month the ban on smoking in public places comes into effect. [8]Many people, <<including thousands of Daily Express readers,>> will welcome the legislation. [9]I don't blame them. [10]Most - probably a majority in this country - regard smoking as repellent and dangerous. [11]My wife and nine-year-old son are among them, | | as it happens.

[12]And I admit | | that <<if I had my time over,>> I probably wouldn't take up the habit. [13]But [[what I find much harder [[to accept]]]] - <<and would do | | even if I were not a smoker of many years' standing>> - is the all-pervading sense of self-righteousness [[which is the unspoken but fundamental motivation behind the legislation.]]

[14]Today we live in a state [[that increasingly ascribes to itself the responsibility [[to run our lives.]]]] [15]From the "surveillance society" [[into which we are sleepwalking,]] to national identity databases, to the five-a-day lecturing on [[what we put into our bodies,]] our rulers now presume | | to know | | what is best for us on our behalf.

[16]CALL it [[what you will]] - the nanny state, Big Brother - | | it has seeped into our consciousness and virtually every aspect of our daily lives. [17]It would appear | | that we are largely willing [[to acquiesce in such busyboding on our behalf.]] [18]And the ban on smoking in public places is merely the latest manifestation of [[what I regard as that insufferable priggishness.]]

[19]It is not being presented as that at all by those behind the legislation. [20]Our commissars of public health insist | | that they are acting for our own good.

[21][["We're only thinking of others, "]] is the excuse of the prodnose down the ages. [22]Surely, only the churlish and downright irresponsible would have the temerity [[to demur?]]

[23]Well, I do. [24]I believe | | the overriding motivation behind the new law is the growing British mania [[to ban things.]] [25]And just as the foxhunting ban had little [[to do with the welfare of wild animals <<(many more now die | | than did | | when hunting was permitted)>>]] | | and everything [[to do with class hatred,]] | | so I believe | | that the chief stimulus [[behind banning smoking in public places]] is a lamentable puritan tendency.

[26]This afflicts the British periodically || and more so now || than for a long time || (for the best definition of puritanism, see the early 20th century American commentator and sage HL Mencken: || "The haunting fear || that someone, somewhere, may be happy").

[27]Be honest: || don't you just know || that <<when this legislation comes into effect,>> the British will outdo every other nation [[that has already brought in such a ban]] || in rigorously enforcing it? [28]Like Warden Hodges in Dad's Army <<("put that light out!")>> there's that streak in our character [[which revels in telling others || what to do, || in stopping someone doing something.]]

[29]SUCH people are never satisfied. [30]The report in the past few days [[that a ban on smoking [[while driving]] is now being urged]] is simply the next click of the ratchet.

[31]How long before smoking in the open air or in your own home is targeted? [32]We ruefully laugh off such suggestions now || but many of us know || there's a nagging kernel of truth in there.

[33]It didn't used to be like this.

[34]Once we accepted || that we had to rub along together on this crowded island. [35]Life has always been an everyday series of compromises with one another || but at one time we were given the benefit of the doubt || to use our freedom responsibly.

[36]Essentially it was <<- still is ->> a question of trust. [37]And gradually, but inexorably, the unavoidable message <<- of which the smoking ban is only one facet ->> is [[that we are not to be trusted || to behave responsibly any more.]]

[38]The state encroaches ever more on our personal behaviour.

[39]More and more of our daily lives must be codified.

[40]As I said before, || I can quite understand || why people find smoking unpalatable, even revolting. [41]Even smokers are usually aware || that it is a smelly, clogging habit. [42]Most of us don't presume to light up in someone else's home || without seeking permission first.

[43]Usually we go outside. [44]No smoking areas are the rule in most public places - || a good example of that tolerant, largely good-natured side of the British character [[which seems to be disappearing with alarming rapidity.]]

[45]A HECTORING, lecturing note has entered our collective soul, || which found its most recent and risible illustration in our Health Secretary Patricia Hewitt [[commenting on the British naval personnel [[recently captured by Iran:]]]] || "It was deplorable [[that the woman hostage should be shown smoking.]] [46]This sends completely the wrong message to our young people." [47]It was a statement beyond satire.

[48]CS Lewis once wrote: || "Of all tyrannies, a tyranny [[sincerely exercised for the good of its victims]] may be the most oppressive. [49]It would be better [[to live under robber barons

than under omnipotent moral busybodies]]. . . || those [[who torment us for our own good]] will torment us without end, || for they do so with the approval of their own consciences." [50]Lewis <<- like the minority of us smoking lepers [[who continue with our regrettable habit despite all the best advice]] ->> would recognise Mrs Hewitt and her ilk only too well today.

E4

Richard Ingrams' Week - Why is no one willing to fight the smoking ban?;

***The Independent*, 23.06.2007**

[1]Having given up smoking more than 30 years ago || I feel quite tempted || to take it up again, || if only as a protest against the draconian measures [[currently being introduced || to stop people from smoking almost anywhere.]]

[2]It is a worrying sign of the meek conformity [[which is gaining ground in this country]] [[that there has been so little by way of protest about all this from the millions of smokers in our midst.]] [3]They seem to have accepted the official propaganda line- || i.e. that they are pathetic, weak-willed individuals in the grip of a dirty and dangerous addiction, || deserving only of pity.

[4]There is no official recognition [[that smoking has many beneficial effects.]] [15]It soothes nerves, || increases concentration || and reduces appetite - || to name only three. [16]That is not [[to say || that, in common with all drugs, it isn't dangerous.]] [17]But one alarming consequence of the anti-smoking hysteria has been [[to spread the notion, especially among the young, [[that nicotine is somehow more harmful than drugs such as cannabis or even cocaine.]]]]

[18]The simple truth is [[that <<while smoking may shorten your life - not inevitably, || as the propagandists maintain>> - it will not cause irreparable brain damage || or induce schizophrenia || as cannabis has now been proved to do.]] [19]Yet the same government [[which is now intent on persecuting cigarette smokers]] has actually downgraded cannabis in its scale of dangerous drugs.

[20]That is perhaps || because it lacks the will [[to control the trade in cannabis.]] [21]How much simpler just [[to persecute those feeble, weak-willed souls [[shamefully puffing at their fags in office doorways.]]]]

E5

Going up in smoke – Neil Clark

The Guardian, 26.06.2007

This Sunday the draconian smoking ban will come into force, | | marking the death of liberal England.

[1]The death of liberal England has been predicted many times over the past decade. [2]But on Sunday, England, <<for long regarded (rightly) as one of the freest countries in the world,>> will finally mark the end of its long history as a liberal country | | as the government's draconian smoking ban comes into force.

[3]There is no liberal case whatsoever for the ban; | | if you support it | | you may be many things, | | but please, don't have the audacity [[to call yourself a liberal.]] [4]The argument [[for restricting smoking in public on account of the possible health risks [[caused by passive smoking]]]] is an argument [[for having separate smoking areas in pubs, cafes and restaurants]] | | and not for a blanket ban, | | which will encompass even private clubs [[where members have assented to a pro-smoking policy.]]

[5]The government could easily have opted for a compromise measure | | as some European countries have done, | | or left it up to the owners of pubs and cafes [[to decide their own smoking policy.]] [6]But no: true to New Labour's bossy, illiberal instincts, the ban had to be total. [7]To enforce the ban, | | local councils will rely on legions of plain-clothes snoopers, | | ready [[to shop fellow citizens for the heinous crime of smoking in public.]] [8]Blair inherited a country [[which, for all its faults, could still be called a free one,]] | | he has left it with its own equivalent of the Staasi.

[9]Whatever your views on smoking <<(and no one denies | | that the habit, <<like the officially approved New Labour ones of drinking, over-working and starting illegal wars>> carries a health risk),>> | | ask yourself this simple question. [10]Do you really want | | to live in a country [[where lighting a cigarette, cigar or pipe in a pub or cafe, <<as English men and women have done for decades->> is deemed a criminal offence?]] [11]Smoking may, to many people, be annoying, silly and smelly- | | but criminal?

[12]Don't kid yourself | | that Sunday's ban will be the end of the matter: | | the anti-smoking zealots won't rest | | until smoking is banned everywhere, even in the privacy of our own homes. [13]Last week, Sir Liam Donaldson, the government's chief medical officer, pledged | | that there would be a further crackdown on smoking | | after the ban comes into force. [14]"The first of July is not [[when action stops]]; | | it's a launch pad [[from which we can make further massive strides.]] [15]I hope | | people will be behind some of the slightly controversial measures," | | he said. [16]The pressure group Action on Smoking and Health (ASH) meanwhile advocates a

"smoke-free world," || that's free of tobacco smoke - not little things like the smoke from cars, HGVs and factories, || you understand.

[17]Comparisons to Nazi Germany are often tedious, || but in this instance it speaks volumes || that the first country [[to introduce bans on smoking in public]] was the Third Reich.

[18]Isn't it sad [[that <<60 years after playing a decisive role in the defeat of the Nazis and their loathsome, intolerant ideology,>> Britain, in its illiberal attitude towards smoking and smokers, is now aping them?]]

E6

Labour should butt out

The Daily Telegraph, 10.12.2008

[1]Smoking is not good for you. [2]It can be harmful, or even fatal. [3]These facts should be known to everyone || and it is a legitimate function of the Government [[to ensure || they are disseminated as widely as possible.]] [4]But tobacco remains a legal substance; || and it is not the role of the state in a democratic society [[to hound those [[who wish to enjoy it || or who make their living || by selling it.]] [5]If ministers feel that it is, || then they should introduce legislation into Parliament [[to proscribe its use.]]

[6]Instead, they have come up with yet more nanny-state proposals at a time [[when their efforts should be concentrated on [[dealing with the most dramatic economic downturn for at least 30 years.]]]] [7]Powers [[to require shops [[to remove all public displays of tobacco]]]] are a move too far. [8]This may be something [[that a large supermarket can take in its stride.]] [9]A small corner shop will have difficulty [[finding space [[to store tobacco]]]] || and the loss of sales could force it || to close. [10]And what about speciality tobacco shops? [11]They would be forced || to strip their interiors bare of [[the only product they sell.]] [12]They will be driven out of business as a result, no doubt without any compensation.

[13]We are weary of the social authoritarianism of this Government. [14]The smoking ban in public places was imposed with a lack of flexibility [[that has driven many pubs to the wall,]] || further undermining village and community life. [15]A ban on handguns in response to a single atrocity left law-abiding shooters unable [[to practise their sport,]] || put many traders out of business || and did nothing [[to stop the rise in crimes [[involving firearms.]]]] [16]An attempt [[to prohibit foxhunting]] left the law [[more confused than ever.]] [17]Health advice and education are acceptable; || but we have had enough of legislation [[designed || to nationalise behaviour [[of which Labour disapproves.]]]]

