

Comparing Evaluative Language in the Corpora of South Korean Government and NGO Documents on Environmental Issues*

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The current study compares the use of evaluative language in the press releases on environmental issues, published online by the South Korean Ministry of Environment and two non-governmental environmental organizations: Green Korea United and Korean Federation for Environmental Movement. The analysis combines the Appraisal Systems with keyword analysis using corpus techniques. The keywords of the government corpus indicate the government's emphasis on representing green issues as a matter of practice and a goal to achieve, and the keywords of the NGO corpus highlight the NGO's concern with the government's role and policy-making. Meanwhile, the quantification of Appraisal reveals how the Appraisal Systems are distributed and used to convey different views on green issues.

Keywords: evaluation, appraisal systems, corpus, keywords, environmental issues, green growth, NGO, ministry of environment

1. Introduction

This study examines the use of evaluative language in the press releases on environmental issues, published online by the South Korean Ministry of Environment and two non-governmental environmental or-

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ganizations: *noksaykyenhap* (Green Korea United) and *hwankyengwuntongyenhap* (Korean Federation for Environmental Movement). The study aims to examine how evaluation is performed from two conflicting perspectives, and can be systematically measured and compared. While it is expected that the government and NGOs differ in their stance on green issues, we are interested to find out how these differences (or similarities) are manifest linguistically, in particular, in terms of evaluative patterns. As the main analytical framework, the Appraisal Systems is used (Martin 2000, White 2001, Martin and White 2005) in combination with keyword analysis. The Appraisal framework offers a comprehensive way of investigating patterns of evaluation in texts. Although it is designed for a qualitative application, the study attempts to apply the Appraisal framework to corpus data. The framework is introduced in Section 4.1 and the results of analysis are discussed in Section 4.2.

2. Data and Corpus-building

As introduced in the previous section, the data used in the study are press releases and statements taken from the homepages of the South Korean Ministry of Environment and the two non-governmental environmental organizations: *hwankyengwuntongyenhap* (Korean Federation for Environmental Movement) and *noksaykyenhap* (Green Korea United) between the year 2008 and 2012. Texts are collected using the phrase *noksaysengcang* (green growth) as the search term as it represents the flagship environmental policy of the then government (M-H Bang and S-I Shin 2012). The texts downloaded from the websites of the two NGOs form one sub-corpus, which is compared with the corpus of the texts from the Ministry of Environment (MoE). Table 1 shows the summary of the resulting corpora in size:

Table 1. Summary of the MoE and NGO corpora

| | Data source | Numbers of documents | Numbers of words | Hits of 'green growth' |
|------------|--|----------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| MoE corpus | Ministry of Environment | 209 | 225,534 | 1,655 |
| NGO corpus | Korean Federation for Environmental Movement | 19 | 16,603 | 308 |
| | Green Korea United | 87 | 14,545 | 121 |

There are significant differences in the number of the texts and words between the two sub-corpora. Additionally, and more importantly, it is found that the texts from the MoE and the two NGOs differ in nature even though they are published as press releases and statements. The texts in the NGO corpus are more of an editorial, while the texts in the MoE corpus are mostly in the form of public announcements, and short in length, as illustrated by two extracts from the MoE and NGO corpora given in Table 2:

Table 2. Text samples from the MoE and NGO corpora

| |
|---|
| <p>(1) MoE corpus: 2010 녹색기업 환경정보공개 리포트 발간 ◇ 기업환경정보 공개제도 도입 일환으로 녹색기업의 기업 환경정보 우선 공개, 향후 공개대상 기업의 지속적 확대 추진</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 기업환경정보공개시스템(EMIS: Environmental Management Information System) 구축 및 공개 - 기업환경정보의 투명성 제고로 녹색경영 강국 도약 신호탄 띄워 |
| <p>(2) NGO corpus: 그럼에도 불구하고 입법예고의 절차적인 문제점과 곳곳에 의도를 지닌 것으로 보이는 독소조항, 부족한 내용 등으로 인해 사회적 반발과 혼란을 불러일으킬 것으로 보이며 저탄소 녹색성장이 현 정부의 정치적 목적으로 오용되고 미사여구를 동원한 말잔치에 그칠 우려가 있어 13가지 항목으로 의견서를 제출했다.</p> |

Even when MoE is defending itself from a negative media report, it is done in an as a matter of fact manner simply by giving statistical in-

formation as in the example in Table 3.

Table 3. An additional text sample from the MoE corpus

2011년 12월 21일 오마이뉴스 “녹색성장? 강물이 온통 ‘녹색’...기막히다”에 대하여 다음과 같이 설명합니다.

...

□ 설명 내용

- 최근(12.20일) 강정고령보의 조류농도인 클로로필-a 측정값은 8.4 mg/m³으로 보로 인해 조류가 증가했다고 볼 수 없음 - 참고로 동 수치는 인근 국가측정망인 달성지점(보 상류 500 m 이내에 위치)의 '08~'10년 12월의 클로로필-a 평균 측정값과 비교하여 낮거나 유사한 수준임.

