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Redefining Attitude for studying explicit and indirect evaluations of human behaviour

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Abstract

This article considers the application of the Attitude framework (Martin & White, 2005) to study the evaluation of human behaviour. The distinction between inscribed (explicit) and invoked (indirect) attitude is re-examined and systematised to better operationalise the analysis of the evaluation of behaviour. General linguistic evaluation triggers are identified for inscribed and invoked evaluations, and the annotation scheme is applied in a corpus of texts from different registers (a psychiatric manual, educational guidelines and informal online exchanges) concerned with ADHD. Indirect evaluations of behaviour are described as attitudinal inferences derived from (i) the behaviours of the individuals, (ii) the behavioural outcomes, (iii) the impact that the behaviour or its outcomes have on third parties and the actions that the latter may perform as a result. It is proposed that indirect evaluations of people’s behaviour are metonymically inferred through an EFFECT→CAUSE relation drawn across the different parts of an action scenario. The conceptual metonymy explains the directionality observed in attitude analyses (Appreciation attitude type may stand as tokens of Judgment), and it shows the impossibility of evaluating performances without indirectly appraising the human behavior.

Keywords: attitude, evaluation, judgement, metonymic inference

1. Introduction

On what basis do we evaluate people when we talk or write about them? And, more specifically, how do we evaluate people with a psychological diagnosis? This paper revises Martin and White’s framework of Attitude to better systematise the linguistic analysis of inscribed (explicit) and invoked (indirect) attitudes associated with behaviour. As an illustration, I examine the evaluations associated with individuals with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) in texts produced by three social groups with a significant role in ADHD diagnosis: the medical, the educational and the family communities. After revising the difficulties encountered in applying the framework to a study of human behaviour, I present a redefinition of the annotation of Attitude specifying general linguistic triggers for inscribed and invoked types in order to

facilitate a systematic application across different textual genres. A cognitive approach is incorporated to explain the indirect evaluations of behaviour: an EFFECT→CAUSE metonymy stands as the ultimate inference schema. The metonymy explains the oft-observed directionality in attitude analyses (Appreciations may stand as tokens of Judgments), and it stresses the permeability of attitude in our interaction with the others, evidencing that our evaluations of performances carry an indirect appraisal of the actors.

2. ADHD

The American Psychiatric Association (APA) identifies ADHD as a neurodevelopmental disorder, a group of psychological conditions characterised by presenting an early onset and involving personal, social, academic or occupational impairments (APA 2013: 31). Inattention is associated with inability to focus on tasks or conversations, lack of organisation and negligence in daily activities; hyperactivity-impulsivity is associated with intrusiveness and lack of verbal and kinetic control (2013: 32). ADHD constitutes a lifelong condition involving academic, occupational, and social impairments, and its high index of comorbidity is frequently depicted as its major risk factor –up to 90% of the individuals with ADHD have received another diagnosis (Malmberg *et al.* 2011: 1469).

Stigmatisation among children and adults is reported globally (ADHD-Europe 2009; Lebowitz 2016: 199; Mueller *et al.* 2012). Studies on attitudes associated with ADHD have acknowledged ambivalent attitudes towards ADHD among the teaching community, which may have a direct impact on classroom interactions with the diagnosed students (Greenway & Edwards, 2020: 44). Teachers usually assume students with ADHD underperform (Mueller, 2012: 106), and parents often display more negative evaluations of their children's academic performance if they exhibit ADHD (Lebowitz, 2016: 202). Studying the evaluations associated with ADHD in texts produced by the social groups involved in the diagnosis helps us to understand what constitutes the basis of the negative evaluations that trigger negative stereotypes and stigma.

3. Data and methodological considerations

The study considered texts produced by the medical, the educational, and the family communities. The medical community was studied analysing the chapter on ADHD in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-V), which contains a total of 3,523 words (APA 2013: 59–66). The DSM comprises all the psychological conditions recognised by the APA and the diagnostic criteria to consider in the clinical practice.

The teaching community was addressed analysing educational guidelines for primary and secondary teachers, considering a total of 5 guidelines that add up to 7,298 words approximately. The guidelines are written by experts on ADHD and are distributed by ADHD authorities: *ADD Attitude*¹ (a US-based website that provides leading ADHD-resources for families, adults with ADHD and professionals), *ADHD Foundation*² (United Kingdom), and *Living with ADHD*³ (a support website powered by Janssen Pharmaceutical Companies).

The family community was studied analysing posts written by parents of individuals with ADHD retrieved from *ADD Forums*, the biggest online community worldwide for people diagnosed with ADHD (adults and teenagers) and their relatives (parents, carers, partners). The majority of contributors are from the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom, but forum users are worldwide. On the date of the data collection (January 2018), the forum brought together users from over 60 countries.⁴ Except private threads, the forum is open to the general public. The data was gathered from the threads “You know your child is ADHD when...”, which on the date of data collection included a total of 376 comments, and “Proud moments”, which included a total

¹ “The Teacher’s Guide to ADHD and Classroom Behavior. Why kids with ADHD act the way they do — and how teachers can help them succeed”; “10 Teaching Strategies That Help Students with ADHD. Never underestimate the effectiveness of a teacher who recognizes and harnesses the power of structure, communication, and interactive learning!”

² “ADHD Secondary School strategies”; “ADHD Primary School strategies”.

³ “ADHD a guide for UK teachers”.

⁴ For a full list of the geographic coverage of the users, see the following report of one of the coordinators of the forum: <http://www.addforums.com/forums/showthread.php?t=24546> (accessed in 30th January 2018).

of 69 comments. These threads allow parents to share negative and positive incidents respectively, and hence were expected to offer a balance between positive and negative portrayals. A sub-corpus was created from the two threads, adding up to 3,435 words and comprising 25 posts from the first thread and 21 from the second; all posts were anonymized.

The three data sets were manually annotated in separate Excel files. The analysis examined the construal of behaviour and individuals through the transitivity system adopting a grammar-based approach to process types categories (not discussed in this paper) (Bartlett 2014), and the expression of evaluation. The DSM and educational guidelines were fully annotated; for the forum threads, the sub-corpus was fully annotated. Evaluations associated with ADHD and ADHD-related behaviour were systematically annotated considering the attitude types distinguished in Table 1, their valence (the signs “+” and “-” stand for positive and negative valence respectively), and inscription (inscribed/invoked, the later tagged with an apostrophised “I”). Table 2 (Section 5.2) provides a more comprehensive overview of the linguistic resources distinguished as triggers of evaluation.