B. German Texts

G1

Viel Rauch – Rainer Hank

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 20.06.2006

[1] Soll der Staat seine Bürger vor sich selbst und vor ihren Mitbürgern schützen? [2] Gewiß doch, | | sagen viele Zeitgenossen, | | um sogleich für ein allgemeines Rauchverbot in Hotels und Gaststätten zu plädieren | | (das Werbeverbot für Zigaretten kommt ohnehin bald). [3] Denn schließlich, <<so lautet die als selbstverständlich genommene Moral der Geschichte,>> seien die Kosten für den Passivraucher gravierender als der Lustgewinn des Rauchers. [4] Solche Argumente hören all jene Parlamentarier gern, [[die das Erstellen von Gesetzen als Akt der Bürgerbeglückung begreifen | | und damit Eingriffe in die menschliche Freiheit legitimieren.]] [5] Aber ist der Passivraucher nicht Manns genug, | | von sich aus verrauchte Kneipen zu meiden? [6] Je mehr Nichtraucher ein Wirt unter seinen Gästen wähnt, | | um so stärker wird er den Rauchertrakt schrumpfen lassen. [7] Braucht es dazu den Staat? [8] Klar, sagen die Hartnäckigen, | | denn Raucher seien (wie alle Süchtlinge) in Wahrheit gar nicht frei, | | sie wollten wie alle Menschen gesund und lange leben, | | lieferten sich aber der kurzfristigen Lust aus, | | obwohl sie in wachen Minuten wüßten, | | daß beides nicht unter einen Hut passe. [9] Dann wäre also der Staat ein Anwalt der langfristigen menschlichen Vernunft? [10] Es geht auch anders. [11] Haben nicht hierzulande, <<wo es viel liberaler zugeht als in Amerika,>> viele auch ohne Staatsbefehl auf ihre Gauloise oder Rothändle verzichtet: freiwillig | | oder weil Rauchen irgendwie sozial unschick geworden ist?

G2

Gedanken am Sonntag – Peter Hahne

Bild, 25.06.2006

Über ein Land unter Dampf und das Ende der Toleranz

[1] Wohin muß man eigentlich gehen, | | um bei euch mal ohne Qualm essen zu können?“, | | fragte mich ein italienischer Fußballfan. [2] Er hatte WM-Deutschland bisher nur inmitten einer Rauchwolke erlebt – | | vom Bahn-Bistro über die Kneipen bis ins Stadion hinein wird gepafft, | | was die Lunge aushält. [3] Die Welt zu Gast bei Tabakfreunden . . .

[4] Das soll jetzt anders werden. [5] Im Bundestag wird in den nächsten Tagen ein „Gruppenantrag“ eingebracht, [[in dem Abgeordnete aus allen Fraktionen ein striktes

Rauchverbot in Gaststätten, Zügen und anderen öffentlichen Räumen fordern.]] [6]Dabei haben sie mit Kanzlerin und Verbraucherschutzminister prominente Befürworter. [7]Und säße ich im Parlament, || ich würde meine Hand auch dafür heben.

[8]Sechsmal habe ich in dieser Kolumne schon zum Thema „Rauchen“ geschrieben, || sechsmal habe ich mich als kämpferischen Nichtraucher geoutet, || der dennoch verschärfte Gesetze ablehnt. [9]Doch das ist jetzt vorbei: ||

Auf das Einlösen freiwilliger Gaststättenversprechungen oder die Toleranz der Raucher kann man lange warten.

[10]Nirgends ist man vor ihnen sicher – || überall und ungefragt wird man von rücksichtslosen Glimmstengelhaltern eingeräuchert. [11]Mit der alltäglichen Qual durch allgegenwärtigen Qualm muß endlich Schluß sein.

[12]Jeder hat die Freiheit, || mit seiner Gesundheit zu machen, || was er will – || zumal er durch seine Sucht ja auch kräftig zum Steueraufkommen beiträgt. [13]Doch die unbarmherzige Intoleranz uns Nichtrauchern gegenüber will ich nicht länger hinnehmen.

[14]Durch den Duft der großen weiten Welt lasse ich mir meinen Lebensraum nicht enger machen, || die Lufthoheit darf nicht länger den Nikotinkillern gehören.

[15]Die Wischivaschi-Vereinbarung mit dem Gaststättengewerbe, <<bis 2008 in 90 Prozent der Restaurants mindestens die Hälfte der Plätze für Nichtraucher zu reservieren,>> erweist sich als Luftnummer. [16]Auch das große Lamento, <<die gemütliche Kneipen- und Biergartenkultur ginge mit einem Rauchverbot den Bach runter,>> hat sich inzwischen als Quatsch erwiesen. [17]Irische Pubs und italienische Tavernen haben durch rauchfreie Zonen weder Umsatz- noch Image-Einbruch erlitten.

[18]Allein Deutschland ist eines der letzten Raucherparadiese. [19]Dabei ist es doch bizarr, [[daß unsere Bürokraten die Lärmschutz- und Feinstaubrichtlinien bis ins letzte Detail ausfeilen, || jedoch 60 Millionen Passivraucher dem größten vermeidbaren Gesundheitsrisiko aussetzen.]]

[20]Diesem Anschlag auf die Gesundheit zu wehren, || bedarf es einer großen Koalition der Willigen und Vernünftigen.

[21]Mein italienischer Fan-Freund kann sich derweil mit der Fußball-WM 2010 trösten: || In Südafrika herrscht striktes Rauchverbot.

G3

Immer schön aufs Nebensächliche konzentrieren!

Welt am Sonntag, 30.06.2006

Michael Rutschky ist ein Nichtraucher, den staatliche Vormundschaft mehr stört als Qualm. In den geplanten Rauchverboten sieht er das Werk kontrollsüchtiger Querulanten

[1]Um jedes Mißverständnis auszuschließen: | | Ich bin seit langen Jahren Nichtraucher.

[2]Aber ich halte das [[sich vorbereitende]] Rauchverbot durch Vater Staat für einen jener [[durch beste Absichten motivierten]] Eingriffe in das persönliche Leben, [[die auch im diszipliniertesten Bürger anarchistische Impulse aufwecken müssen.]]

[3]Die besten Absichten, <<denen Vater Staat wieder mal zu folgen wünscht:>> der Schutz seiner Untertanen. [4]3300 Bürger, <<behauptet irgendeine wohlmeinende Weltorganisation,>> sterben jährlich in Deutschland durch passives Mitrauchen. [5]Leider betrat nie ein professioneller Statistiker die Bühne, | | um diese Zahl nach den Regeln seiner Kunst zu dekonstruieren. [6]Warum zählen wir nicht 3312 tote Mitraucher? [7]Oder 2998? [8]In diesen Größenordnungen, <<würde der Statistiker zeigen,>> sind alle exakten Zahlen fiktiv.

[9]Aber das beeindruckt den überaus wohlmeinenden Vater Staat kein bißchen. [10]Genügt nicht ein einziger toter Passivraucher, | | um ein allgemeines Rauchverbot zu begründen? [11]Kann auch nur ein einziger Fall gedacht werden, [[in dem der Schutz durch Vater Staat aussetzt?]] [12]Er muß doch einen jeden ununterbrochen umhegen | | und gegen Fremd- ebenso wie Selbstbeschädigung abschirmen.

[13]Nun, wenn man genauer hinhört, | | bemerkt man, | | daß hier nicht Vater Staat spricht, | | sondern eine Partei, [[die ihn irgendwie gekapert hat.]] [14]So wie früher die tückische Beate im Kindergarten Tante Elfriede durch Petzen für sich einzunehmen wußte und später im Gymnasium Oberstudienrat Wohlgemuth | | (schon damals ging es um Rauchen: das heimliche auf den Jungs- und Mädchenklos). [15]Diese Partei, <<die sich selbst als den wahren Staat im Staate erkennt, | | als Fels der Ordnungsliebe und des Wohlmeinens, [[um den herum alles im moralischen Sumpf versinkt]]>> - diese Partei bilden die Querulanten. [16]Woran man sie am leichtesten erkennt: [[daß sie ihre heftigsten Leidenschaften, ihre größte Kampfeslust stets auf das Kleinste verschieben, auf Nebensachen, [[von denen sie lautstark behaupten, | | nein, nein, gerade hier sei Haupt- und Staatsaktion zwingend geboten.]]]]

[17]Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte - <<die Querulanten können nicht aufhören,>> dafür die Graffitomalere verantwortlich zu machen, [[denen [[mit aller Härte entgegenzutreten]] Vater Staat anhaltend versäume.]] [18]Neulich erklärte mir einer der Ihren mit Gusto: | | Keineswegs bringen die Zigaretten dem Volkskörper kostspielig Krankheit und Tod, | | der stärkste Killer ist vielmehr - der Zucker. [19]Und der gute Mann spulte aus seinem Gedächtnis die genauesten

Zahlen ab, || um den Zucker als Volksgift Nr. 1 zu entlarven. [20]Besonders lieben die Querulanten die Strahlen, [[die alle Bürger im Umkreis eines Handybesitzers lebensbedrohlich schädigen;]] || keinen Gegenbeweis werden sie je gelten lassen. [21]Stets müssen es, <<wie gesagt,>> Nebensachen sein, || damit der Querulant in den Krieg zieht.

[22][[Alle Verhütungsmittel zu verbieten, || damit Deutschland mehr Kinder gebiert,]] würde er nie fordern. [23]Wohl aber eine Zensur für Vorabendserien, || damit dort die Mehrkinderfamilie positiver dargestellt werde. [24]Normalerweise beschränken sich die Querulanten auf wuterfülltes Räsionieren unter ihresgleichen sowie Leserbriefschreiben. [25]Aber zuweilen gelingt es ihnen leider, || für eine ihrer Nebensachen Vater Staat in Bewegung zu setzen, Vater Staat, || der oft selber nur undeutlich bemerkt hat, || daß seine Bürger längst aus dem Haus sind und ihrer eigenen Vernunft folgen.

G4

Auf Krebsgang – Arno Frank

taz, die tageszeitung, 22.09.2006

[1]Zu einer zivilisatorischen Reife, <<die sich im Alltag niederschlägt || und mit derjenigen vieler europäischer Nachbarn vergleichbar ist,>> fehlt Deutschland seit Jahrzehnten zweierlei: ein Tempolimit auf Autobahnen und ein Rauchverbot in Gaststätten. [2]Langfristig wäre Rasern wie Rauchern mit solcherart staatlichen Einschränkungen ihrer ungesunden Freiheiten gedient. [3]Kurzfristig aber sind immer irgendwo gerade Wahlen, || weshalb die Politiker sich dem Problem bislang allenfalls im Krebsgang näherten.

[4]Dann veranlassen sie halbherzige Kampagnen gegen Gefahren, [[die mit vielleicht unpopulären, aber nahe liegenden Maßnahmen schnell gebannt wären.]] [5]Anstatt verantwortlich zu handeln || und dafür die politische Verantwortung zu übernehmen, || warten sie auf die Menschenfreunde aus Brüssel. [6]Oder sie machen sich schlichtweg aus dem Staub.

[7]Doch jetzt scheint dieses lächerliche Theater ein Ende zu nehmen. [8]Nachdem es bereits am Arbeitsplatz durchgesetzt wurde, || soll das Rauchverbot nun auch auf Gaststätten und öffentliche Orte wie Ämter oder Schulen ausgeweitet werden. [9]Es wäre ein Fortschritt, || würden auch noch die Raucherzonen abgeschafft - || sie sind so sinnvoll wie ausgewiesene Pinkelzonen im öffentlichen Freibad.