<달성지점 12월 클로로필-a 측정값>

| 년도 | 클로로필-a(mg/m ³) | | |
|------|----------------------------|------|------|
| | 평균값 | 최대값 | 최소값 |
| 2008 | 22.9 | 31.0 | 11.1 |
| 2009 | 22.9 | 41.4 | 10.6 |
| 2010 | 8.0 | 8.8 | 7.1 |

This is something unforeseen, and poses a question on the viability of comparing such unbalanced corpora in size and text type. What may be called a side effect of this considerable size difference between the two corpora is reflected in the number of keywords for the two corpora, which will be presented in Section 3.1 However, due to the lack of alternative sources of data, a decision was taken to proceed with the current data. Despite the initial reservation on the size and nature of the data, it has still yielded some insightful results, as will be discussed in Section 4.2.

3. Keyword Analysis and Appraisal

3.1. Keywords and Collocates

For keyword analysis, the Wordsmith Tools is used (Scott 2003). Typically, keywords are produced by comparing a smaller specialized

corpus against a reference corpus, which is bigger in size and represents more general type of the target language (ibid). However, keywords in this study are generated by comparing the two sub-corpora against each other. This method for keyword generation finds precedents in studies such as Baker (2006) and Kilgariff (2012). Kilgariff argues that keyword lists of one corpus against another provide a ‘direct, practical and fascinating way to explore the characteristics of corpora, and of text types (ibid: 1). The keywords identified from the analysis are words that distinguish the MoE corpus from the NGO corpus and the vice versa, therefore providing insight into what aspects of green issues are given priority in the two corpora. Figure 1 below is the screen shot of the keyword list display for the MoE corpus generated by the Wordsmith Tools (Scott 2003):

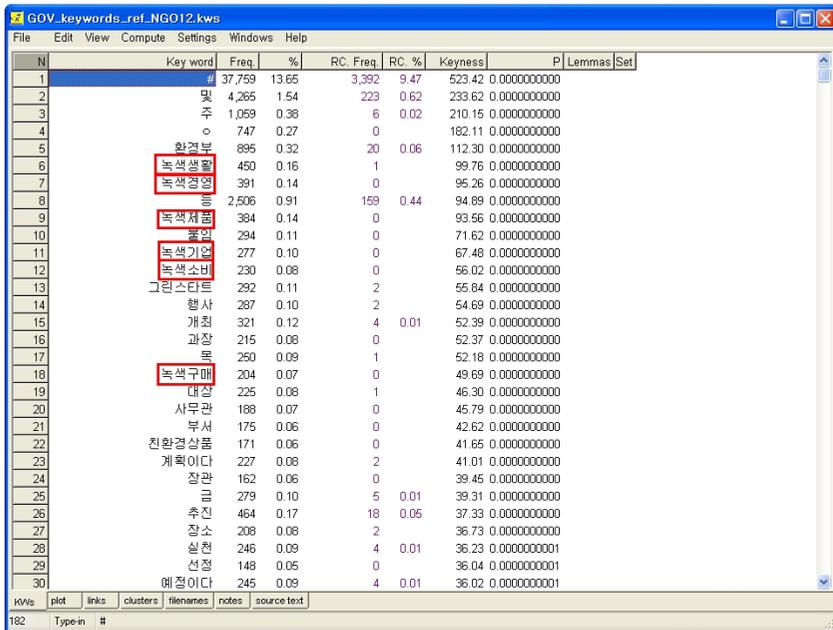


Figure 1. Keyword display in the Wordsmith Tools.

Table 4 shows the full list of keywords for the MoE corpus.