Table 1 Attitude types and subtypes considered in the analysis

Attitude type	Attitude subtypes	Level of inscription
Affect	Affect: (In)security Affect: (Un)happiness Affect: (Dis)satisfaction	Inscribed / Invoked
Judgement	Judgement: Propriety Judgement: Normality Judgement: Capacity Judgement: Tenacity Judgement: Veracity	
Appreciation	Appreciation: Reaction: Quality Appreciation: Reaction: Impact Appreciation: Valuation	

4. Evaluation in language

4.1 Appraisal

Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal framework offers the most comprehensive and systematic account of evaluation in language to date. The framework distinguishes three dimensions of evaluation: Attitude, the core of the system and focus of this paper; Engagement, the 'source' of the evaluation (monogloss or heterogloss); and Graduation, which modulates Attitude as more or less intense ('force') and defines the category of facts evaluated as more or less precise ('focus') (Martin & White 2005: 35–37). Depending on the object evaluated, the framework distinguishes three types of attitudinal meaning: Affect, Judgement and Appreciation.

Affect refers to personal and contingent mental reactions, the realm of feelings (e.g., "sadly") (White 2011: 19). According to the emotion expressed, Affect is distinguished as (Dis)satisfaction, (Un)happiness and (In)security (Martin & White 2005: 49). Feelings may be attributed to participants (e.g., 'X is sad') or their actions (e.g., 'X is crying'), and depending on the source, feelings can be self-attributed (e.g., 'I'm sad'), or express authorial perception (e.g., 'She looks sad') (Martin & White 2005: 46).

Judgements are assessments of the appropriateness of people's behaviour by reference to social norms and are differentiated between Social Esteem and Sanction, the realm of ethics (White 2011: 23). Judgements of Social Sanction evoke moral values and are associated with the truthfulness or veracity of individuals (e.g., 'X is a liar') and their adequacy regarding ethical values (propriety) (e.g., 'X is very loyal') (Martin & White, 2005: 52). Social Esteem refers to the normality (e.g., 'X is very eccentric'), capacity (e.g., 'X is a competent worker') and tenacity (e.g., 'X is so lazy') of the individuals (2005: 52).

Appreciation is the evaluation of things, performances and natural phenomena, the realm of aesthetics, and is differentiated in: (i) people's Reaction to objects (e.g., 'This movie is awful'), which can be understood as 'impact' (how has the object grabbed me?) and 'quality' (like or

dislike towards the object); (ii) Composition of the object evaluated (e.g., ‘This page is very cluttered’), understood as ‘balance’ (does the composition “hang together”?) and ‘complexity’ (is the composition “hard to follow”?); and (iii) Valuation (e.g., ‘This novel is worth reading’), the value attributed to an object or performance (Martin & White 2005: 56; White 2011: 25).

Depending on how explicitly evaluation is expressed, attitudes can be “inscribed” (e.g., ‘Mary is happy’), explicitly conveyed in text through lexicogrammatical resources, and “invoked” (e.g., ‘Everyone could hear *Mary’s laughter*’), implied through ideational and contextual inferences. According to the linguistic resources employed to evoke the evaluation, invoked attitudes can be distinguished between ‘provoked’ (evoked via lexical metaphors) and ‘invited’, the latter distinguished between ‘flagged’ (evoked via graduation resources) and ‘afforded’ (implied by ideational meanings) (Hood & Martin, 2005: 746; Martin & White, 2005: 67).

Research in Appraisal has redefined the attitude dimensions and levels of inscription. Bednarek (2009a: 161–165) presents a cognitive-informed reclassification of evaluative meanings, considering both ‘opinion lexis’ (Appreciation and Judgement), and ‘emotional lexis’ (Affect). Benítez-Castro and Hidalgo-Tenorio (2019) present a psychology-inspired redefinition of Affect basing all emotion types on the concept of “goal” (“goal-seeking”, “goal-achievement” and “goal-relation”) (see Hidalgo-Tenorio & Benítez-Castro 2020 and 2021 for an application of the framework on populist and victimhood discourses respectively). Corpus-based approaches have provided local grammars of evaluation, identifying grammatical and lexical elements involved in the evaluative act (Hunston & Su 2019). White (2006) offers a re-examination of attitude inscription (discussed in Section 4.2.2), and Bednarek (2009b) distinguishes three types of invoked evaluation: ‘implied attitude’, based on semantic and pragmatic implications; ‘triggered attitude’, evoked from resources outside the Attitude system such as graduation and counter-expectation; and ‘metonymically implicated attitude’, based on contiguity relations such as producers and products (2009b: 117–118). The significance of metonymy for indirect evaluations of human behaviors is discussed in Section 6.

4.2 Difficulties in operationalising Attitude

The study of evaluation in the corpus considered revealed serious difficulties in operationalising the analysis, echoing issues already reported in the literature on Appraisal. The study had to address: (i) the distinction of Appreciation from Judgement attitude types in depictions of behaviour, (ii) the “Russian Dolls’ syndrome” (an attitude type stands as token of another attitude type, which in its turn can stand as token for another attitude type...), and (iii) systematisation of the analysis of invoked evaluations. Studying texts from different textual genres, each one with different linguistic resources to invoke attitude, added analytical complexity. The first two issues had already been raised by Thompson (2008, 2014). The difficulty to systematically analyse implicit evaluations constitutes a recurrent concern in the literature (Fuoli, 2018; Fuoli & Hommerberg 2015; Martin 2003: 173; Pounds 2010: 114), ultimately grounded upon the nature of evaluative meaning itself: evaluation is linguistically expressed by an open-ended set of forms (Fuoli & Hommerberg 2015: 315; Hunston 2011: 3), which may vary according to the textual genre. Accordingly, the Appraisal framework is a “flexible interpretative tool” (Fuoli & Hommerberg, 2015: 331), but this flexibility makes it difficult to mechanically apply the framework to any text type and may bring subjectivity to the annotation.⁵ Thompson’s “Russian Dolls” effect is also an evidence of the strong reliance of invoked attitude annotation on researchers’ subjectivity. The difficulties are discussed in more detail in the remaining of this section.

4.2.1 *Appreciation, Judgement and Russian Dolls*

Following the Attitude system, evaluative descriptions of individuals’ performances are analysed as Appreciation, and evaluative descriptions of individual’s behaviours or actions as Judgements.

⁵ See Fuoli and Hommerberg (2015) and Fuoli (2018) for a discussion on the design of a clear annotation scheme and intra- and inter- reliability checks to diminish subjectivity in the evaluation analysis, and an application at Hidalgo-Tenorio and Benítez-Castro (2020, 2021).