[10]Mag sein, || dass das Rauchverbot dem zwangsinhalierenden Nichtraucher eine lange ersehnte Erleichterung bringt. [11]Was aber bringt es dem Raucher? [12]Für eine Weile wird er sich seiner kostbaren Freiheit beraubt sehen, || am Aschenbecher stehen und schmollen, || von Verboten umzingelt. [13]Für eine Weile werden wir ihn noch aus zugigen Hauseingängen

schimpfen hören. [14]Sehr bald aber wird es still werden dort draußen. [15]Der Raucher wird sich an der frischen Luft wiederfinden | | und bei jeder Zigarette mit einer Sucht konfrontiert werden, [[die er zuvor, in der Gesellschaft anderer Süchtiger, gar nicht als solche erkannt hat.]] [16]Er wird sich daran erinnern, | | dass er "bei günstiger Gelegenheit" mal aufhören wollte - | | und merken, | | dass jede Gelegenheit günstig und seine Gesundheit heilig ist. [17]Wann das so weit sein wird? [18]Wir werden es merken, | | wenn er sich in die Raucherpause mit der Bemerkung verabschiedet, | | er gehe mal kurz "auf Krebsgang".

G5

Rauchen und zahlen – Konrad Adam

Die Welt, 02.12.2006

[1]Worin besteht die Freiheit? [2]Nach klassisch-liberaler Lesart besteht sie in dem Recht, | | alles zu tun, [[was einem anderen nicht schadet.]] [3]Hätte man sich an diesen ehrbaren Grundsatz gehalten, | | hätte das Rauchen in geschlossenen Räumen niemals erlaubt werden dürfen; | | denn [[dass es der Gesundheit, der eigenen und der von anderen, nicht eben zuträglich ist,]] hat man schon immer gewusst. [4]Raucherhusten, Raucherlungen und Raucherbeine künden auf ihre Art von den Risiken, [[mit denen spielt, [[wer vom Rauchen nicht lassen will.]]]]

[5]Weil das so ist, | | haben sich die militanten Raucher, <<die es inzwischen genauso gibt wie militante Nichtraucher,>> ein anderes Argument zurechtgelegt. [6]Statt sich mit der Freiheit der anderen auseinanderzusetzen, | | insistieren sie auf der eigenen Freiheit, auf ihrem Recht, [[zu lassen und zu tun, [[was keinem anderen, | | sondern nur ihnen selbst schadet.]]]] [7]Dieses Recht sei beeinträchtigt, ja außer Kraft gesetzt, | | wenn sie sich im Beisein von anderen keine Zigarette oder Pfeife mehr anzünden dürften. [8]Halbherzig ist der Bundestag dieser Einlassung gefolgt, | | als er beschloss, | | das Rauchen nur dort zu erlauben, [[wo dies in separaten Räumen möglich ist.]]

[9]Halbherzig ist dieses Votum, | | weil es nur dort plausibel ist, [[wo die Gesundheit als privates Gut behandelt wird.]] [10]Dort - und nur dort! - könnte jedermann rauchen, | | trinken, | | kiffen | | oder [[was weiß ich]] noch treiben, | | ohne dass irgendjemand das Recht hätte, [[ihm sein gesundheitsschädliches Verhalten im Hinblick auf sein Wohlbefinden zu verbieten.]] [11]Es ginge nach der bekannten Regel Luthers, [[von dem der Ausspruch überliefert ist: | | Ich esse, [[was ich will,]] | | und leide, [[was ich muss.]]

[12]So ist es aber nicht, zumindest nicht in Deutschland, | | wo die Gesundheit als ein öffentliches Gut betrachtet wird, | | für das alle zahlen müssen, | | ob sie nur wollen oder nicht. [13]Für das, [[was aus dem Rauchen, Trinken, Kiffen und so weiter folgt,]] kommt nicht der

Einzelne auf, || sondern, <<begleitet von dem üblichen Solidaritätsgesäusel,>> die
Versichertengemeinschaft. [14]Der Raucher schadet, || will das allerdings nicht wahrhaben, ||
weil er sich nicht mehr an Luther orientiert, || sondern am modernen Dogma, [[das da lautet:]]
|| Ich tue, [[was ich will.]] [15]Und ihr müsst dafür zahlen.

G6

Nikotinsten raus! – Jan Thomsen

***Berliner Zeitung*, 09.02.2007**

JAN THOMSEN raucht nicht mehr. Und möchte, dass es andere auch lassen, jedenfalls drinnen

[1]Zu einem zunftgerechten Raucher-Nichtraucher-Kommentar gehört in jedem Fall das
persönliche Bekenntnis zur Sache, am besten gleich zu Anfang. [2]Also: Ich rauche nicht - ||
beziehungsweise nicht mehr. [3]Und zwar nicht erst seit einer halben Stunde || (um den alten
Witz zu variieren), || sondern seit gut acht Jahren. [4]Einer Raucherlegende zufolge hat sich
meine [[in den 14 Jahren zuvor sorgfältigst geteerte]] Lunge inzwischen selbst gereinigt. [5]Keine
Ahnung, || ob das stimmt.

[6]Wenn hier nun erneut für ein absolutes, ausnahmsloses sowie rigoroses Rauchverbot in
Restaurants, Kneipen, Bars und so weiter plädiert werden soll, || dann ist dem Verfasser
vielleicht Voreingenommenheit (Nichtraucher!) vorzuwerfen, || nicht aber Kenntnislosigkeit.

[7]Wer aufgehört hat, || weiß nicht nur um die Auswüchse der Sucht - || etwa das
menschenunwürdige Stummelschmauchen, || wenn sonst nichts mehr da ist -, || er weiß auch
um etwas, [[was viele leidenschaftliche Nikotinsten per definitionem nicht wissen können.]]

[8]Dass es kein Verlust ist, [[nicht zu rauchen.]]

[9]Die gesetzgeberische Herumdreckserei mit seltsamen Räumen in Gaststätten, [[in denen
geraucht, || aber nicht bedient werden darf,]] mit Abluftanlagen, Trennwänden und sonstigem
Schnickschnack ist den Aufwand daher nicht wert. [10]Viele Länder in Europa und Übersee
machen es vor, || Deutschland oder Berlin würde es nur nachmachen, || wenn Raucher künftig
vor die Tür müssten. [11]Einnahmeverluste sind im Einzelfall, aber branchenweit [[kaum zu
befürchten,]] || freiwillige Regelungen haben längst versagt.

[12]Wir fassen zusammen: || Rauchen stinkt || und bringt uns früher um als nötig. [13]Also
gehört es verboten. [14]Jedenfalls drinnen.

C. Translation of German texts

N.B. In the interests of an accurate analysis, I have attempted to remain as close to the German texts as possible, hence the occasional lapses in idiomatic accuracy and fluency.

G1

A Lot of Smoke – Rainer Hank

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 20.06.2006

[1]Should the state protect its citizens from themselves and from their fellow citizens? [2]Of course it should, say many of our contemporaries, so as to immediately make their plea for a general smoking ban in hotels and restaurants (the ban on cigarette advertising is coming soon in any case). [3]Because, at the end of the day, dictates the moral of history, that is taken to be self-evident, the costs for the passive smoker are graver than the gain in pleasure for the smoker. [4]Such arguments are welcomed by parliamentarians who understand legislating as an act of bestowing happiness on citizens and use them to legitimate interfering with human freedom. [5]But is the passive smoker not man enough to avoid smoky pubs on his own? [6]The more non-smokers a landlord believes he has among his guests, the more he will allow the smoking area to shrink. [7]Is the state needed here? [8]Certainly, say the tenacious/intransigent ones, because smokers (like all addicts) are in fact not free at all; they, like everyone, would like to live healthy and long lives, but surrender to short-term pleasures, although they know in alert moments that these two things do not fit together. [9]So is the state an advocate of long-term human reason? [10]There is an alternative. [11]Haven't many people in this country, where things are a lot more liberal than in America, also forsworn their Gauloise of Rothände without being ordered to by the state; either voluntarily or because smoking has somehow become socially unfashionable?

Text 2

Thoughts on Sunday – Peter Hahne

Bild, 25.06.2006

Of a Steamed-Up Country and the End of Tolerance

[1]"Where does a person have to go to be able to eat without smoke around here," an Italian football fan asked me. [2]Up to then, he had only experienced the World Cup in German in the

middle of a cloud of smoke – from the bistro at the station through restaurants and into the stadium people are puffing as much as their lungs can take. [3]A time to make tobacco friends.⁴

[4]This is now supposed to be changing. [5]In the next few days, a “group motion” will be proposed in the Bundestag, in which politicians from all parties demand a strict smoking ban in restaurants, trains and other public spaces. [6]They have prominent advocates for this in the person of the Chancellor and of the minister for consumer protection. [7]And if I sat in parliament, I would also be raising my hand for it.

[8]I have already written six times in this column on the subject of “smoking”; I have outed myself six times as a militant non-smoker, who, nonetheless, rejects tightened laws. [9]But that is in the past now:

One can wait a long time for restaurants to make good their voluntary promises or for the tolerance of the smokers.

[10]One is not safe from them anywhere – one is smoked in by inconsiderate fag-holders everywhere, and without being consulted. [11]There must finally be an end to this daily torture by omnipresent smoke.

[12]Everyone has the freedom to do what he wants with his health – particularly as, after all, he also contributes substantially to tax revenue with his addiction. [13]But I will no longer accept the unmerciful intolerance towards us non-smokers. [14]I will not allow my living space to be reduced by the scent of the great wide world; the majestic air may not belong to the nicotine killers any longer.

[15]The wishy-washy agreement with the restaurant trade to reserve at least half of the places for non-smokers in 90 per cent of restaurants by 2008 has proved to be empty words. [16]Even the great lament that the cosy culture of pubs and beer gardens would go to ruin has proved to be nonsense. [17]Irish pubs and Italian taverns have suffered damage neither to their turnover nor to their image.

[18]Germany alone is one of the last smoker’s paradises. [19]Yet the bizarre thing about this is that our bureaucrats polish the noise and air pollution guidelines down to the last detail, and yet they expose 60 million passive smokers to the greatest avoidable health risk.

[20]A coalition of the willing and the reasonable is required in order to counter this attack on health.

[21]In the meantime, my Italian friend can comfort himself with the 2010 Football World Cup: in South Africa there is a strict prohibition on smoking.

⁴ This is a play on the motto of the 2006 World Cup in German: “Die Welt zu Gast bei Freunden”. It was translated in the official merchandise as “A time to make friends”, hence the translation above, although a closer translation would actually be “The world visiting (tobacco) friends”.

G3

Always Concentrate on Unimportant Things

Welt am Sonntag, 30.06.2006

Michael Rutschky is a non-smoker who is more troubled by state paternalism than he is by smoke. In the planned smoking ban he sees the work of griping control freaks.

[1]To exclude the possibility of any misunderstanding: I have been a non-smoker for many years. But I consider Father State's smoking ban, which is currently in preparation, and which is motivated by the best intentions, to be one of those interventions into private life that must even awaken anarchistic impulses in the most disciplined citizen.

[5]The best intentions that Father State once again wishes to follow are the protection of his subjects. 330 citizens, claims some benevolent world organisation or other, die annually in German as a result of passive smoking. [7]Unfortunately, no professional statistician ever took the stage to deconstruct this figure according to the rules of his trade. [8]Why do we not count 3312 dead co-smokers? [9]Or 2998? In this order of magnitude, the statistician would demonstrate, all exact figures are fictional.

[11]But that does not impress the entirely benevolent Father State one bit. [12]Does one single dead passive smoker not suffice to justify a general smoking ban? [13]Does a single solitary case come to mind when Father State's protection failed? [14] Yet he has to fence everyone in everyone without interruption, and shield them from damage inflicted by others as well as by themselves.