Table 4. The keywords of the MoE corpus

| Categories | Keywords |
|---|--|
| Nouns related to practice of going green | <i>noksaysaysaynghwal</i> (녹색생활), <i>noksaykceyphwum</i> (녹색제품), <i>noksaysopsi</i> (녹색소비), <i>noksaykkwumay</i> (녹색구매), <i>noksaykkiep</i> (녹색기업), <i>kulinsuthathu</i> (그린스타트), <i>chinhwankyengsangphwum</i> (친환경상품), <i>kulinkhatu</i> (그린카드), <i>noksaykkyenyeng</i> (녹색경영), <i>hwankyengsanep</i> (환경산업), <i>sewulinisyethipu</i> (서울이니서티브), <i>hwankyengphyoci</i> (환경표지) |
| Nouns referring to participants in the process of going green | <i>hwankyengpwu</i> (환경부), <i>kiep</i> (기업), <i>hankwukhwankyengsanepkismulwen</i> (한국환경산업기술원), <i>kwacang</i> (과장), <i>samwukwan</i> (사무관), <i>cangkwan</i> (장관), <i>kyoswu</i> (교수) |
| Nouns referring to actions of practice and promotion of going green | <i>silchen</i> (실천), <i>kiye</i> (기여), <i>ceyco</i> (제조), <i>kaychoy</i> (개최), <i>chwu-cin</i> (추진), <i>senceng</i> (선정), <i>sokay</i> (소개), <i>kwuchwuk</i> (구축), <i>cey-kong</i> (제공), <i>hongpo</i> (홍보), <i>kyoyuk</i> (교육), <i>censi</i> (전시), <i>cheyhem</i> (체험), <i>cheykyel</i> (체결) |
| Nouns related to industry | <i>cenki</i> (전기), <i>hwahak</i> (화학), <i>sepisu</i> (서비스), <i>sisuheyim</i> (시스템) |
| Modifiers | <i>wuswu</i> (우수), <i>cenkwuk</i> (전국), <i>capalcek</i> (자발적) |
| Verbs | <i>kyeyhoykita</i> (계획이다), <i>yecengita</i> (예정이다), <i>iyonghan</i> (이용한) |
| Nouns related to organization of promotional activities | <i>hayngsa</i> (행사), <i>cangso</i> (장소), <i>ilsi</i> (일시), <i>taysang</i> (대상), <i>chwuchoy</i> (주최), <i>chwukwan</i> (주관), <i>mok</i> (목), <i>kum</i> (금), <i>hwa</i> (화), <i>potosicem</i> (보도시점), <i>calyopayphoil</i> (자료배포일), <i>mayswu</i> (매수), <i>pwuse</i> (부서) |

The keywords give an overall picture of how green issues are construed in the MoE corpus. The focus seems to be on construing environmental issues as a matter of practice and promotion, and the government, i.e. the Ministry of Environment as playing a lead role in promotion, which is reflected in the keywords such as *hongpo* (promotion), *kyoyuk* (education), *senceng* (selection), *sokay* (introduction), and *kwuchwuk* (establishment). The presence of keywords related to organization of promotional activities such as *hayngsa* (event), *cangso* (venue), and *ilsi* (date) furthers the public campaign-like construal of the practice of environmentalism. A very different picture, on the other hand, emerges from the keywords of the NGO corpus. There are 301 keywords identified from the NGO corpus, which far outnumber the 68 keywords identified from the MoE corpus. As mentioned in the previous section, this discrepancy is due to comparing the far larger-sized

MoE corpus with the much smaller sized NGO corpus as the reference corpus.

The full list is not given here due to the limited space. The scan of the list has thrown up a number of possibilities for grouping of the keywords. Table 5 shows the main groups with the keywords representing each group. This should suffice to highlight what is characteristic of the perspective on the environmental issues presented in the NGO corpus.

Table 5. The keywords of the NGO corpus

| Categories | | Keywords |
|----------------------------|--|--|
| Nouns | References to the South Korean government | <i>imyengpak(이명박), taythonglyengun(대통령은), taythonglyengi(대통령이), cengpwunun(정부는), cengpwuuy(정부의), cengpwuka(정부가), cengpwu(정부), hankwucengpwuuy(한국정부의)</i> |
| | References to South Korea | <i>kwukkauy(국가의), hankwuk(한국), hankwuksahoyuy(한국사회의), hankwukeyse(한국에서), hankwukuy(한국의)</i> |
| | References to green growth and related legislation | <i>noksaysengcangun(녹색성장은), noksaysengcangi(녹색성장이다), noksaysengcangkiponpep(녹색성장기본법), noksaysengcangkiponpepan(녹색성장기본법안), noksaysengcangkiponpepun(녹색성장기본법은), noksaysengcangkiponpepul(녹색성장기본법을), noksaysengcangkiponpepuy(녹색성장기본법의), peplyullo(법률로), pepan(법안), pepanun(법안은), pepuy(법의), sihaynglyeng(시행령), ippep(입법), ceycengan(제정안)</i> |
| | References to nuclear energy issues | <i>eyneci(에너지), eynecalipto(에너지자립도), eynecihyoyulkwa(에너지효율과), caysayngkanungeyneci(재생가능에너지), ceeyneci(저에너지), wencalyek(원자력), wencalyekpalcen(원자력발전), wencalyekun(원자력은), wencalyekuy(원자력의), wencen(원전), haykpalcen(핵발전), haykyunghapeyneci(핵융합에너지), hwukhwusima(후쿠시마)</i> |
| References to conservation | <i>noksaykewisullo(녹색기술로), noksaykwuntong(녹색운동), pocen(보전), taykipocen(대기보전), psychwulkwen(배출권), kelaycey(거래제), chonghyangceyhan(총량제한), kihwuwuntong(기후운동), kulinpeylthu(그린벨트), wensilimul(원시림을), kyuceywanhwa(규제완화), sangswuwen(상수원), pyengip(병입), swutosmwul(수돗물), swupyen(수변), supciuy(습지의), sayngmyengkonghak(생명공학), oyemcapwutamwenchikey(오염자부담원칙에), hwankyengpwuncayngkwa(환경분쟁과), sayngthaymwunhwatosi(생태문화도시)</i> | |