However, difficulties may arise in distinguishing the two types, particularly in descriptions of behaviour that employ non-finite verbs. Distinguishing between Appreciation and Judgment was especially significant in the DSM-V corpus due to its stylistic features. Descriptions of ADHD and the symptoms rely on descriptions of behaviour assessed as clinically significant, which are formulated in finite and non-finite verbs, and on depictions of the potential outcomes of the diagnosis or ADHD-related behaviour. Examples (1) and (2) illustrate how attitude types vary depending on whether we address the behaviour as an action, expressed by verbs in a finite form (example 1), or as a behavioural outcome, product or performance, which can be expressed by verbs in non-finite forms or nominalisations (example 2).

- (1) Often fidgets with or taps hands or feet or squirms in seat. [Judgement] (APA 2013:60)
- (2) Hyperactivity refers to excessive motor activity [...] when it is not appropriate, or excessive fidgiting, tapping, or talkativeness. [Appreciation] (APA 2013: 61)

In discussing the distinction between Appreciation and Judgment in assessments of behaviour, Thompson questioned the analysis of evaluations of the result of people's actions. For example, in 'The generous actions of Matilde', should the evaluation of 'generous' be attributed to the 'actions' or to 'Matilde'? (Thompson 2008: 179, 2014: 57–58). In example (2), should the evaluation expressed in 'excessive fidgiting, tapping, or talkativeness' be associated to hyperactivity, and hence be annotated as Appreciation, or should rather be associated to the individual that shows hyperactivity, and hence be annotated as Judgment? Annotating these examples as Appreciation or Judgment is not only a matter of labelling, but it has crucial implications for our understanding of how behaviour and individuals are evaluated. In evaluating performances and behavioural outcomes, do our evaluations involve the performances referred to, or are extended to the individual? This issue has been occasionally mentioned in the literature on Appraisal, and different authors have pointed out that, in evaluating the products of people's actions, there is a transfer of value from the behavior to the outcome of the actions (Bednarek,

2009b: 118; Martin & White 2005: 67; Thompson 2008: 178–179, 2014: 58; White 2006: 55). In Thompson’s words:

A further step in this grey area [behaviour as product, nominalisations] takes us to the results of behavior, which can also be evaluated in ethical terms that belong most typically to JUDGEMENT: the attributes of the human behavior are transferred to the product. [...] the evaluative items actually indicate the moral qualities of the person [...] and yet the wording attributes these qualities to the results, in a form of transfer which occurs so frequently that it can be argued that any sense of a metaphorical 'disjunction' has all but disappeared. (Thompson 2008: 179)

Thompson argues that in those cases the analyst can either adopt a “semantic-based labelling”, and annotate all appraisals of behaviour as Judgements, regardless of wording, or a “grammar-based labelling”, and distinguish the appraisals according to their wording. Thompson supports a grammar-based approach on the basis that it guarantees replicability and prevents the analyst from falling into subjective interpretations (Thompson 2008: 180–181, 2014: 58). However, while promoting analytical replicability and objectivity, in studying the evaluation of people’s behaviour, grammar-based attitude annotations may entail missing an important part of the indirect appraisals of the individuals. Portrayals of ADHD through its behavioural traits (or symptoms) and the products of the actions or outcomes of the symptoms are recurrent, especially in the DSM-V, where depictions through nominalisations (example 2) are customary. These considerations question the suitability of adopting a purely grammar-based approach in attitude annotation.

Considering Appreciations associated to nominalisations or outcomes of ADHD as tokens of invoked Judgements avoids the over-simplified depiction of evaluation that could derive from a strictly grammar-based annotation. Thus, example (2) could be annotated as [-Appreciation ^ -Judgement: Propriety’I ^ -Judgement: Normality’I]. Example (3) provides another illustration:

(3) Often ... makes careless mistakes ... [-Appreciation ^ -Judgement: Capacity’I ^ -Judgement: Normality’I] (APA, 2013: 59)

This annotation accounts for the different layers of attitude inscription: a negative inscribed Appreciation of behaviour as entity (“motor activity”, “fidgeting”, “tapping”) or behaviour outcomes (“careless mistakes”) stands as a trigger of an invoked negative Judgement of Propriety (in example 2, actions that annoy the social community) and Capacity (in example 3, insufficient attention at work). The analyst could argue that the first invoked Judgement triggers, in the context examined, a more or less explicit Judgement of Normality, which would trace a comparison of the individuals with ADHD with the average population, in example (2) lexicalised as “excessively”. The analyst could go even further and argue that, since the lack of behavioural appropriateness is due to a lack of capacity to constrain oneself, the Judgement of Propriety evokes an evaluation of the lack of skills of the individual. These observations show how, while annotating Appreciations as tokens of invoked Judgements makes it possible to give account of the different layers of evaluation, it also carries the peril of the “Russian Dolls” (Thompson 2008: 183, 2014: 60), putting the analytical replicability in jeopardy: how does the analyst know when to stop the analysis and how can we make the analysis verifiable? (2008: 184, 2014: 61).

4.2.2 *Systematising the analysis of Attitude inscription*

Invoked evaluations are central in behaviour representation and need to be considered to address the formation of stereotypes and potential stigmatisation that might follow. The traditional distinction between “provoked” and “invited” (“flagged” and “afforded”) (Hood 2019: 392; Hood & Martin 2005: 746; Martin & White 2005: 67) provides a detailed account of the indirect attitude types, but it can be difficult to apply systematically in the analysis. Difficulties in operationalising the framework result from the impossibility to offer comprehensive descriptions of the linguistic triggers that allow for the different types of attitude inscription, and difficulties to determine the degree of explicitness (acknowledged in Fuoli, 2018). Register variation across the texts considered added complexity to the analysis.

The challenges to analyse systematically the levels of attitude inscription and the need to examine further the linguistic resources that enable indirect evaluations are acknowledged in the

literature. White (2006) presents a re-examination of attitude inscription and distinguishes three levels: (i) locutions with “fixed” evaluative value, i.e. “stable across a wide-range of contexts”, (ii) “attitudinal tokens”, linguistic items without positive or negative values, only with ideational content and whose value depends on the co-text and readers’ system of values (2006: 39), and (iii) locutions that are frequently associated with a specific evaluation but which can vary across contexts (2006: 48 and 51). Examples (4–7), from the corpus studied, illustrate White’s re-definition of the framework.

Inscribed evaluation:

- (4) Is often forgetful in daily activities [-Judgement: Capacity] (APA, 2013: 59)

Provoked evaluation – Invoked (with obvious exhibition of the subjectivity of the author, as in metaphors, similes and comparisons (White 2006: 50)):

- (5) most of the family refers him to some type of weather like a tornado [sic], a hurricane [sic] ... [-Judgement: Propriety’I ^ -Judgement: Normality’I] (Forum)

Evaluation by association – Invoked (words whose positive or negative value is not stable across contexts):

- (6) Often loses things necessary for tasks or activities [-Judgement: Capacity’I ^ -Judgement: Normality’I] (APA, 2013: 59)

“To lose” is frequently attributed a negative value, as in example (6), but it may trigger a positive evaluation when followed by a negative valued direct object (e.g., ‘He lost all his fears’).