[15]Now, when one listens more precisely, one notices that it is not Father State speaking here, but rather a party that has, somehow, hijacked him. Just like, in the past, the spiteful Beate knew how to win favour first with Auntie Elfriede at the kindergarten by telling tales, and later with senior teacher Pleasant at grammar school (smoking was already an issue back then – smoking in secret in the boys' and girls' toilets). [17]This party, which sees itself as the true state, as the rock of orderliness and benevolence around which everything is sinking into a moral swamp, this party consists of the grouchers. [18]One can most easily recognise them by the fact that they always displace their most violent passions, their greatest pugnacity onto the smallest thing, onto unimportant things about which they claim vociferously, no, no, it is precisely here that a great fuss is absolutely imperative.

[19]The grouchers cannot stop pinning responsibility for our towns' lack of responsibility onto the graffiti artists, against whom, they claim, Father State persistently fails to take the most

rigorous action. [20]Recently, one of them explained to me with relish that it was not by any means cigarettes that brought costly illness and death to the body of the state; the greatest killer was in fact... sugar! [21]And the good man flushed the most exact figures out of his memory in order to expose sugar as public poison number 1. [22]The grouzers are particularly fond of the radiation that do life-threatening damage to all citizens in the immediate vicinity of a mobile user; they will never accept any evidence to the contrary. It must always be, as stated previously, unimportant things, for the grouser to go to war.

[24]He would never demand a ban on all contraceptives, so that Germany has more children. [25]But he would demand censorship of early evening television series so that large families are represented more positively in them. [26]Grouzers usually restrict themselves to enraged reasoning among themselves as well as to writing letters to the editor. [27]But, unfortunately, they sometimes succeed in animating Father State for one of their unimportant things; Father State, who himself has often only vaguely noted that his citizens left home a long time ago and are following their own reason.

G4

Auf Krebsgang⁵

Taz, die tageszeitung, 22.09.2006

[1]For decades, Germany has fallen short of a civilizing maturity - that is reflected in daily life and that is comparable to that of many European neighbours – by lacking two things: a speed limit on motorways and a smoking ban in restaurants. [2]In the long term, speeders and smokers alike would be well served by this kind of restriction of their unhealthy freedoms. [3]In the short term, however, there are always elections somewhere, which is why politicians have up to now approached the problem at best ‘im Krebsgang’.

[4]They then initiate half-hearted campaigns against dangers that would be quickly banished with perhaps unpopular, but self-evident measures. [5]Instead of acting responsibly and taking political responsibility for this, they wait for the philanthropists in Brussels. [6]Or they simply take to their heels.

[7]But now this ridiculous carry-on seems to be coming to an end. [8]After it has already been implemented at the workplace, the smoking ban is now also to be extended to restaurants and public places such as administrative offices or schools. [9]It would be a step forwards if the

⁵ The expression “auf/im Krebsgang” means in the first instance “the gait of a crab”, but can also mean, variously, “a backwards movement”, or “the walk of cancer”. The text plays on the different potential meanings of the expression.

smoking zones were also phased out – they make as much sense as urination zones in the public swimming pool.

[10]It may be the case that the smoking ban will bring a long-awaited relief to the non-smoker, who has been compelled to inhale the smoke. [11]But what will it bring the smoker? [12]For a while he will believe himself to have been robbed of his valuable freedom; he will stand by the ashtray and sulk, surrounded by prohibitions. [13]For a while we will still hear him curse from draughty house entrances. [14]But it will very quickly go quiet out there. [15]The smoker will find himself in the fresh air and with every cigarette will be confronted with an addiction that previously, in the company of other addicts, he did not at all recognise as such. [16]He will remember that he wanted to stop “at a favourable opportunity”, and notice that every opportunity is favourable and that his health is sacred. [17]When this moment will arrive? [18]We will know when he takes his leave in the smoking break with the remark that he is just going “auf Krebsgang”.

G5

Smoking and Paying – Konrad Adam

Die Welt, 02.12.2006

[1]What is freedom? According to the classic, liberal reading, it consists in the right to do everything that does not damage anyone else. [3]If one had adhered to this honourable precept, then smoking would never have been allowed in enclosed spaces, because one has always known that it is not exactly beneficial to health, our own and that of others. [4]Smoker’s cough, smoker’s lungs and smoker’s legs, all publicise in their own way the risks taken by anyone who does not wish to give up smoking.

[5]Because this is the case, militant smokers, who are now as much in existence as militant non-smokers, have concocted another argument. [6]Instead of grappling with the freedom of others, they insist on their own freedom, on their right to do and to refrain from doing what does not harm anyone but themselves. [7]This right is compromised, even infringed, they claim, if they are no longer permitted to light a cigarette or a pipe in the presence of others. [8]The Bundestag followed this plea half-heartedly when it voted to allow smoking only in places where it is possible to smoke in separate rooms.

[9]This vote is half-hearted because it is plausible only where health is treated as a private commodity. [10]There – and only there – everyone can smoke, drink, smoke hash or get up to I don’t know what else, without anyone having the right to prohibit his health-endangering

behaviour in view of his well-being. [11] Things would be conducted according to Luther's well-known rule: "I eat what I want, and suffer what I must".

[12] This is not the case, at least not in Germany, where health is considered a public commodity for which everyone must pay, whether they want to or not. [13] It is not the individual who carried the cost for that which is results from smoking, drinking, smoking hash and so on, but rather, accompanied by the usual chattering about solidarity, those who pay health insurance. [14] The smoker does damage, but does not want to admit it, because he no longer orientates himself to Luther, but rather to the modern dogma that reads: "I do what I want. [15] And you have to pay for it."

G6

Nicotine Addicts Out! – Jan Thomsen

***Berliner Zeitung*, 09.02.2007**

JAN THOMSEN no longer smokes. And wants others to stop doing so as well, at least indoors.

[1] In every case, a personal avowal on the subject forms part of a smoker / non-smoker comment piece. So: I don't smoke, or rather, I no longer smoke. [3] And, indeed, not only for the last half hour (to vary the old joke), but rather for a good eight years. [4] According to a smoker's legend, my previously most carefully tarred lungs have now purified themselves. [5] No idea whether this is true.

[6] If a new plea is to be made here for an absolute, all-encompassing as well as rigorous smoking ban in restaurants, pubs, bars and so on, then the author can perhaps be reproached with bias (non-smoker!), but not with ignorance. [7] Anyone who has given up smoking knows not only the excesses of the addiction – for example, the degrading sucking at the but when there is nothing more left – he also knows something that many passionate nicotine addicts cannot by definition know. [8] That it is no loss to not smoke.

[9] The legislative hemming and hawing with peculiar rooms in restaurants in which smoking is allowed but not serving, with exhaust fans, separating walls and sundry other bits and pieces is therefore not worth the effort. [10] Many countries in Europe and overseas are taking the lead; Germany or Berlin would only copy them if smokers had to go outside in future. [11] Drops in takings are to be feared in isolated cases, but hardly throughout the sector; voluntary arrangements have long since failed.

[12] We summarise: smoking stinks and kills us sooner than is necessary. [13] So it should be prohibited. [14] At least indoors.

Appendix II: Attitudinal analysis

A. English Texts

E1

Appraising items	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation
feel the need	+incl		
want	+incl		
mistake		-cap	
irrelevant			-val
foolish decision		-cap	
supremely childish		-cap	
ineffably immature		-cap	
almost morally compelled		+prop	
huff and wheeze			-val (unhealthy)
inflict bad air		-prop	-val (unhealthy)
angrily	-sat		
rejoice	+hap		
richly improved			+comp
odious attack	-incl	-prop	-reac
seeks to	+incl		
interfere / the kind of interference		-prop	
choose	+incl		
the better (to achieve)			+val
good fellowship		+prop	
the right thing		+prop	
decency		+prop	
to resist	-incl		
(not) petulance	(-)-sat		
fundamental dignity		+ten	
self-accountable citizens		+ten	
shuddered	-sec		-reac
impoverished			-val
cringing		-ten	
horribly ironic			-reac
boldly		+ten	
faded heirs			-val
trifling			-val
urge	+incl		
coerced	-sec	-prop	
bullied	-sec	-prop	
socially ignorant individual		-cap	
consideration		+prop	
respects		+prop	
the gentle give-and-take, live-and-let-live compact		+prop	
civilised life		+prop	
natural goodness		+prop +norm	
idiots		-cap	
completion of a meal	+incl		+comp

natural complement		+norm	+comp
agreeable nightcap	+incl		+reac
pleasantly filling	+incl		+reac
any real doctor		+cap	
best host		+cap	
comfortable	+sat		
worst host		-cap	
proudly	+sat		
filthy habit	-incl		-reac
insulting you by insinuation		-prop	
intention	+incl		
unhappy	-hap		
feel like	+incl		
prissy superiority		-cap/-prop	
tolerance		+prop	
good manners [+prop	
common sense		+cap	
maturity		+cap	
object	-incl		
foul	-incl		-reac
chilling			-reac
happily abide	+hap	+prop	
congenial places			+reac
good nature		+prop	
this iniquitous Bill		-prop	
dreadful consequences			-reac
dirt			-reac
busybodies		-prop	
don't give a damn		-prop	
unruly infants		-ten/-cap	
whims		-ten	
fancies		-ten	
offensive		-prop	
intend	+incl		
interfering		-prop	
loathsome	-incl		-reac
diktat		-prop	
independence		+cap	
daft		-cap	
important			+val

E2

Appraising items	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation
desperate (for a fag)	+incl		
grand			+reac
anti-smoking bore			-reac
resolution		+ten	
pursuing	+incl		
revelry	+hap		

fluorescently horrible			-reac
primitive		-cap	
agonies	-sat		
nasty	-incl		-reac
filthy	-incl		-react
odious	-incl		-react
vile			-react
emaciated			-reac
wish	+incl		
spoils	-hap		
pleasant	+sat		
stinking	-incl		-reac
a bad moment			-reac
loathsome	-incl		-reac
ashamed	-hap	-prop	
complain	-incl		
we like it	+hap		
do not like	-hap		
relief from the pain	+sat		
a wholly negative pleasure			-val
relieved	+sat		
displeasing	-sat		-reac
helpful		+prop	

E3

Appraising items	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation
disgusting	-incl		-reac
harmful			-val (unhealthy)
potentially fatal			-val (unhealthy)
welcome	+incl		
repellent	-incl		-reac
dangerous			-val (unhealthy)
all-pervading sense of righteousness		-prop	
we are sleepwalking		-ten	
lecturing		-prop	
presume		-prop	
busybodying		-prop	
insufferable priggishness		-prop	
prodnose		-prop	
churlish		-prop	
downright irresponsible		-ten	
temerity		-ten	
demur	-incl		
mania		-norm	
class hatred	-hap		
lamentable	-hap		
happy	+hap		
honest		+ver	
rigorously		+ten	

revels	+hap		
never satisfied	-sat		
ruefully	-hap		
laugh off	+hap		
nagging (kernel of truth)	-sec		
responsibly		+ten	
not to be trusted		-prop	
inexorably		-prop	
encroaches		-prop	
unpalatable	-incl		-reac
revolting	-incl		-reac
smelly	-incl		-reac
clogging	-incl		-reac
tolerant		+prop	
largely good-natured		+prop	
alarming	-sec		-reac
hectoring		-prop	
risible			-val
deplorable	-hap	-prop	
beyond satire			-val
sincerely		+ver	
oppressive		-prop	
omnipotent moral busybodies		-prop	
torment	-hap	-prop	
lepers		-norm	-val (unhealthy)
regrettable	-hap		