| Categories | | Keywords |
|------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Nouns | References to controversial issues | <i>kangcengmaul</i> (강정마을), <i>ceywu haykwunkici</i> (제주해군기지), <i>haykwunkici</i> (해군기지), <i>ceywu</i> (제주), <i>saymankum</i> (새만금), <i>WCC</i> , <i>seykyeycayenpocenchonghoy</i> (세계자연보전총회), <i>ceywu chonghoy</i> (제주총회), <i>chonghoyey</i> (총회에), <i>chonghoyuy</i> (총회의), <i>paluyan</i> (발의인), <i>cengpisaep</i> (정비사업), <i>saepkwa</i> (사업과), <i>saepuy</i> (사업의), <i>wunha</i> (운하), <i>noksaykpwunchil</i> (녹색분칠), <i>noksaykwukum</i> (녹색죽음), <i>makkaypal</i> (막개발) |
| | General nouns | <i>kanungsengi</i> (가능성이), <i>kaynyemulo</i> (개념으로), <i>kiponwenchik</i> (기본원칙), <i>kiponwenchikey</i> (기본원칙에), <i>nayyongul</i> (내용을), <i>nayyongi</i> (내용이), <i>tayanhayngtong</i> (대안행동), <i>mokphyolul</i> (목표를), <i>mokphyowa</i> (목표와), <i>mwunuy</i> (문의), <i>mwunceyka</i> (문제가), <i>mwunceylul</i> (문제를), <i>mwunceycem</i> (문제점), <i>pantay</i> (반대), <i>sako</i> (사고), <i>sahoycek</i> (사회적), <i>swutanulo</i> (수단으로), <i>siminsahoyuy</i> (시민사회의), <i>silsangul</i> (실상을), <i>yakcawa</i> (약자와), <i>yeyko</i> (예고), <i>yeysan</i> (예산), <i>yeysanun</i> (예산은), <i>yeysani</i> (예산이), <i>wulyeka</i> (우려가), <i>wulyelul</i> (우려를), <i>wulinun</i> (우리는), <i>wenchikey</i> (원칙에), <i>wikiey</i> (위기에), <i>iikul</i> (이익을), <i>ipcang</i> (입장), <i>ipcangul</i> (입장을), <i>cemangchi</i> (전망치), <i>cengsiney</i> (정신에), <i>cenguyeyse</i> (정의에서), <i>cwungcangki</i> (중장기), <i>hapuyka</i> (합의가), <i>hwankyengcenguy</i> (환경정의), <i>hwaltongul</i> (활동을), <i>hwaltongi</i> (활동이) |
| | Verbs | <i>kwanlihayeya</i> (관리하여야), <i>malyentoyeya</i> (마련되어야), <i>mactolok</i> (맞도록), <i>myengsihayya</i> (명시해야), <i>phakoyhamun</i> (파괴하는), <i>phaakhamun</i> (파악하는), <i>palsayngsikhimye</i> (발생시키며), <i>pwukyelsikhica</i> (부결시키자), <i>sakceytoyeya</i> (삭제되어야), <i>sakceyhayya</i> (삭제해야), <i>selcenghako</i> (설정하고), <i>sihaynghayeya</i> (시행하여야), <i>enkuphan</i> (언급한), <i>yokwuha-ko</i> (요구하고), <i>yochenghanta</i> (요청한다), <i>phyohanta</i> (표현다), <i>cinhaynghayssta</i> (진행한다), <i>palsayngsikhimye</i> (발생시키며), <i>malyentoyeya</i> (마련되어야), <i>sihaynghayeya</i> (시행하여야), <i>cey-sihan</i> (제시한), <i>ceychwulhan</i> (제출한), <i>cenlakhal</i> (전략할), <i>palsaynggal</i> (발생할), <i>toyeya</i> (되어야), <i>hatolok</i> (하도록), <i>hayya</i> (해야), <i>anita</i> (아니다), <i>anila</i> (아니라), <i>anin</i> (아닌), <i>anhko</i> (않고), <i>anhkilul</i> (않기를), <i>anhtolok</i> (않도록), <i>anhassta</i> (않았다) |