Evoked evaluations – Invoked (ideational content that triggers evaluations by connections made in the text, ultimately dependent on readers’ system of values and background knowledge):

- (7) “... kids who learn differently” [-Judgement: Normality] (Guideline *ADD Attitude*)

‘Learning differently’ does not imply a negative judgement of the person except in those cases where ‘difference’ is contextually equated to ‘difficulty’. Since the guideline was describing what

teachers should do to mitigate cognitive difficulties derived from ADHD, references to ‘different learning’ acquire a negative tinge.

White’s (2006) description of the different levels of attitude inscription offers a more detailed examination of their potential lexicogrammatical realizations than Martin and White’s (2005) account. However, White’s modelling of attitude inscription is nonetheless still complex to apply in a systematic manner across long texts, the major complication being to determine whether the lexical value attributions are consistent across a variety of contexts or variable. The levels of inscription are ultimately semantic-based, which makes searches of the terms in a general corpus essential to check the degree of embeddedness of their positive or negative value and determine the type of evaluation inscription. The constant reliance on general corpus searches makes the framework complex to apply systematically, and the strong dependence on readers’ values for ‘evoked evaluations’ also makes the category difficult to apply consistently.

The operationalisation presented in the next section is inspired by (i) White’s references to common lexicogrammatical realisations for each type of invoked evaluation, and (ii) White’s account of invoked evaluations of behaviour from processes, states, or results of processes as ‘attitudinal inferences’ (White 2006: 49 and 55). The inferential basis is also pointed out in Bednarek’s distinction of the ‘metonymically implicated attitude’ (2009b: 118), and in Thompson’s observation of a transfer of valued attributes (2008: 179). However, the inference as accounted for in White (2006) entails a reversal of Thompson’s notion of ‘evaluation transfer’: while Thompson described it as a transfer of values from the behavior to the product, in White’s account the evaluation of the behavior is inferred from their actions or the products of their actions. As for Bednarek’s metonymically implicated attitudes, the transfer is accounted for in both directions, from the behavior to the product and from the product to the behavior (2009b: 118). The texts analysed support White’s more experientially based account: what we observe and experience are individuals’ actions, what may result from them, and how these actions and

outcomes impact us, hence making it possible to suggest a metonymic-based directionality in evaluating behaviour.

5. Redefining Attitude for a study of human behaviour

The re-elaboration of the levels of attitude inscription presented in this section is designed for studying the evaluation of human behaviour, the main objectives being to operationalise the analysis across different registers, ensure analytical transparency, and elucidate what it is that triggers our evaluations of people's behaviour. Since the study focused in examining the attitudes attributed to the individuals, the diagnosed individual was established as the ultimate attitude target ('object of evaluation'), and the levels of evaluation inscription were redefined in relation to how directly the attitudes expressed in the texts are attributed to the individual. The re-elaboration of the levels of evaluation inscription was designed after a close reading and two pilot analyses of the corpus, the aim being to offer a framework as linguistically detailed as possible, but cross-applicable to different registers:

Inscribed attitude corresponds to expressions of evaluation explicitly associated with the attitude target, the individual with ADHD. 'Explicitness' is defined in terms of the lexicogrammatical realisations that allow for the association of the attitude to the individual (Section 5.1).

Invoked attitude corresponds to expressions of evaluation associated with the individual through an 'attitudinal inference' (or 'evaluation transfer'). The attitudinal inference is defined according to the 'source' that allows the inference. Three main sources were identified across the texts: (i) the individuals' behaviours, (ii) the behavioural outcomes, (iii) the impact of the behaviours on third parties. A further 'source' was identified in the educational guidelines: (iv) situations caused by or related to the ADHD symptoms. As for the inscribed attitude, lexicogrammatical realisations were defined for each type of attitudinal inference (Section 5.2).

Associating the attitude inscription (inscribed/invoked) with the lexicogrammatical relations that allow it takes some distance from the traditional semantic-based analysis, but it contributes to make the analysis more operative and replicable. As an example, consider the sentence ‘Matilde cries’. Following Martin and White’s (2005), the sentence would be annotated as inscribed Affect Unhappiness; the attitude would be inscribed because it is infused in the semantics of the verb ‘to cry’. Following the definition of inscribed and invoked attitude provided above, the sentence would be annotated as invoked Affect Unhappiness. It would be annotated as invoked because the attitude target is evaluated in terms of her behaviour, and so the evaluation attribution draws on the following inference: I see Matilde crying, hence Matilde is sad (but maybe she is extremely happy or moved). This redefinition of attitude inscription allows us to examine not only the attitude types associated with the behavers (i.e., individuals with ADHD), but it also elucidates what makes us have a (negative) attitude towards a person –e.g., is it the explicit specification that the person has a diagnosis, their character attributes or the behaviour a person may exhibit? Being able to give account of how behaviour-related attitudes are generated can help to shed light on the construction of stereotypes and the potential stigmatisation that might follow.

5.1 Inscribed evaluations of behaviour

Inscribed evaluations constitute explicit inscriptions of valued meaning to the attitude-target. Table 2 shows the lexicogrammatical resources that mediate the expression of explicit evaluation.

Table 2 Lexicogrammatical realizations of inscribed evaluations

Inscribed evaluations	
Linguistic resources	Examples
Naming	Not identified in the data
Classifier (Adjective) ^ Noun	e.g. <i>You discover all of the missing assignments of your <u>innattentive 5th grader</u> in his desk [...]</i> [-Judgement: Normality] [-Judgement: Capacity'I]
Relational Process Identifying Intensive	e.g. <i>my son changed overnight <u>from [being] the most difficult kid in the classroom</u> [-Judgement: Propriety] <u>with the lowest marks</u> [-Judgement: Capacity] to <u>a model student</u> [+Judgement: Propriety/Capacity]</i>
Relational Process Attributive Intensive	e.g. <i>Children with ADHD are significantly <u>more likely than</u> their peers without ADHD to develop conduct disorder ...</i> [-Judgement: Normality]
Relational Process Attributive Possessive	e.g. <i>My son always <u>has trouble</u> studying...</i> [-Judgement: Capacity]
Noun ^ Qualifier ('with-' phrase)	e.g. <i>Students <u>with focus problems</u> should [...]</i> [-Judgement: Capacity]
Modal verbs (explicit Modality:Ability)	e.g. <i><u>can't sit still</u> [-Judgement: Capacity] [-Judgement: Propriety'I]</i>
Mental processes [Perception, Emotion subtypes]	e.g. [...] <i>the full <u>range of problems experienced</u> by those with ADHD [-Judgement: Capacity]</i>

The lexicogrammatical realisations identified for inscribed attitude allow for a direct transfer of value (of the lexical word) to the individual being evaluated. Direct transfer of value is observed in (i) identifications of the individual with a specific entity or as a member of a class (e.g., 'Matilde is a bully'), (ii) ascription of a feature to the individual (e.g., 'Matilde is aggressive'). While the paradigmatic lexicogrammatical realisation of such relations of identification and attribution are the Identifying and Attributive Relational processes respectively, we can nonetheless distinguish more lexicogrammatical affordances of class and feature attribution.