E4

Appraising items	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation
feel [...] tempted	+incl		
draconian		-prop	
worrying	-sec		-reac
meek conformity		-ten	
pathetic		-ten	
weak-willed		-ten	
dirty			-reac
dangerous			-val (unhealthy)
beneficial			+val (healthy)
soothes	+sec		
alarming	-sec		-reac
anti-smoking hysteria	-sec	-norm	
harmful			-val (unhealthy)
simple			+comp
intent on	+incl		
persecuting / persecute		-prop	
lacks the will	-incl	-ten	
feeble		-ten	
shamefully	-hap	-prop	

E5

Appraising items	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation
death	-sec		
liberal		+prop	
rightly		+ver	
freest			+val
draconian		-prop	
audacity		-prop	
bossy		-prop	
illiberal		-prop	
snoopers		-prop	
shop		-prop	
heinous crime		-prop	
free			+val
drinking		-ten	
over-working			-val(unhealthy)
illegal wars		-prop	
health risk			-val
want	+incl		
criminal		-prop	
annoying	-sat		-reac
silly			-val
smelly	-incl		-reac
zealots		-prop	
privacy	+sec		
slightly controversial		-prop	
tedious	-reac		
Nazi Germany	-sec	-prop	
Third Reich	-sec	-prop	
sad	-hap		
decisive role			+val
Nazis	-sec	-prop	
loathsome	-incl		-reac
intolerant		-prop	

E6

Appraising items	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation
not good for you			-val (unhealthy)
harmful			-val (unhealthy)
fatal			-val (unhealthy)
legitimate		+prop	
legal		+prop	
hound		-prop	
wish	+incl		
enjoy	+sat		
dramatic	-sec		
a move too far			-val
weary	-sat		
undermining	-sec		

atrocitiy	-sec	-prop	
law-abiding		+prop	
confused			-comp
had enough	-incl		

B. German texts

G1

Appraising items	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation
gravierender			-val (unhealthy)
Lustgewinn	+sat		
hören [...] gern	+hap		
Eingriffe		-prop	
Manns genug		+ten	
die Hartnäckigen		+ten -prop	
Süchtlinge		-ten	-val (unhealthy)
gesund (und lange) leben			+val (healthy)
lieferten sich [...] aus		-ten	
wach		+cap	
Vernunft		+cap	
sozial unschick		-norm	

G2

Appraising items	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation
Qualm			-reac
prominente			+val
kämpferischer Nichtraucher		+ten	
würde meine Hand [..] heben	+incl.		
ablehnt	-incl		
freiwillige[r] Gaststättenversprechungen		+prop	
sicher	+sec		
ungefragt		-prop	
rücksichtslosen		-prop	
ingeräuchert			-reac
alltägliche[r] Qual	-hap	-prop	
Sucht			-val (unhealthy)
kräftig		+cap	
unbarmherzige Intoleranz		-prop	
Duft			+reac
Lufthoheit			+val
Nikotinkiller		-prop	-val
Wischwaschi-Vereinbarung		-ten	
Luftnummer			-val
Lamento	-hap		
ginge den Bach runter			-val
Quatsch			-val
Umsatz- / Image-Einbruch			-val
erlitten			-val

bizar		-norm	
ausfeilen		+ten	
Gesundheitsrisiko aussetzen		-prop	-val (unhealthy)
Anschlag auf die Gesundheit		-prop	-val (unhealthy)
Willigen		+ten	
Vernünftigen		+cap	

G3

Appraising items	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation
Eingriffe (in das persönliche Leben)		-prop	
beste Absichten		+prop	
diszipliniertesten Bürger		+prop	
wünscht	+incl		
wohlmeinend		+prop	
Kunst		+cap	
fiktiv			-val
aussetzt			-val
gekapert		-prop	
tückisch		-prop	
Petzen		-prop	
Fels		+ten	
Ordnungsliebe		+prop	
Wohlmeinen		+prop	
die Querulanten		-cap	
heftigste[n] Leidenschaften	+incl		
das Kleinste			-val
Nebensachen			-val
Unwirtlichkeit			-reac
mit aller Härte		+ten	
versäume		-ten	
mit Gusto	+hap		
kostspielig			-val
Krankheit			-val (unhealthy)
Tod			-val (unhealthy)
Killer		-prop	-val (unhealthy)
der gute Mann		+prop	
Volksgift Nr. 1		-prop	-val (unhealthy)
lieben	+hap		
lebensbedrohlich schädigen			-val (unhealthy)
würde er nie fordern	-incl		
wuterfülltes Rasonnieren	-sat	+cap	

G4

Appraising items	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation
zivilisatorische[n] Reife		+prop +cap	
ungesund			-val (unhealthy)
im / auf Krebsgang		-ten	-val (unhealthy)
halbherzige Kampagnen		-ten	

unpopular			-val
nahe liegend			+val
verantwortlich		+prop	
Menschenfreunde aus Brüssel		+prop	
dieses lächerliche Theater			-val
zwangsinhalierend			-val (unhealthy)
ersehnte Erleichterung	+sat		+val (healthy)
kostbare[n] Freiheit			+val
sich [...] beraubt sehen	-hap		
schmollen	-hap		
schimpfen	-sat		
Sucht, Süchtiger		-ten	-val (unhealthy)
günstig			+val
heilig			+val

G5

Appraising items	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation
schadet			-val (unhealthy)
dieser ehrbare Grundsatz		+prop	
zutraglich			+val (healthy)
militant		+ten -prop	
halbherzig		-ten	
plausible			+val
beeinträchtigt, ja ausser Kraft gesetzt			-val
gesundheitsschädliches Verhalten			-val (unhealthy)
Wohlbefinden			+val (healthy)
bekannt			+val
leide	-sat		-val (unhealthy)
Solidaritätsgesäusel			-val

G6

Appraising items	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation
zunftgerecht		+prop	
sorgfältigst		+ten	
gereinigt			+comp
absolutes			+val
rigoroses		+ten	
plädiert	+incl		
Voreingenommenheit		-ver	
Kenntnislosigkeit		-cap	
menschenunwürdige		-prop -norm	
gesetzgeberische Herumdruckerei			-val
seltsam		-norm	
Schnickschnack			-val
den Aufwand nicht wert			-val
befürchten	-incl		
versagt			-val
stinkt	-incl		-reac

Appendix III: Engagement and Graduation analysis

A. Key

Red - Concur

Red underlined - Pronounce

Blue – Deny

Blue underlined – Counter

Green – Affirm

Green underlined – Concede

Brown – Distance

Magenta – Endorse

Magenta underlined – Acknowledge

Orange – Entertain

CAPITALS – Force - Upscaling

CAPITALS – Force - Downscaling

ITALICISED CAPITALS – Focus – Sharpening

ITALICISED CAPITALS – Focus - Softening

B. English Texts

E1

Damn You, Nanny! – Brian Masters

***Daily Mail*, 16.02.2006**

Pass those cigarettes over, please. I feel the need for a puff. As it happens, I gave up smoking four months ago. What a mistake that was; what an irrelevant and foolish decision.

In the light of the SUPREMEPLY childish legislation passed by our current INEFFABLY immature House of Commons, I feel *ALMOST* morally compelled to light up again.

Why? Not because I want to huff and wheeze my path to senility; *STILL LESS* because I want to inflict bad air upon my friends and companions; but because I claim the right, loudly and angrily, to make adult social decisions in my own way, and not because the Government has made them for me.

I know **MANY** people will disagree, and rejoice in the news that our pubs, clubs and restaurants will shortly be smoke-free zones. I respect their views, of course. And, yes, doubtless **MANY** lives will be **RICHLY** improved by cutting out the weed.

But this legislation is not JUST about smoking. It is an odious attack on a point of principle. This is a Bill which seeks to interfere with your life, with mine, with everyone's power to choose how to interact with others in order **THE BETTER** to achieve good fellowship and decency.

It is *THE KIND OF* interference that tells us we cannot be relied upon to do the right thing, because 'Mummy knows **BEST**' and we must therefore do as we are told.

To resist it is not petulance, but **FUNDAMENTAL** dignity, standing up for the right to be treated as self-accountable citizens.

It used *ONLY to be in autocratic states* that the citizen had to be guided into proper behaviour - states that we called 'totalitarian' and that we regarded as inimical to our standards of personal freedom.

We shuddered at life in Eastern Europe, with their informers and street spies and their condemnation of *ANYTHING SUSPECTED OF BEING* against the prescribed line.

Now look what we have come to!

MORE THAN half a century ago, George Orwell warned how impoverished and cringing life would be like under governments which **ALWAYS** knew **BEST** and forbade their citizens to know **BETTER**.

Well, Big Brotherism has been creeping up on us by stealth, and it is **HORRIBLY** ironic that it should be **SO BOLDLY** advanced now by the faded heirs of the Left.

The total ban on smoking is *JUST ONE* instance - a seemingly trifling one - *of this urge to correct and control*, which ought to have no place **AT ALL** in a **TRULY** democratic system.

In a **TRUE** democracy, it is a matter of **CRUCIAL** importance that the citizen should not be coerced or bullied into being somebody he is not; that he is not treated as a socially ignorant individual who has to be instructed on what to do **AT EVERY TURN**.

It should be enough that he respects the rules which govern social intercourse: to refrain from theft, from violence, from intemperance; to bring consideration of others and their welfare to bear in **ALL** his various LITTLE decisions and declarations; to adhere to the gentle give-and-take, live-and-let-live compact that underlies civilised life.

It is this natural goodness and consideration which is insulted by legislation designed to treat us **ALL** as idiots.

What, after all, is at stake here?

MANY of us think, and I still include myself, despite no longer being a smoker, that a cigarette after dinner is the completion of a meal; it is the natural complement to a post-prandial drink; it promotes ease of conversation, particularly among the young and **LEAST** confident; and it makes a **VERY** agreeable nightcap, pleasantly filling the brain with soporific preparations for sleep.

And, as any **REAL** doctor will tell you, if he is free of political pressure, in moderation it does **MINIMAL** harm.

The **BEST** host will offer you a cigarette even if he does not smoke himself.

Or he will make sure there are some available on a side-table. He will want you to feel comfortable.

The **WORST** host is the one who will tell you proudly that he **NEVER** permits the filthy habit within his walls, thus insulting you by insinuation and announcing his intention to make you unhappy.

I once had to walk out of a house where such language was used, even though I did not feel like smoking at the time.

Now it looks as if that host's prissy superiority is to be made part of our national character, by parliamentary decree. Well, not in any company that I choose to frequent, that's for sure.

Whatever happened to the tolerance that forms the basis of good manners?

I would **ALWAYS** ask people around me, especially if I was in somebody else's house, but also in my own, whether they minded my having a cigarette. Most people would respond with common sense and maturity, and say they didn't mind **AT ALL**.

If somebody did object, because the smell made him or her feel ill, then I would naturally desist. **NEVER** would I have insisted on my right to smoke - that is not the point **AT ALL**. But to be told that I must not smoke is an echo of totalitarian control which I find foul and chilling.