| Categories | Keywords |
|------------|--|
| modifiers | <i>kiphun</i> (깊은), <i>pwunmyenghan</i> (분명한), <i>saylowun</i> (새로운), <i>simkakhan</i> (심각한), <i>cwungyohan</i> (중요한), <i>cincenghan</i> (진정한), <i>choyakuy</i> (최악의), <i>chimyengcekin</i> (치명적인), <i>ilpangcek</i> (일방적), <i>sahoycek</i> (사회적), <i>kecis</i> (거짓), <i>tanki</i> (단기), <i>thukceng</i> (특정), <i>MB</i> , <i>MBphyo</i> (MB표), <i>MBsik</i> (MB식) |
| adverbials | <i>kulena</i> (그러나), <i>kuliko</i> (그리고), <i>italase</i> (따라서), <i>ttohan</i> (또한), <i>ohilye</i> (오히려), <i>haciman</i> (하지만), <i>kulemeyto</i> (그럼에도), <i>kyelkwuk</i> (결국), <i>sasilsang</i> (사실상), <i>pwunmyenghi</i> (분명히), <i>tasi</i> (다시), <i>tayphok</i> (대폭), <i>te</i> (더), <i>yecenhi</i> (여전히), <i>yeksi</i> (역시), <i>imi</i> (이미), <i>icey</i> (이제), <i>ceytaylo</i> (제대로), <i>cikum</i> (지금), <i>chay</i> (채), <i>kwukceyceculo</i> (국제적으로), <i>ilpangcekulo</i> (일방적으로) |

The keywords of the NGO corpus reveal the focus on the government's policy-making on environmental issues. There are a couple of things to note. Firstly, the most verb keywords are modalized with inflections expressing obligation such *toyeya*(되어야) and *hayeya*(하여야), and the keywords also include other inflections of modality such as *hayya*(해야) and *hatolok*(하도록), and negation such as *anita*(아니다), *anila*(아니라), *anin*(아닌), *anhko*(않고), *anhkilul*(않기를), *anhhtolok*(않도록), and *anhassta*(않았다). Secondly, the modifiers are evaluative either explicitly or implicitly. Most of the keywords in the adverbial group can also be used evaluatively, which will be discussed in Section 4.2. It is suspected that the texts in the NGO corpus are evaluative in nature, and the government's policy-making and actions are the main candidates for evaluation.

The keyword analysis has shown agendas and interests of the two groups concerning green issues. This is a useful starting point, shaping further analysis. As mentioned earlier, the second part of analysis uses the Appraisal Framework. As a qualitative approach, it is time-consuming, and the amount of data analyzed is limited. For further analysis, two sets of keywords are selected. *silchen* (practice: 246 occurrences) is chosen from the keyword list of the MoE corpus, as it represents a key concept around which the government's approach to issues of going green revolves. There are a total of 685 occurrences of *silchen* and words or phrases containing *silchen* (practice) such as *silchenul* (practice - object), *silchenuy* (practice - possessive), *silchenulo* (prac-

tice - adverbial), *silchenhanun* (practicing), and *silchenwuntong* (campaign for the practice). Put together, they form the second most frequent keyword group of the MoE corpus, following the keyword *hwan-kyengpwu* (ministry of environment). As can be observed from the collocate list of *silchen* (practice) in Figure 2, the other keywords *noksayk-sengcang* (green growth), *noksayksaynghwal* (green life), *noksayksopi* (green consumption), and *noksaykkyenyeng* (green management) are positioned as the targets of the act of *silchen* (practice).

| 2-Left | 1-Left | 1-Right | 2-Right |
|---------|----------|---------|---------|
| 27 저탄소 | 213 녹색생활 | 27 위한 | 15 및 |
| 21 및 | 26 녹색성장 | 23 및 | 13 위한 |
| 15 위한 | 21 녹색생활을 | 14 수 | 11 있는 |
| 15 등 | 17 녹색소비 | 12 운동 | 10 - |
| 13 온실가스 | 15 줄이기 | 10 통해 | 8 수 |
| 12 - | 12 녹색경영 | 9 확산을 | 8 □ |
| 10 □ | 10 및 | 9 캠페인 | 8 위해 |
| 9 First | 8 "녹색생활 | 9 확산 | 7 전개 |
| 7 생활 | 7 참여와 | 8 위해 | 6 캠페인 |
| 6 국민이 | 7 '녹색생활 | 7 대한 | 6 등 |
| 6 통한 | 7 '녹색생활을 | 7 ○ | 6 확산 |
| 6 줄이기 | 7 녹색생활의 | 7 □ | 6 ◇ |
| 6 범국민 | 6 절약 | 6 Me | 5 ○ |
| 6 있는 | 6 '에 | 6 방안 | 4 범국민 |
| 5 녹색 | 5 '을 | 6 가능한 | 4 대한 |
| 5 녹색생활 | 5 생활 | 6 홍보 | 4 o |
| 5 ○ | 5 '을 | 5 교육 | 4 개선 |
| 4 국민들이 | 5 구체적 | 5 우수사례 | 4 재활용 |
| 4 통해 | 5 범국민 | 5 등 | 4 First |
| 4 전기 | 4 위한 | 5 전개 | 4 지원 |
| 4 맞춤형 | 4 녹색성장의 | 4 친환경 | 3 에코트리 |

Figure 2. Collocate display for *silchen* (practice) in the MonoConc.