(i) Transfer of value by identification

- Naming (nouns or nominalised adjectives): total identification of the subject with a salient feature (e.g., ‘Miss Clumsy’) or with a class (e.g., ‘the tyrant’), where the feature and the class are socially or contextually valued.⁶
- Classifiers: class ascription, in English realised by the structure ‘adjective ^ noun’ (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 319–320) (e.g., ‘The clumsy girl’).
- Relational Identifying processes: the identifying relation is explicitly expressed by the process (e.g., ‘Matilde is clumsiness on Earth’).

(ii) Transfer of value by ascription of a feature

- Relational Attributive processes: the relation of feature attribution is explicitly expressed by the process. The feature attribution can be constructed as a description of the individual of the form *A is b*, through Intensive Attribution relations (e.g., ‘Matilde is very clumsy’), but can also be constructed in terms of possession, through Possessive Attributive relations (see Table 2).
- Qualifiers: adscription of a feature, in English it can be realised through a prepositional phrase (e.g., *with-* phrase, ‘the girl with clumsiness’) (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 323).
- Modality Ability: expression of the presence or lack of a feature in terms of ability of the person. The evaluation takes place in those contexts where individuals are expected not to present or to present a feature: evaluation emerges when the (lack of) ability occurs against expectations (e.g., ‘Matilde can’t move nimbly’ would be annotated as a negative Judgement of Capacity, but ‘Matilde can’t fly’ would be a non-evaluative statement).

⁶ Hood and Martin explicitly exclude naming from Attitude and identify it as an involvement resource; while Attitude is described as inherently gradable, naming is regarded as non-gradable (Hood & Martin, 2005: 742). However, wordings such as “the awful tyrant” or “the big inept” can be employed to identify an individual and entail a graduation of the attitude triggered by “tyrant” and “inept”.

- Mental processes of perception and emotion: the feature is directly attributed to the individual in terms of emotion of the experiencer (attitude target) (e.g., ‘Matilde experiences clumsiness’) or perception of the attitude target (e.g., ‘Matilde looks so clumsy today’).

The different linguistic resources can be understood as enabling different degrees of value attribution in accordance with the identification established between the individual and the quality. Thus, different lexicogrammatical representations of a quality, when that quality is value-leaden, can convey different nuances in the value attribution to the subject.

5.2 Invoked evaluations of behaviour

Invoked evaluations comprise the evaluations ascribed to the attitude-target via an inferential process. Table 3 summarises the ‘attitudinal inferences’ identified and the lexicogrammatical resources associated with them; the items in square brackets are optional.

Table 3 Invoked evaluations of individuals as generated through evaluative inference

Invoked evaluations	
Sources of inference	Realisations
(i) Inferred from actions	Process ^ [Goal] ^ [Circumstance] Process ^ Counter-expectation e.g. <i>Often leaves seat in situations when remaining seated is expected</i> [-Judgement: Propriety'I]
(ii) Inferred from (potential) outcomes (of ADHD / ADHD symptoms / behavioural manifestations of the symptoms)	ADHD / Symptom [explicitly stated or elided] ^ Process ^ [Goal] ^ [Circumstance] Nominalisations [actions of the individual] Classifier (e.g. “impulsive”, “distracted”) ^ Noun Description of product action / Report of verbiage of individual e.g. <i>There is also a link between ADHD in children and [...] academic underachievement [...]</i> [-Judgement: Capacity'I]
(iii) Inferred from descriptions of actions of third parties triggered by the actions of the individual with ADHD	Process ^ [Verbiage] ^ [Goal] ^ [Circumstance] e.g. <i>Help these students by pairing them with more mature classmates who can remind them [...]</i> [-Judgement: Capacity'I]
(iv) Inferred from descriptions of situations related to the symptoms of ADHD	e.g. <i>fidget toys can help students burn excess energy and improve focus, without distracting other students</i> [-Judgement: Propriety'I]

According to how close the source of the attitudinal inference is to the attitude target, we can distinguish four levels of invoked evaluation:

(i) Transfer of value from the actions of the individual to the individual

Individuals are evaluated by their actions. The verb of the process is in Finite form and the grammatical subject may be explicit or elided.

- Process ^ [Goal] ^ [Circumstance]

The attitude can be invoked by the semantics of the process or, when the process is not valued, by the Goal (direct object) or the Circumstances (adverbial phrases or clauses), or a combination of them.⁷ In example (8), the evaluative trigger is the Circumstance:

- (8) Often leaves seat in situations when remaining seated is expected [-Judgement: Propriety'I] (APA, 2013: 60)

- Process ^ [Counter-expectation]

The attitude can be invoked by the attribution of counter-expectation to the actions of the individual (e.g., 'Surprisingly, she arrived on time today').⁸ Counter-expectation refers to the situation (event) reported, vis-à-vis the expressions of surprise (e.g., 'I was so surprised to see her there!'), where the speaker is situated as the affected person (by some unexpected stimulus),⁹ or the Judgements of Normality, which present the behaviour or character of the individual as not adhering to standards (e.g., 'He is remarkably tall for a five-year old').

⁷ The importance of the circumstances to ascribe attitude to a process is also commented in Hood & Martin (2005: 749), in particular, the circumstances of manner.

⁸ Counter-expectancy is also identified as a trigger of attitude in Bednarek (2009b: 118) and Martin & White (2005: 67). In Bednarek's (2009b) classification of invoked attitude, counter-expectancy, like other resources outside the Attitude system, allows for 'triggered attitudes'.

⁹ In Bednarek (2009a: 165), this expression of surprise is described as a subcategory of Affect.

- (9) It may not be a huge deal to some, but my 8 year old daughter got out the door for school ON TIME this morning, even after doing her routine [...] [+Judgement: Propriety'I] (Forum)

In example (9), the fact that the child behaves as it would be commonly expected is presented as unusual (counter-expected), triggering a positive evaluation.

(ii) Transfer of value from the (potential) behavioural outcomes

Individuals are evaluated by the outcomes associated with the diagnosis or its behavioural traits. The individual-behaver is not referred to and the outcomes (i.e., behaviours, states or incidents associated with ADHD) are mainly either explicitly attributed to ADHD or the symptoms, or represented as nominalisations.