As it happens, I belong to **THREE** private members clubs.

Because they are private, and the rules are democratically decided, we are free to make our own decisions and happily abide by them. Smoking is **FOR THE MOST PART** allowed, providing consideration is given to those around, as it **ALWAYS** is, and since clubs are congenial places wherein good nature prevails, no quarrels **EVER** erupt.

If we were to yield to this iniquitous Bill, then the clubs would no longer be private, and the Government might as well walk into my home and instruct me how to pull the chain on my lavatory.

'But what of the staff,' we are told? 'You don't ask them whether you can smoke, and they need to be protected against the **DREADFUL** consequences of your dirt.' Well, first I am **DEEPLY** sceptical about the **TRUE** risks from *SO-CALLED* passive smoking and I know **PLENTY OF** doctors who share my doubts.

Secondly, it is not true that the staff are not taken into account. They are consulted, and smoke is not directed towards them.

Do any of these busybodies in the Commons really imagine that we go around blowing smoke into people's faces, that we don't give **A DAMN**, that we light up in front of new-born infants and the **CHRONICALLY** ill?

But to our commissars in Westminster, we are **ALL** unruly infants who must be forbidden from making our own choices and who need protection from our own whims and fancies.

That is why I regard this legislation as **DEEPLY** offensive, and intend not to heed it. I shall depend on my own good manners rather than their interfering and **QUITE** loathsome diktat.

To make the point, I suggest that, on the day the Bill becomes law, we **ALL** light up, smokers and non-smokers alike, to demonstrate our independence from government in matters which are not the province of the State.

For those not used to it, you might feel A BIT dizzy at first, but ONE puff would suffice to make the point. Then we can **ALL** be reported en bloc, and fill police cells for a night. That is, if the police were **SO** daft as to try to apply this law.

I suspect that, as with the foxhunting measures, they will **SIMPLY** ignore it, and devote their energies to **MORE** important things.

I certainly hope so.

E2

Is the smoking ban a good idea? - Simon Hoggart

The Guardian, 14.05.2007

It was in the early 1970s. I smoked **AT LEAST** 20 cigarettes a day, rising to 40 if it was busy at work, and **AS MANY AS** 60 when the pressure was on, or if there was a party. Early one morning, I was coming back from Paris, where my parents then lived. There was a rail strike in Britain - a common event then - and, after a sleepless night, four other stranded travellers and I decided to share a cab from Dover to London. It was *AROUND* 6am. I was desperate for a fag, and asked my fellow passengers for permission to smoke. A grand, well-spoken woman announced, "Most **CERTAINLY** not!", and at that moment I decided that when I gave up - like almost all smokers I was in a permanent state of being about to give up - I would **NEVER, EVER** allow myself to become an anti-smoking bore.

This resolution has **ALWAYS** been tough, and over the years it got **TOUGHER**. For one thing, there is no such thing as an ex-smoker who becomes a non-smoker. Once you are a smoker, you are trapped **FOR EVER**. You might be able to give up - in my case, I hope to **THE END OF MY DAYS** - but you are still a smoker in the way that a dry drunk is an alcoholic. It is **EASIER** to change sex than to cease being a smoker, though **AT LEAST** you can ameliorate the effects by not **ACTUALLY** smoking.

I gave up a couple of years later. My boss and I, pursuing late-night beverages as **ALWAYS**, heard sounds of revelry inside the 'Tory whips' office at the House of Commons. We finally left at 5am having consumed, along with other people, **SEVERAL** bottles of scotch and **MOST OF** a bottle of Blue Curacao, a fluid **SO** fluorescently horrible that it might have been invented by the Temperance League to cure people of boozing. Next day I didn't wake up, though my brain

returned to a primitive form of consciousness, and I decided there would NEVER be a better moment to quit. Now I am not cured - NOBODY is - but the agonies have gone.

But it is a nasty, filthy, odious, vile habit. It does not JUST rot your lungs (and having seen one close friend die of lung cancer, his voice weakening, his skin falling back into his emaciated body, I would not wish that on my WORST enemy, never mind on someone for whom I cared), it spoils life for other people. Go for a pleasant drink in the pub and you come home stinking of stale smoke. A bad moment for me came when I had lunch in Green's restaurant in Westminster. Princess Margaret was at the next table. She did not JUST smoke between courses; she smoked between mouthfuls. And she had that loathsome habit of holding the cigarette out at arm's length, so the smoke drifted away from her and into our nostrils. I am still ashamed of the fact that I did not complain at the time. What could she have done? Sent me to the Tower?

Smoking is not like drinking. Booze has its drawbacks, as a visit to any British town centre on a Friday night will demonstrate. But we drink wine and beer because we like it. People do not like smoking. They smoke because smoking is the ONLY relief from the pain of not having a cigarette. It is a WHOLLY negative pleasure. That is why there has been SO LITTLE fuss over the ban. Most smokers are privately relieved that it might help them give up. (When, in the 1980s, Northwest Airlines in the US banned ALL smoking, it was predicted that it would lose business. In fact, passenger numbers improved SO MUCH that every other airline had to follow.)

And this is not a freedom issue. It is no stride on the LONG march to serfdom. Go to any meeting of Forest, the displeasing pro-tobacco lobby, and you will see that quickly. Their predecessors were no doubt around CENTURIES AGO defending the right of householders to empty their chamber pots into the street. VIRTUALLY ALL smokers know this. I cannot recall when anyone lit up in our house - or, more to the point, in anyone else's. Most guests would rather smoke outside in the cold and rain than ask their host for permission to light up. Smokers do not regard the ban as an infringement of their ancient liberties. They think of it as a helpful way to help them help themselves. And if they must, they can ALWAYS smoke at home, or in the street, or under the patio heater outside the pub.

In America I saw this sign in an office: "My pleasure is beer, and this creates urine. Your pleasure is smoking, and this creates poisonous fumes. Don't pollute my air space, and I promise not to piss on your desk." Precisely.

Text 3

Smoking ban just stinks of a new puritan tyranny – Fergus Kelly

The Express, 16.05.2007

THE American poet Robert Frost once said: "I hold it to be the inalienable right of anybody to go to hell in his own way." Luckily for Frost he isn't alive in 21st-century Britain, otherwise he'd find that going to hell has been outlawed.

We smokers know **EXACTLY** what Frost means. We know that ours is a disgusting habit, that it is harmful and potentially fatal to our health. We choose to do it anyway and accept the possible consequences.

Only, **INCREASINGLY**, the choice is being taken out of our hands.

In **LITTLE** over a month the ban on smoking in public places comes into effect. **MANY** people, including **THOUSANDS OF** Daily Express readers, will welcome the legislation. I don't blame them. **MOST** - probably **A MAJORITY** in this country - regard smoking as repellent and dangerous. My wife and nine-year-old son are among them, as it happens.

And I admit that if I had my time over, I probably wouldn't take up the habit. But what I find **MUCH HARDER** to accept - and would do even if I were not a smoker of **MANY YEARS'** standing - is the **ALL-PERVADING** sense of self-righteousness which is the unspoken but **FUNDAMENTAL** motivation behind the legislation.

Today we live in a state that **INCREASINGLY** ascribes to itself the responsibility to run our lives. From the "surveillance society" into which we are sleepwalking, to national identity databases, to the five-a-day lecturing on what we put into our bodies, our rulers now presume to know what is **BEST** for us on our behalf.

CALL it what you will - the nanny state, Big Brother - it has seeped into our consciousness and **VIRTUALLY** every aspect of our daily lives. It would appear that we are **LARGELY** willing to acquiesce in such busybodying on our behalf. And the ban on smoking in public places is **MERELY** the **LATEST** manifestation of what I regard as that insufferable priggishness.

It is not being presented as that **AT ALL** by those behind the legislation. Our commissars of public health insist that they are acting for our own good.

"We're **ONLY** thinking of others, " is the excuse of the prodnose down the ages. Surely, **ONLY** the churlish and **DOWNRIGHT** irresponsible would have the temerity to demur?

Well, I do. I believe the **OVERRIDING** motivation behind the new law is the **GROWING** British mania to ban things. And **JUST** as the foxhunting ban had **LITTLE** to do with the welfare of wild animals (**MANY MORE** now die than did when hunting was permitted) and **EVERYTHING** to do with class hatred, so I believe that the **CHIEF** stimulus behind banning smoking in public places is a lamentable puritan tendency.

This afflicts the British periodically and **MORE SO** now than for a long time (for the **BEST** definition of puritanism, see the early 20th century American commentator and sage HL Mencken: "The haunting fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy").

Be honest: don't you **JUST** know that when this legislation comes into effect, the British will outdo every other nation that has already brought in such a ban in rigorously enforcing it? Like Warden Hodges in Dad's Army ("put that light out!") there's that streak in our character which revels in telling others what to do, in stopping someone doing something.

SUCH people are **NEVER** satisfied. The report in the past few days that a ban on smoking while driving is now being urged is **SIMPLY** the next click of the ratchet.

How long before smoking in the open air or in your own home is targeted? We ruefully laugh off such suggestions now but **MANY** of us know there's a nagging kernel of truth in there.

It didn't used to be like this.

Once we accepted that we had to rub along together on this crowded island. Life has **ALWAYS** been an everyday series of compromises with one another but at one time we were given the benefit of the doubt to use our freedom responsibly.

Essentially it was - still is - a question of trust. And gradually, but inexorably, the unavoidable message - of which the smoking ban is ONLY ONE facet - is that we are not to be trusted to behave responsibly any more.

The state encroaches **EVER MORE** on our personal behaviour.

MORE AND MORE of our daily lives must be codified.

As I said before, I can **QUITE** understand why people find smoking unpalatable, **EVEN** revolting. **EVEN** smokers are **USUALLY** aware that it is a smelly, clogging habit. **MOST** of us don't presume to light up in someone else's home without seeking permission first. **USUALLY** we go outside. No smoking areas are the rule in **MOST** public places - a good example of that tolerant, **LARGELY** good-natured side of the British character which seems to be disappearing with alarming rapidity.

A HECTORING, lecturing note has entered our collective soul, which found its **MOST** recent and risible illustration in our Health Secretary Patricia Hewitt commenting on the British naval personnel recently captured by Iran: "It was deplorable that the woman hostage should be shown smoking. This sends **COMPLETELY** the wrong message to our young people." It was a statement beyond satire.

CS Lewis once wrote: "Of all tyrannies, a tyranny sincerely exercised for the good of its victims may be **THE MOST** oppressive. It would be **BETTER** to live under robber barons than under omnipotent moral busybodies. . . those who torment us for our own good will torment us **WITHOUT END**, for they do so with the approval of their own consciences." Lewis - like **THE MINORITY** of us smoking lepers who continue with our regrettable habit despite **ALL** the **BEST** advice - would recognise Mrs Hewitt and her ilk **ONLY** **TOO WELL** today.

Text 4

Richard Ingrams' Week - Why is no one willing to fight the smoking ban?;

***The Independent*, 23.06.2007**

Having given up smoking **MORE THAN** 30 years ago I feel **QUITE** tempted to take it up again, if **ONLY** as a protest against the draconian measures currently being introduced to stop people from smoking **ALMOST** anywhere.