From the NGO corpus, a set of four keywords, *cengpwunun* (government - topic: 108 occurrences), *cengpwuuy* (government - possessive: 93), *cengpwuka* (government - subject: 42), and *cengpwu* (government: 39) are selected based on the fact that they form the most frequent keyword group of the NGO corpus. Only the keyword *silchen* (practice: 246 occurrences) is selected for comparison as the total number of occurrences of *silchen* is similar to that of combined occurrences of the *cengpwu* group (government: 282 occurrences).

3.2. From Keywords to Appraisal Analysis

The Appraisal Systems are applied to the concordance lines of these

keywords, and each concordance is manually analyzed. Assigning an Appraisal category cannot be done in isolation and usually requires examining of wider context than what is shown within a span of a concordance line. As illustrated in Figure 3, the amount of text shown on a concordance line is often not enough to decide whether evaluation in a given concordance is positive or negative (of course, there may be no evaluation offered), and what category of appraisal to be assigned to each token in the concordance.

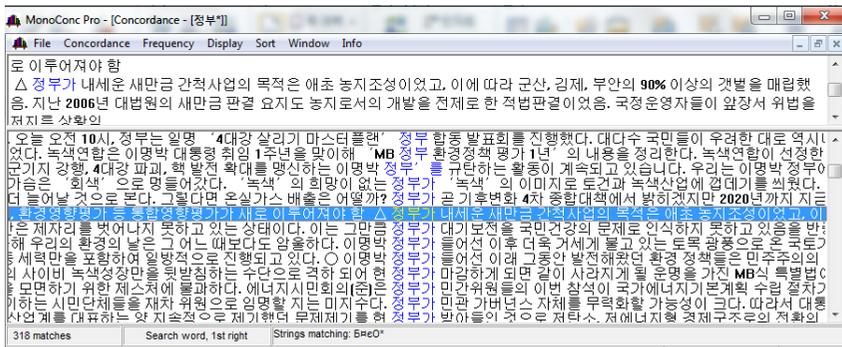


Figure 3. Concordance display in the MonoConc.

With the analysis requiring wider context, it has been extended to a sentence level in which the keyword occurs, as illustrated in the example of *cengpwuuy* (government - possessive):

- (1) 또한 이명박 **정부의** ‘녹색성장 정책으로 포장된(*phocangtoyn* ‘glorified’) [social valuation] 원전 확대정책과 토건사업’이 IUCN 이름으로 확산되는 것에 깊은(*kiphun* ‘deep’) [graduation: force] 우려 (*wulye* ‘worry’) [affect]를 표한다.

In this example, *cengpwuuy* (government - possessive) in bold is the keyword in context, and the underlined items are identified as tokens of appraisal. The government’s nuclear power expansion and construction plans are negatively evaluated, and in return, can be interpreted as the negative appraisal of the government as being deceitful. These are the overall steps taken to analyze each of the concordance lines generated using the aforementioned keywords as the search word. The next section will give a brief outline of the Appraisal System using examples from the corpus, and report on the results of

the analysis.

4. The Appraisal Systems

Appraisal (Martin 2000, White 2001, Martin and White 2005) is an analytic framework developed within the tradition of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday and Mathiessen 2004). While evaluative language has been well-researched, most studies focus on evaluative functions of individual lexical items (e.g. Channell 2000) or grammatical classes (e.g. Conrad and Biber 2000). The strength of Appraisal is that it offers a comprehensive and systematic way of mapping diverse lexical and grammatical resources employed to evaluate people or things (Coffin and O'Halloran 2006). The framework of Appraisal is developed to analyze texts produced in English. While there are some examples of applying it to texts in other languages such as Spanish (2010, Taboada and Carretero), as far as we are aware, there is no previous study on Korean texts. It is hoped that the current study will contribute to the expansion of the application of Appraisal, while testing how effectively it can work on the Korean language.

Appraisal is a qualitative approach applied to a single text or a set of texts. It typically involves a detailed analysis of the whole text. As discussed in Section 3.2, the current study takes a slightly different approach as the starting point of the analysis is concordance lines. The method is still time-consuming, but enables a certain degree of quantification. By quantifying the Appraisal systems, it is hoped to discover evaluative patterns that characterize the government and NGO discourses on green issues.

4.1. Outline of the Appraisal Systems

4.1.1. Attitude

The Appraisal systems consist of three main categories: Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation. Attitude refers to language resources used to express emotions and pass judgments on people and things. Attitude is further divided into the following three categories:

- Affect: emotional assessments of things, processes, states of affairs;
- Appreciation: aesthetic or functional assessments of things, processes, states of affairs;
- Judgment: moral or ethical assessments of human behavior.