- ADHD / symptomatic behaviour (explicitly stated or elided) ^ Process ^ [Goal] ^ [Circumstance]

Evaluation may be invoked by the semantics of the Goal or the Circumstances in which the behaviour takes place. In example (10), the negative evaluation is triggered by the increased risk of substance abuse associated with the diagnosis:

- (10) [...] having ADHD increases the risk of substance abuse [...] [-Judgement: Normality'I] (Guideline)

- Nominalisation of actions of the individual: evaluation invoked by the semantics (see example 2).
- Classifier ^ Noun: the Classifier is a valued adjective (e.g., “distracted”, “impulsive”) and the Noun refers to a behaviour of the individual (e.g., “behaviour”, “attitude”).
- Description of the product of the behaviour or action.

When the behaviour depicted is a verbal action, reporting the speech of the individual can function as a source of evaluation. In example (11), the negative judgement of the cognitive capacity of the child to stay focused is inferred from the report of a full dialogue, which portrays the child (the initiator of the question-answer exchange) as unable to repair the exchange because he has already forgotten the question that he was about to ask.

- (11) this happens multiple times a day.
- "Mom!"
- "Yes son"
- "Mom!"
- "What?"
- "MOM!"
- "Come in here, I can't hear you in there"
- **he walks in the room**
- "What did you want son?"
- "Ummm, nevermind" [-Judgement: Capacity'I] (Forum)

(iii) Transfer of value from the impact of the behaviour of the individual on third parties as evidenced in the descriptions provided by the latter

- Process ^ [Verbiage] ^ [Goal] ^ [Circumstance]: the attitude is invoked by the semantics of the process, the Goal or Verbiage, the Circumstances, or a combination of them.

Individuals are evaluated with reference to third parties' verbal and kinetic actions that have taken place (example 12), or are to be realised (example 13), in response to the actions of the individuals with ADHD.

- (12) your brother in law asks you to get him to be quiet and you say "If you can think of a way then let me know" to which he responds "then can you get him to go somewhere I'm not" [-Judgement: Propriety'I] (Forum)
- (13) Help these students by pairing them with more mature classmates who can remind them [...] [-Judgement: Capacity'I] (Guidelines)

In example (12) the child with ADHD is inferred as the cause of the annoying behaviour that has triggered the request of the brother-in-law. In example (13), the recurrent inappropriate behaviour observed in students with ADHD stands as the ultimate cause of the guideline's recommendation for the teachers.

(iv) Transfer of value from depictions of situations related to the behaviour of the attitude target

General descriptions of situations related to the symptoms can function as sources of attitudinal inferences when the presence of ADHD-related difficulties stands as the ultimate cause or explanatory reason. The description provided in example (14) depicts students with hyperactivity as source of distraction for the other students in class:

- (14) fidget toys can help students burn excess energy and improve focus, without distracting other students [-Judgement: Propriety'I] (Guidelines)

The evaluative inferences distinguished present the grounds that inform our assessments of people, allowing us to compare the texts studied by attitude and inference types, the latter dependent, to a great extent, on the textual genre. It is important to note that neither inferences nor evaluative connections are necessary (White 2006: 49 and 55). Evaluative inferences are non-necessary insofar as they ultimately rely on the reader's knowledge or cultural values.¹⁰ The non-

¹⁰The literature distinguishes inferences by deduction (necessary true) from inferences from induction or abduction (non-necessary) (see Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, "Abduction"). Truth conditions do not apply to evaluation, but the distinction shows whether the inference follows from established premises (deduction), or whether it follows from case observations (induction and abduction). Evaluative inferences belong to the second group, from the assessment of the result of an action (what we observe), we infer a judgement of the actor.

necessity of evaluative connections is evidenced when we consider processes frequently associated with negative (or positive) attitudinal evaluations (e.g., ‘to disrupt’), but which may change their evaluative valence with the direct object that follows them (e.g., a dictatorial regime). The linguistic resources noted above in square brackets (e.g., direct objects, circumstances) can trigger evaluations or override default ones.

6. Invoked evaluations of behaviour as metonymic-based attitudinal inferences

Invoked evaluations of human behaviour have been described as an inferential process requiring more or less inferential work. Evaluations of the individuals are mainly inferred from descriptions of their behaviours or actions, from behavioural outcomes, or from the actions that third parties have taken or are advised to take in response to the ADHD-related behaviour. Expanding Bednarek’s account of ‘metonymically implicated attitudes’ (2009b: 118), indirect evaluations of people and their behaviour can be understood as being metonymically motivated. The metonymic basis explains the apparent automatic character of evaluation in our interaction with phenomena, while accounting for the lack of necessity of such evaluations.

Metonymy constitutes an essential cognitive tool for inferential processes: a part of a scenario or Idealised Cognitive Model (ICM) is employed to evoke the whole scenario or another part of it (Gibbs 1999: 67). The trigger (source) of the metonymic inference and its target are in conceptual contiguity, and for the inference to take place this ‘conceptual contiguity’ has to be well-understood by the participants in the context of interaction (Radden & Kövecses 1999: 19). Evaluative inferences as the ones identified in Section 4.2 occur within an action scenario. Figure 1¹¹ illustrates the action scenario, and Figure 2 the elements of the action scenario in evaluative inferences. The trigger of the inference is what we observe: the behaviour of a human behavior, the behavioural outcomes, or the actions that this behaviour may trigger upon third parties. The

¹¹ See Panther and Thornburg (1998: 759–760, 2017: 281) for a developed exposition of action scenarios as applied to speech acts.

target of the inference is our appraisal of the human behavior, the ultimate cause of the perceived phenomena.