It is a worrying sign of the meek conformity which is gaining ground in this country that there has been **SO LITTLE BY WAY OF** protest about **ALL** this from the **MILLIONS OF** smokers in our midst. They seem to have accepted the official propaganda line - ie that they are pathetic, weak-willed individuals in the grip of a dirty and dangerous addiction, deserving **ONLY** of pity.

There is no official recognition that smoking has **MANY** beneficial effects. It soothes nerves, increases concentration and reduces appetite - to name **ONLY** three. That is not to say that, in common with **ALL** drugs, it isn't dangerous. But one alarming consequence of the anti-smoking hysteria has been to spread the notion, **ESPECIALLY** among the young, that nicotine is **SOMEHOW MORE** harmful than drugs *SUCH AS* cannabis or **EVEN** cocaine.

The **SIMPLE** truth is that *while smoking may shorten your life* - not inevitably, as the propagandists maintain - it will not cause irreparable brain damage or induce schizophrenia *as cannabis has now been proved to do*. Yet the same government which is now intent on persecuting cigarette smokers has actually downgraded cannabis in its scale of dangerous drugs.

That is perhaps because it lacks the will to control the trade in cannabis. **HOW MUCH SIMPLER JUST** to persecute those feeble, weak-willed souls shamefully puffing at their fags in office doorways?

Text 5

Going up in smoke – Neil Clark

The Guardian, 26.06.2007

The death of liberal England has been predicted **MANY TIMES** over the past decade. But on Sunday, England, for long regarded (rightly) as **ONE OF THE FREEST** countries in the world, will finally mark the end of its **LONG** history as a liberal country as the government's draconian smoking ban comes into force.

There is no liberal case **WHATSOEVER** for the ban; *if you support it you may be MANY things*, but please, don't have the audacity to call yourself a liberal. The argument for restricting smoking in public on account of the possible health risks caused by passive smoking is an argument for having separate smoking areas in pubs, cafes and restaurants *and not for a blanket ban, which will encompass EVEN private clubs where members have assented to a pro-smoking policy*.

The government could **EASILY** have opted for a compromise measure as SOME European countries have done, or left it up to the owners of pubs and cafes to decide their own smoking policy. But no: true to New Labour's bossy, illiberal instincts, the ban had to be **TOTAL**. To enforce the ban, local councils will rely on **LEGIONS OF** plain-clothes snoopers, ready to shop fellow citizens for the **HEINOUS** crime of smoking in public. Blair inherited a country, which, for **ALL** its faults, could still be called a free one, *he has left it with its own equivalent of the Staasi*.

Whatever your views on smoking (and no one denies that the habit, like the officially approved New Labour ones of drinking, over-working and starting illegal wars carries a health risk), ask yourself this **SIMPLE** question. Do you really want to live in a country where lighting a cigarette, cigar or pipe in a pub or cafe, as English men and women have done for decades- is deemed a criminal offence? Smoking may, to **MANY** people, be annoying, silly and smelly- but criminal?

Don't kid yourself that Sunday's ban will be the end of the matter: the anti-smoking zealots won't rest until smoking is banned everywhere, **EVEN** in the privacy of our own homes. Last week, Sir Liam Donaldson, the government's chief medical officer, pledged that there would be a further crackdown on smoking after the ban comes into force. "The first of July is not when action stops; it's a launch pad from which we can make further **MASSIVE** strides. I hope people will be behind some of the SLIGHTLY controversial measures," he said. The pressure group Action on Smoking and Health (ASH) meanwhile advocates a "smoke-free world," that's free of tobacco smoke - not **LITTLE** things like the smoke from cars, HGVs and factories, you understand.

Comparisons to Nazi Germany are **OFTEN** tedious, but in this instance it **SPEAKS VOLUMES** that the first country to introduce bans on smoking in public was the Third Reich.

Isn't it sad that 60 years after playing a decisive role in the defeat of the Nazis and their loathsome, intolerant ideology, Britain, in its illiberal attitude towards smoking and smokers, is now aping them?

Text 6

Labour should butt out

The Daily Telegraph, 10.12.2008

Smoking is not good for you. It can be harmful, or **EVEN** fatal. These facts should be known to everyone and it is a legitimate function of the Government to ensure they are disseminated **AS WIDELY AS POSSIBLE**. But tobacco remains a legal substance; and it is not the role of the state in a democratic society to hound those who wish to enjoy it or who make their living by selling it. If ministers feel that it is, then they should introduce legislation into Parliament to proscribe its use.

Instead, they have come up with **YET** more nanny-state proposals at a time when their efforts should be concentrated on dealing with **THE MOST DRAMATIC** economic downturn for **AT LEAST** 30 years. Powers to require shops to remove **ALL** public displays of tobacco are a move **TOO FAR**. This may be *SOMETHING* that a large supermarket can take in its stride. A small corner shop will have difficulty finding space to store tobacco and the loss of sales could force it to close. And what about speciality tobacco shops? They would be forced to strip their interiors bare of the **ONLY** product they sell. They will be driven out of business as a result, no doubt without any compensation.

We are weary of the social authoritarianism of this Government. The smoking ban in public places was imposed with a lack of flexibility that has driven many pubs to the wall, further undermining village and community life. A ban on handguns in response to A SINGLE atrocity left law-abiding shooters unable to practise their sport, put **MANY** traders out of business and did NOTHING to stop the rise in crimes involving firearms. An attempt to prohibit foxhunting left the law **MORE** confused **THAN EVER**. Health advice and education are acceptable; but we have had enough of legislation designed to nationalise behaviour of which Labour disapproves.

C. German Texts

G1

Viel Rauch – Rainer Hank

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 20.06.2006

Soll der Staat seine Bürger vor sich selbst und vor ihren Mitbürgern schützen? Gewiß doch, sagen **VIELE** Zeitgenossen, um sogleich für ein allgemeines Rauchverbot in Hotels und Gaststätten zu plädieren (das Werbeverbot für Zigaretten kommt ohnehin bald). Denn schließlich, so lautet die als selbstverständlich genommene Moral der Geschichte, seien die Kosten für den Passivraucher **GRAVIERENDER** als der Lustgewinn des Rauchers. Solche Argumente hören all jene Parlamentarier gern, die das Erstellen von Gesetzen als Akt der Bürgerbeglückung begreifen und damit Eingriffe in die menschliche Freiheit legitimieren. Aber ist der Passivraucher nicht Manns genug, von sich aus verrauchte Kneipen zu meiden? Je **MEHR** Nichtraucher ein Wirt unter seinen Gästen wähnt, **UM SO STÄRKER** wird er den Rauchertrakt schrumpfen lassen. Braucht es dazu den Staat? Klar, sagen die Hartnäckigen, denn Raucher seien (wie **ALLE** Süchtlinge) in Wahrheit **GAR** nicht frei, sie wollten wie **ALLE** Menschen gesund und **LANG** leben, lieferten sich aber der kurzfristigen Lust aus, obwohl sie in wachen Minuten wüßten, daß beides nicht unter einen Hut passe. Dann wäre also der Staat ein Anwalt der langfristigen menschlichen Vernunft? Es geht auch anders. Haben nicht hierzulande, wo es **VIEL** **LIBERALER** zugeht als in Amerika, **VIELE** auch ohne Staatsbefehl auf ihre Gauloise oder Rothähnde verzichtet: freiwillig oder weil Rauchen *IRGENDWIE* sozial unschick geworden ist?

G2

Gedanken am Sonntag – Peter Hahne

Bild, 25.06.2006

Wohin muß man eigentlich gehen, um bei euch MAL ohne Qualm essen zu können?“, fragte mich ein italienischer Fußballfan. Er hatte WM-Deutschland bisher **NUR** inmitten einer Rauchwolke erlebt – vom Bahn-Bistro über die Kneipen bis ins Stadion hinein wird gepafft, **WAS DIE LUNGE AUSHÄLT**. Die Welt zu Gast bei Tabakfreunden . . .

Das soll jetzt anders werden. Im Bundestag wird in den nächsten Tagen ein „Gruppenantrag“ eingebracht, in dem Abgeordnete aus **ALLEN** Fraktionen ein **STRIKTES** Rauchverbot in Gaststätten, Zügen und anderen öffentlichen Räumen fordern. Dabei haben sie mit Kanzlerin und Verbraucherschutzminister prominente Befürworter. Und säße ich im Parlament, ich würde meine Hand auch dafür heben.

Sechsmal habe ich in dieser Kolumne schon zum Thema „Rauchen“ geschrieben, sechsmal habe ich mich als kämpferischen Nichtraucher geoutet, der dennoch **VERSCHÄRFTE** Gesetze ablehnt. Doch das ist jetzt vorbei:

Auf das Einlösen freiwilliger Gaststättenversprechungen oder die Toleranz der Raucher kann man **LANGE** warten.

NIRGENDS ist man vor ihnen sicher – **ÜBERALL** und ungefragt wird man von rücksichtslosen Glimmstengelhaltern eingeräuchert. Mit der **ALLTÄGLICHEN** Qual durch **ALLGEGENWÄRTIGEN** Qualm muß endlich Schluß sein.

IEDER hat die Freiheit, mit seiner Gesundheit zu machen, was er will – zumal er durch seine Sucht ja auch kräftig zum Steueraufkommen beiträgt. Doch die unbarmherzige Intoleranz uns Nichtrauchern gegenüber will ich nicht länger hinnehmen.

Durch den Duft der großen weiten Welt lasse ich mir meinen Lebensraum nicht enger machen, die Lufthoheit darf nicht länger den Nikotinkillern gehören.

Die Wischiwaschi-Vereinbarung mit dem Gaststättengewerbe, bis 2008 in 90 Prozent der Restaurants **MINDESTENS** die Hälfte der Plätze für Nichtraucher zu reservieren, erweist sich als Luftnummer. Auch das große Lamento, die gemütliche Kneipen- und Biergartenkultur ginge mit einem Rauchverbot den Bach runter, hat sich inzwischen als Quatsch erwiesen. Irische Pubs und italienische Tavernen haben durch rauchfreie Zonen weder Umsatz- noch Image-Einbruch erlitten.

ALLEIN Deutschland ist *EINES DER LETZTEN* Raucherparadiese. Dabei ist es doch bizarr, daß unsere Bürokraten die Lärmschutz- und Feinstaubrichtlinien **BIS INS LETZTE** Detail ausfeilen, jedoch 60 Millionen Passivraucher dem **GRÖßTEN** vermeidbaren Gesundheitsrisiko aussetzen.

Diesem Anschlag auf die Gesundheit zu wehren, bedarf es einer großen Koalition der Willigen und Vernünftigen.

Mein italienischer Fan-Freund kann sich derweil mit der Fußball-WM 2010 trösten: In Südafrika herrscht striktes Rauchverbot.

G3

Immer schön aufs Nebensächliche konzentrieren!

Welt am Sonntag, 30.06.2006

Um **JEDES** Mißverständnis auszuschließen: Ich bin seit **LANGEN** Jahren Nichtraucher. Aber ich halte das sich vorbereitende Rauchverbot durch Vater Staat für *EINEN/JENER* durch **BESTE** Absichten motivierten Eingriffe in das persönliche Leben, die auch im **DISZIPLINIERTESTEN** Bürger anarchistische Impulse aufwecken müssen.