In the following example from the MoE corpus, the practice of *noksaysaynghwal* (green life) is evaluated in affectual terms, as something to be enjoyed:

- (2) 또한, 자칫 어렵고 불편하게 느껴질 수 있는 (*elyepko pwulphyenhakey nukkyecil swu issnun* ‘which can feel difficult and uncomfortable’) 녹색생활 실천(*noksaysaynghwal silchen* ‘practice of green life’)을 일상에서 즐길 수 있도록(*culkil swu isstolak* ‘to enjoy’) 그린플러스 테마존(글로벌 탄소상품관, 에코웨딩, 에코쿠킹, 그린스쿨)을 별도로 구성하여 즐겁게(*culkepkey* ‘happily’) 녹색생활을 실천(*noksaysaynghwalul silchen* ‘practice of green life’)하는 기회를 제공한다.

Below is an example in which tokens of appreciation are used:

- (3) 이번 사진공모전은 저탄소 녹색성장을 소재로 하되 일상생활에서 쉽게 접할 수 있는 녹색생활 실천(*noksaysaynghwal silchen* ‘practice of green life’) 아이디어와 우리나라의 아름다운(*alumtawun* ‘beautiful’) 환경과 인간의 조화된(*cohwatoyun* ‘harmonious’) 모습 또는 기후변화와 온실가스 배출의 심각성을 일깨워 줄 수 있는 미 발표 작품을 대상으로 한다.

Appreciation includes a ‘non-aesthetic sub-category’ called social valuation (White 2000). Social valuation is concerned with ‘the negative or positive evaluation of social products, conditions, activities, processes or phenomena’ (Coffin and O’Halloran 2006: 83). Given the nature of the texts analyzed, social valuation is more relevant for the current study. In the example below, the adjectival phrase *noksayk cwukumkwa talul pa epsnun MBphyo* (death of green MB brand) is a token of social valuation negatively evaluating *noksaysengcang* (green growth):

- (4) 발의안 140 통과시에는 녹색 죽음과 다를 바 없는 MB표(*noksayk*

cwukumkwa talul pa epsnun MBphyo ‘death of green MB brand’) 녹색성장의 해외 수출에 세계자연보전연맹의 명성이 악용될 것이 우려된다.

The category of judgment is divided further into the five subtypes as follows (Taken from Martin and White 2005: 53):

Table 6. The sub-categories of Judgment

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| Social esteem | Normality: how special (e.g. normal, eccentric, celebrated, obscure) |
| | Capacity: how capable |
| | Tenacity: how dependable |
| Social sanction | Veracity [truth]: how honest |
| | Propriety [ethics]: how far beyond reproach |

An example is given for each sub-category with the exception of normality as only two instances of normality have been identified from the data analyzed:

- (5) **capacity:** 학교는 녹색생활 실천을 위한 창의적인 지도안을 발굴하고 미래 녹색사회를 이끌어갈 리더(*lite* ‘leader’)를 양성하는 선도적인(*sentocekin* ‘leading’) 역할을 담당하게 될 것이라고 밝혔다.
- (6) **tenacity:** 녹색성장 교육 활성화를 위한 상호협약을 체결하고 저탄소 녹색생활실천을 21세기형 국민운동으로 확산시키기 위해 함께 노력하기(*hamkkey nolyekhaki* ‘try together’)로 하였다.
- (7) **veracity:** 환경연합은 지역 주민과 연대하여 갯벌을 지속적으로 매립하는 정부의 기만적인(*kimancekin* ‘deceitful’) 행위를 람사르협약 사무국과 국제사회에 알려내고...
- (8) **propriety:** 국제적으로 중요한 이동성 조류의 서식지였던 ‘해평습지’ 등 보호습지를 완벽히 파괴하며(*phakoyhamye* ‘which destroyed’) 람사르 협약을 위반한(*wipanhan* ‘which violated’) 한국 정부의 4대강 사업의...

4.1.2. Graduation

Graduation is concerned with two functions: ‘adjusting the degree of an evaluation’ termed force, which is gradable, and ‘adjusting the strength of boundaries between categories’ termed focus, which is non-gradable (Martin and White 2005: 37). In the example below, *cincenghan* (true) modifying *hwankyengpoho* (environmental protection) is an instance of focus, while *cencekulo* (completely) modifying *uycihako* (depending) is an instance of force:

- (9) 이명박 **정부의** 녹색성장이 진정한(cincenghan ‘true’) 환경보호가 아닌, 위험한 기술인 원자력발전의 확대와 환경파괴 토목사업인 4대강 프로젝트에 전적으로(cencekulo ‘completely’) 의지하고 있음을 알고 있다.

The negative evaluation of the previous government’s green growth policy is even more intensified by the presence of the two tokens of graduation.

4.1.3. Engagement

Engagement refers to a variety of linguistic resources by which a speaker or an author positions themselves in relation to what is said or written. The engagement system is dialogic in that it presupposes the diversity of viewpoints, which the speaker or author can either ‘acknowledge’ or ‘ignore’ (White 2001:10). The engagement system is quite comprehensive, and encompasses a wide range of lexico-grammatical resources:

- projection and related structures of attribution/ reported speech;
 - modal verbs;
 - modal and comment adjuncts and related forms;
 - reality phase e.g. it seems;
 - negation;
 - conjunctions/connectives of expectation and counter-expectation.
- (Taken from White 2001: 10)

The outline of the engagement system is given in Figure 4.