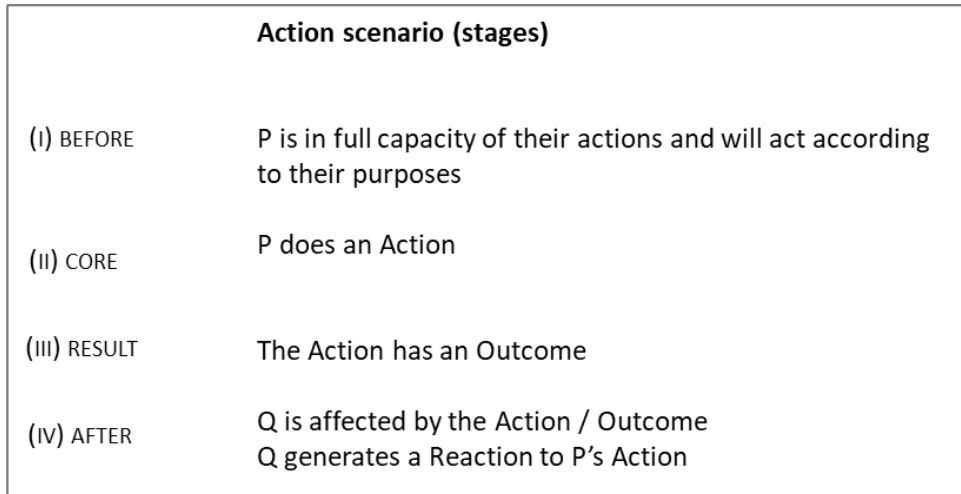


Figure 1. Action scenario

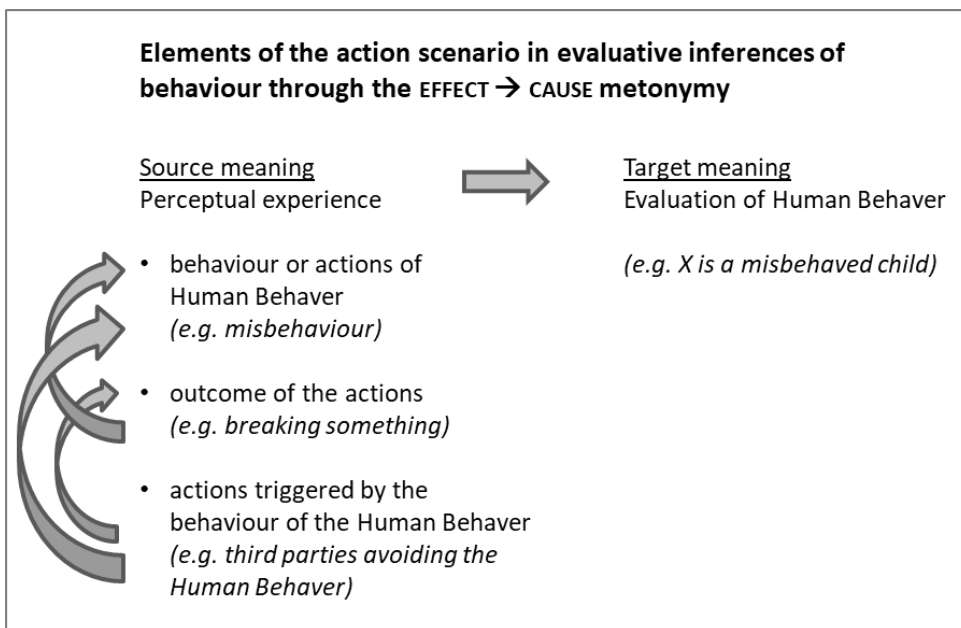


Figure 2. Elements of the action scenario in evaluative inferences

The different parts of the scenario (i.e., human behavior, behaviour, behavioural outcome, and reaction that this behaviour may cause on a third party) are metonymically inferred through an EFFECT→CAUSE relationship, where “effect” stands for what we see (i.e., the trigger of the inference), and “cause” for what we infer (see Panther & Thornburg 2017: 289 for a development

of EFFECT→CAUSE as a high-level metonymy). We do not need to perceive all the sequence of the action scenario to understand the full event; the observation (or recount) of any of its parts triggers the inference of the preceding ones. Whenever we observe a behaviour, action or performance, we infer a human behavior; whenever we perceive some (human) outcome, we infer the action that may have generated it, which ultimately points back to some known or unknown actor; and whenever we see somebody's reaction to somebody else's behaviours or actions, we make some inference about those actions and whoever did them. The inference draws a causal chain between the different parts of the scenario. In recounting the event, the decision to focus on one part instead of another varies according to communicative purposes. Accordingly, in the corpus studied, the educational guidelines focus on the actions that the teachers have to take to address ADHD-related behaviour; the DSM-V prioritises descriptions of the behaviours and their potential outcomes; and the forum users mostly describe the actions of the children and may refer to the actions of third parties, the latter mainly for rhetorical purposes (to support their descriptions or elicit humour).

Consider example (12) from the forum threads (“your brother in law asks you to get him to be quiet [...]”). The forum user is reporting a request of a third party (her brother-in-law). The reference to the request (getting the child to be quiet) allows us to infer the behaviour that he is complaining about (potential restless or intrusive behaviour) and the individual responsible for the action (the child with ADHD). The report of the request allows us to infer the whole event that triggered it, from which follows the inferred negative evaluation of the child (judgement of inappropriateness). The invoked evaluation of the child's behaviour is metonymically motivated, grounded upon an effect-cause relation: the ‘effect’ observed (the brother-in-law complaining) stands for its ‘cause’ (the child misbehaving). In action scenarios as the one described, the ultimate cause is a human behavior in all cases.

The EFFECT→CAUSE metonymic relation within the action scenario is hypothesised as a ‘natural inference schema’ for evaluation inferring. Describing metonymic principles as ‘natural

inference schemata' entails that metonymy allows for "easily activable associations among concepts that can be used for inferential purposes" (Panther & Thornburg 2003: 8). The automatic tendency to establish effect-cause relations in our perception of behaviour and behavioural outcomes explains the "Russian Dolls" identified in the analysis of Attitude in the corpus studied. The phenomenon is illustrated in examples (2) and (3): we observe a primary evaluation of the result of the performance or of the performance on its own (i.e., Appreciation, "careless mistakes", "excessive motor activity"), from which we infer a negative Judgement (of Capacity or Propriety) of the individual. Basing behaviour-related evaluations of individuals on an EFFECT→CAUSE metonymic relation entails that the "Russian Dolls" are inevitable due to our tendency to conceive reality in causative terms.

The EFFECT→CAUSE metonymy also explains the directionality of the attitudinal inferences: Appreciation attitude types (evaluation of things and performances) are commonly identified as tokens of invoked Judgements (evaluation of the individuals), but not vice versa (i.e., inference of Appreciation from Judgement). If we consider the prefabricated example 'The last Iggy Pop's concert was terrible', we observe an inscribed negative Appreciation of the concert and an inference of a negative Judgement of the musician. The reverse evaluative inference (Appreciation from Judgement) does not occur from a decontextualised description of the singer (e.g., 'Iggy Pop doesn't sing as he used to do'). The Appreciation would only get inferred from the Judgement through a conversational implicature:

A: How was Iggy Pop's concert last Saturday?

B: Iggy Pop doesn't sing as he used to do.

Except in those cases where the effect (the concert) is contextually implicitly referred to by the cause (current inability of the singer), the EFFECT→CAUSE metonymy stands as the default inference schema, the cause (human behavior) is inferred from the perceived phenomena.