Die **BESTEN** Absichten, denen Vater Staat wieder MAL zu folgen wünscht: der Schutz seiner Untertanen. 3300 Bürger, behauptet *IRGENDEINE* wohlmeinende Weltorganisation, sterben jährlich in Deutschland durch passives Mitrauchen. Leider betrat **NIE** ein professioneller Statistiker die Bühne, um diese Zahl nach den Regeln seiner Kunst zu dekonstruieren. **Warum zählen wir nicht 3312 tote Mitraucher? Oder 2998?** In diesen Größenordnungen, würde der Statistiker zeigen, sind **ALLE** exakten Zahlen fiktiv.

Aber das beeindruckt den **ÜBERAUS** wohlmeinenden Vater Staat **KEIN BIBCHEN**. **Genügt nicht EIN EINZIGER** toter Passivraucher, um ein allgemeines Rauchverbot zu begründen? Kann auch **NUR** **EIN EINZIGER** Fall gedacht werden, in dem der Schutz durch Vater Staat aussetzt? Er muß doch **EINEN JEDEN** **UNUNTERBROCHEN** umhegen und gegen Fremd- ebenso wie Selbstbeschädigung abschirmen.

Nun, wenn man **GENAUER** hinhört, bemerkt man, daß hier nicht Vater Staat spricht, sondern eine Partei, die ihn *IRGENDWIE* gekapert hat. So wie früher die tückische Beate im Kindergarten Tante Elfriede durch Petzen für sich einzunehmen wußte und später im Gymnasium Oberstudienrat Wohlgemuth (schon damals ging es um Rauchen: das heimliche auf den Jungs- und Mädchenklos). Diese Partei, die sich selbst als den **WAHREN** Staat im Staate erkennt, als Fels der Ordnungsliebe und des Wohlmeinens, um den herum **ALLES** im moralischen Sumpf versinkt - diese Partei bilden die Querulanten. Woran man sie **AM LEICHTESTEN** erkennt: daß sie ihre **HEFTIGSTEN** Leidenschaften, ihre **GRÖßTE** Kampfeslust **STETS** auf **DAS KLEINSTE** verschieben, auf *Nebensachen*, von denen sie **LAUTSTARK** behaupten, nein, nein, gerade hier sei Haupt- und Staatsaktion **ZWINGEND** geboten.

Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte - die Querulanten können nicht aufhören, dafür die Graffitomaler verantwortlich zu machen, denen mit **ALLER HÄRTE** entgegenzutreten Vater Staat **ANHALTEND** versäume. Neulich erklärte mir einer der Ihren mit Gusto: **KEINESWEGS** bringen die Zigaretten dem Volkskörper kostspielig Krankheit und Tod, der **STÄRKSTE** Killer sei vielmehr - der Zucker. Und der gute Mann spulte aus seinem Gedächtnis die **GENAUESTEN** Zahlen ab, um den Zucker als Volksgift Nr. 1 zu entlarven. **BESONDERS** lieben die Querulanten die Strahlen, die **ALLE** Bürger im Umkreis eines Handybesitzers **LEBENSBEDROHLICH** schädigen; keinen Gegenbeweis werden sie **JE** gelten lassen. **STETS** müssen es, wie gesagt, Nebensachen sein, damit der Querulant in den Krieg zieht.

ALLE Verhütungsmittel zu verbieten, damit Deutschland **MEHR** Kinder gebiert, würde er **NIE** fordern. Wohl aber eine Zensur für Vorabendserien, damit dort die Mehrkinderfamilie **POSITIVER** dargestellt werde. **NORMALERWEISE** beschränken sich die Querulanten auf wuferfülltes Rasonnieren unter ihresgleichen sowie Leserbriefschreiben. Aber zuweilen gelingt es ihnen leider, für eine ihrer Nebensachen Vater Staat in Bewegung zu setzen, Vater Staat, der **OFT** selber **NUR** undeutlich bemerkt hat, daß seine Bürger **LÄNGST** aus dem Haus sind und ihrer eigenen Vernunft folgen.

G4

Auf Krebsgang – Arno Frank

taz, die tageszeitung, 22.09.2006

Zu einer zivilisatorischen Reife, die sich im Alltag niederschlägt und mit derjenigen **VIELER** europäischer Nachbarn vergleichbar ist, fehlt Deutschland seit Jahrzehnten zweierlei: ein Tempolimit auf Autobahnen und ein Rauchverbot in Gaststätten. Langfristig wäre Rasern wie Rauchern mit **SOLCHERART** staatlichen Einschränkungen ihrer ungesunden Freiheiten gedient. Kurzfristig aber sind **IMMER** IRGENDWO **GERADE** Wahlen, weshalb die Politiker sich dem Problem bislang **ALLENFALLS** im Krebsgang näherten.

Dann veranlassen sie halbherzige Kampagnen gegen Gefahren, die mit **vielleicht unpopulären**, aber nahe liegenden Maßnahmen schnell gebannt wären. Anstatt verantwortlich zu handeln und dafür die politische Verantwortung zu übernehmen, warten sie auf die Menschenfreunde aus Brüssel. Oder sie machen sich **SCHLICHTWEG** aus dem Staub.

Doch jetzt scheint dieses lächerliche Theater ein Ende zu nehmen. Nachdem es bereits am Arbeitsplatz durchgesetzt wurde, soll das Rauchverbot nun auch auf Gaststätten und öffentliche Orte wie Ämter oder Schulen ausgeweitet werden. Es wäre ein Fortschritt, würden

auch noch die Raucherzonen abgeschafft - sie sind so sinnvoll wie ausgewiesene Pinkelzonen im öffentlichen Freibad.

Mag sein, dass das Rauchverbot dem zwangsinhalierenden Nichtraucher eine **LANGE** ersehnte Erleichterung bringt. Was aber bringt es dem Raucher? Für eine Weile wird er sich seiner kostbaren Freiheit beraubt sehen, am Aschenbecher stehen und schmollen, von Verboten umzingelt. Für eine Weile werden wir ihn noch aus zugigen Hauseingängen schimpfen hören. **SEHR** bald aber wird es still werden dort draußen. Der Raucher wird sich an der frischen Luft wiederfinden und bei jeder Zigarette mit einer Sucht konfrontiert werden, die er zuvor, in der Gesellschaft anderer Süchtiger, **GAR** nicht als solche erkannt hat. Er wird sich daran erinnern, dass er "bei günstiger Gelegenheit" MAL aufhören wollte - und merken, dass **JEDE** Gelegenheit günstig und seine Gesundheit heilig ist. Wann das so weit sein wird? Wir werden es merken, wenn er sich in die Raucherpause mit der Bemerkung verabschiedet, er gehe MAL kurz "auf Krebsgang".

G5

Rauchen und zahlen – Konrad Adam

Die Welt, 02.12.2006

Worin besteht die Freiheit? Nach klassisch-liberaler Lesart besteht sie in dem Recht, **ALLES** zu tun, was einem anderen nicht schadet. Hätte man sich an diesen ehrbaren Grundsatz gehalten, hätte das Rauchen in geschlossenen Räumen **NIEMALS** erlaubt werden dürfen; denn dass es der Gesundheit, der eigenen und der von anderen, nicht **EBEN** zuträglich ist, hat man **SCHON IMMER** gewusst. Raucherhusten, Raucherlungen und Raucherbeine kündigen AUF IHRE ART von den Risiken, mit denen spielt, wer vom Rauchen nicht lassen will.

Weil das so ist, haben sich die militanten Raucher, die es inzwischen genauso gibt wie militante Nichtraucher, ein anderes Argument zurechtgelegt. Statt sich mit der Freiheit der anderen auseinanderzusetzen, insistieren sie auf der eigenen Freiheit, auf ihrem Recht, zu lassen und zu tun, was keinem anderen, sondern **NUR** ihnen selbst schadet. Dieses Recht sei beeinträchtigt, **JA** außer Kraft gesetzt, wenn sie sich im Beisein von anderen keine Zigarette oder Pfeife **MEHR** anzünden dürften. Halbherzig ist der Bundestag dieser Einlassung gefolgt, als er beschloss, das Rauchen **NUR** dort zu erlauben, wo dies in separaten Räumen möglich ist.

Halbherzig ist dieses Votum, weil es **NUR** dort plausibel ist, wo die Gesundheit als privates Gut behandelt wird. Dort - und **NUR** dort! - könnte **JEDERMANN** rauchen, trinken, kiffen

oder was weiß ich noch treiben, ohne dass *IRGENDJEMAND* das Recht hätte, ihm sein gesundheitsschädliches Verhalten im Hinblick auf sein Wohlbefinden zu verbieten. Es ginge nach der bekannten Regel Luthers, von dem der Ausspruch überliefert ist: Ich esse, was ich will, und leide, was ich muss.

So ist es aber nicht, ZUMINDEST nicht in Deutschland, wo die Gesundheit als ein öffentliches Gut betrachtet wird, für das ALLE zahlen müssen, ob sie NUR wollen oder nicht. Für das, was aus dem Rauchen, Trinken, Kiffen und so weiter folgt, kommt nicht der Einzelne auf, sondern, begleitet von dem üblichen Solidaritätsgesäusel, die Versichertengemeinschaft. Der Raucher schadet, will das allerdings nicht wahrhaben, weil er sich NICHT MEHR an Luther orientiert, sondern am modernen Dogma, das da lautet: Ich tue, was ich will. Und ihr müsst dafür zahlen.

G6

Nikotinisten raus! – Jan Thomsen

***Berliner Zeitung*, 09.02.2007**

Zu einem zunftgerechten Raucher-Nichtraucher-Kommentar gehört IN JEDEM FALL das persönliche Bekenntnis zur Sache, AM BESTEN GLEICH zu Anfang. Also: Ich rauche nicht - beziehungsweise nicht mehr. Und zwar nicht ERST seit einer halben Stunde (um den alten Witz zu variieren), sondern seit GUT acht Jahren. Einer Raucherlegende zufolge hat sich meine in den 14 Jahren zuvor SORGFÄLTIGST geteerte Lunge inzwischen selbst gereinigt. Keine Ahnung, ob das stimmt.

Wenn hier nun erneut für ein ABSOLUTES, AUSNAHMSLOSES sowie RIGOROSSES Rauchverbot in Restaurants, Kneipen, Bars und so weiter plädiert werden soll, dann ist dem Verfasser vielleicht Voreingenommenheit (Nichtraucher!) vorzuwerfen, nicht aber Kenntnislosigkeit. Wer aufgehört hat, weiß nicht NUR um die Auswüchse der Sucht - ETWA das menschenunwürdige Stummelschmauchen, wenn sonst nichts mehr da ist -, er weiß auch um etwas, was VIELE leidenschaftliche Nikotinisten per definitionem nicht wissen können. Dass es kein Verlust ist, nicht zu rauchen.

Die gesetzgeberische Herumdruckerei mit seltsamen Räumen in Gaststätten, in denen geraucht, aber nicht bedient werden darf, mit Abluftanlagen, Trennwänden und SONSTIGEM Schnickschnack ist den Aufwand daher nicht wert. VIELE Länder in Europa und Übersee machen es vor, Deutschland oder Berlin würde es NUR nachmachen, wenn Raucher künftig vor die Tür müssten. Einnahmeverluste sind im Einzelfall, aber nicht branchenweit KAUM zu

befürchten, freiwillige Regelungen haben LÄNGST versagt. Wir fassen zusammen: Rauchen stinkt und bringt uns früher um als nötig. Also gehört es verboten. Jedenfalls drinnen.