Accounting for the evaluation of human behaviour as based upon metonymy-based inferences means that it is not possible to provide negative or positive descriptions of behavioural manifestations and their outcomes without, at the same time, transferring the evaluation to the individual that displays them; any behavioural stereotype comes with an evaluation (judgement) of the individuals that manifest the behaviour considered. However, since metonymic inferences are conceptually non-necessary (can be cancelled), understanding the attitudes that we hold towards individuals and how the evaluative process takes place should allow us to challenge (negative) preconceptions.

7. Attitudes associated to ADHD

The analysis of evaluation in the corpus studied shows that ADHD-related behaviour is commonly perceived negatively via references to the diagnosed individuals' inappropriate behaviour and below-average academic capabilities. Table 4 below summarises the evaluation types associated with ADHD. Evaluations were identified as linked to ADHD when "ADHD" is explicitly referred to, or when the actions or situations described are understood as caused by the diagnosis (not related to any symptom in particular). Invoked evaluations are predominant in all genres, with evaluation overall more frequent in the forum threads and the educational guidelines than the DSM.

Table 4 Evaluation types associated with ADHD

Inscribed Evaluation types	Textual genre	Invoked Evaluation types	Textual genre
Judgement Normality	DSM Forum Educational guidelines	Judgement Normality	DSM Forum Educational guidelines
Judgment Capacity	DSM Forum Educational guidelines	Judgment Capacity	DSM Forum Educational guidelines
Judgement Propriety	DSM Forum Educational guidelines	Judgement Propriety	DSM Forum Educational guidelines
Affect unhappiness (projected)	Educational guidelines	Affect unhappiness (projected)	Educational guidelines
Appreciation Reaction Quality	Educational guidelines	Affect Insecurity (projected)	Educational guidelines
Appreciation Reaction Impact	Educational guidelines		
Appreciation Valuation	Educational guidelines		

Inscribed and invoked evaluations present a negative valence in their majority across the three genres. Some explicit positive evaluations were identified in the forum threads regarding children’s academic skills and appropriateness of behaviour; invoked positive evaluations by counter-expectation were also distinguished in the educational guidelines.

Inscribed and invoked projections of Affect towards the individuals with ADHD and Appreciation types with ADHD as evaluative target were only observed in the educational guidelines. Appreciations evaluate ADHD in terms of its severity (Reaction:Impact), its implications (Reaction:Quality), and its clinical validity (Valuation). The recurrent positive evaluations of clinical validity present ADHD as a condition that should be acknowledged and addressed in the social community. The lack of capacity and behavioural inappropriateness is

attributable to the medical condition, attenuating the negative Judgements of the children. The association of the negative valence with clinical significance is noticeable in the DSM, where deviation from the average population, lack of capacity and behavioural inappropriateness are not understood as failures to meet social expectations but as symptomatic traits. This contrasts with the forum threads, where the semantic load of the evaluative valence does not connote pathology but adherence or non-adherence to social values or expectations.

Table 5 below summarises the evaluative inferences identified for each textual genre and the attitude types invoked. The evaluative inferences are ordered by level of implicitness, from less to more reliance on the inferential process. The most common attitude types inferred from ADHD-related behaviour are negative judgements about inappropriateness or lack of capacity of the individual.

Table 5 Evaluative inferences and invoked attitude types for ADHD

DSM		Forum threads		Educational guidelines	
1	<p>Actions attributed to the individual</p> <p>Judgement: Capacity'I Judgement: Propriety'I</p>	<p>Actions of the child (with or without expression of counter-expectation)</p> <p>Judgement: Capacity'I Judgement: Propriety'I</p>	<p>Actions of the student (with or without expression of counter-expectation)</p> <p>Judgement: Normality'I Judgement: Capacity'I Judgement: Propriety'I Affect: Insecurity'I Affect: Unhappiness'I</p>		
2	<p>Description of potential outcomes of the diagnosis</p> <p>Judgement: Normality'I Judgement: Capacity'I Judgement: Propriety'I</p>	<p>Description of outcomes of actions associated with ADHD</p> <p>Judgement: Normality'I Judgement: Propriety'I</p>	<p>Description of potential outcomes of ADHD or the stimulants</p> <p>Judgement: Capacity'I Judgement: Propriety'I Affect: Happiness'I Affect: Insecurity'I</p>		
3		<p>Description of outcomes of other people's actions (verbal or non-verbal), in their turn triggered by the actions of the children</p> <p>Judgement: Normality'I Judgement: Propriety'I</p>	<p>Actions advised to teachers to manage ADHD-related behaviour</p> <p>Judgement: Normality'I Judgement: Capacity'I Judgement: Propriety'I Affect: Unhappiness'I</p>		
4			<p>Description of situations arisen due to ADHD</p> <p>Judgement: Capacity'I</p>		

The analysis shows that the negative evaluations are not associated with ADHD as label, but to the behavioural traits associated with the condition. These findings echo psychology studies on stigma, which have suggested that ADHD stigmatisation is not a direct consequence of the diagnosis or the medication, but arises from perceptions of its behavioural traits (Canu *et al.* 2008: 700; Singh *et al.* 2010: 191). Hence negative stereotypes and stigma are related to the negative evaluation of certain characteristics, not to the absence of positive attributes (Walker *et al.* 2008: 918).

8. Concluding remarks

This paper has offered an annotation scheme to systematise the study of the evaluation of behaviour. Inscribed evaluations are distinguished according to grammar-based linguistic triggers, and invoked evaluations of human behaviour according to evaluative inference: from the individuals' actions, the outcomes of the actions, the actions that other people perform in response to the behaviours of the individual, and descriptions of general situations provoked by the behaviour evaluated. All indirect evaluations of behaviour are predicted to fall into one of these inferences. Distinguishing different levels of attitude inscription (for the inscribed type) and inference (for the invoked) is particularly useful in studying the evaluation of behaviour: it shows how directly evaluations are associated with the person, making stereotypes (and the stigma that may follow) more or less salient in communication.

Evaluations of behaviour are derived from an EFFECT→CAUSE metonymy relation between the parts of an action scenario: value is transferred from a particular sub-event (the performance of the action, the action's outcome, or the reaction of a third party) onto the human behavior, who is understood as the ultimate cause of the events observed. Understanding the EFFECT→CAUSE metonymy as a 'natural inference schema' provides an explanation for the usual presentation of the "Russian Dolls" in analyses of the evaluations associated with human behaviour and performances (i.e., Appreciations that function as triggers of invoked Judgements). Understanding how indirect evaluations of behaviour are generated may be productive in studying how evaluation functions in stereotyping and stigmatisation processes.

The analysis has evidenced that negative evaluations associated with ADHD are triggered by ADHD-related behaviour rather than the label of the condition, echoing psychology studies on ADHD stigma which link stigma to behaviour perception. This suggests that negative stereotyping and stigmatisation may be conditioned by the perceivers' personality and knowledge of the condition.

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