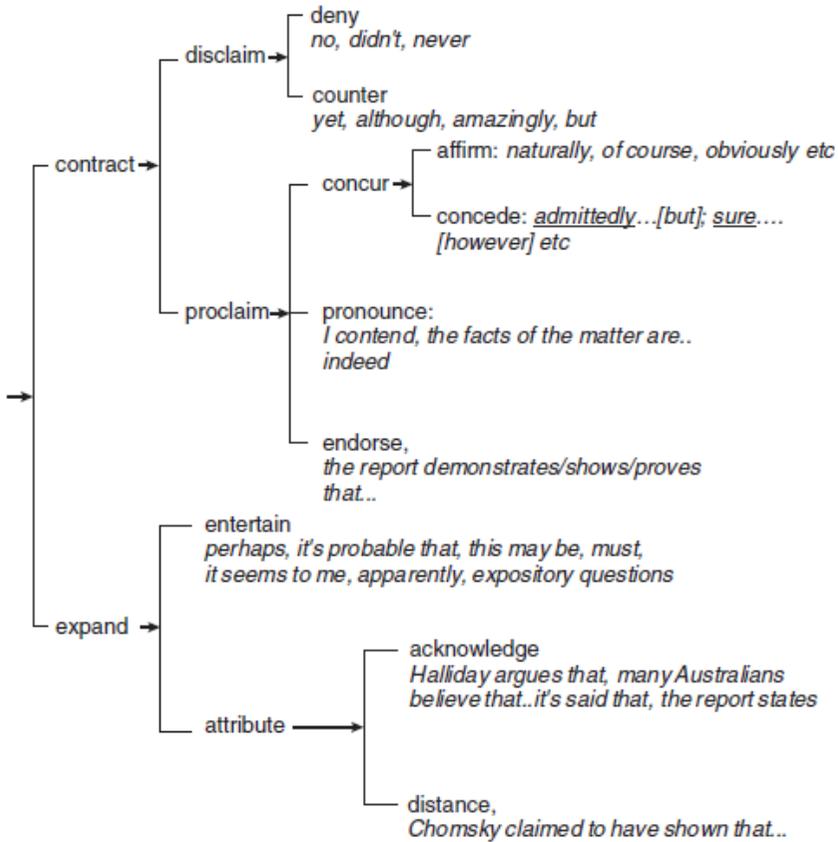


Figure 4. The Engagement system.

Included in the keyword list of the NGO corpus in Table 5 in Section 3.1 are a group of adverbials such as *kulena* (but), *ohilye* (rather), *haciman* (but), *kulemeyto* (nevertheless), *kyelkwuk* (eventually), *sasilsang* (in fact), *yecenhi* (still), and *yeksi* (as expected). These adverbials can perform engagement. In the example below, the conjunction *kulentey* (but) and the adverb *yecenhi* (still) are a token of ‘counter’:

- (10) 그런데(kulentey ‘but’) [engagement: counter] 정부는 여전히(yecenhi ‘still’) [engagement: counter] 공급중심의 계획을 고집하며 전기요금 개선은 장기계획으로 미루고...

The use of *kulentey* (but) and *yecenhi* (still) construes the government’s act of delay as something that counters the author’s expectation. This

constrains the scope of dialogic alternatives, thus contractive. In the example below, *phyengkatoynnta* (is evaluated) exemplifies a token of entertain:

- (11) 특히 **녹색생활** 실천 필요성에 대한 국민들의 인식이 높아지고 구체화된 정책들이 분야별로 성과가 창출되면서 녹색성장이 국민생활에 뿌리내리고 있는 것으로 평가된다(*phyengkatoynnta* 'is evaluated') [engagement: entertain].

Entertain is an assessment of probability, which allows alternative positions, thus being 'dialogically expansive' (Martin and White 2005: 133). The keyword list of the NGO corpus is also found to have expressions of modality (*toyeya*, *hatolok*, *hayya*) and negation (*anita*, *anila*, *anin*, *anhko*, *anhkilul*, *anhtolok*, *anhassta*). In Appraisal, they come under the system of engagement. As shown in Figure 4, negation falls under the category of disclaim and modality under the category of entertain. The example below carries tokens of deny and entertain:

- (12) 한국 정부는 토건사업에 대한 반성이 담기지 않은(*pansengi tamkici anhun* 'no lesson learned') [engagement: deny] 발의안 140을 즉각 철회하여야 하고(*chelhoyhayeya hako* 'must to withdraw') [engagement: entertain], IUCN은 사실에 대한 확인 작업 없이 한국 정부의 녹색성장 발의안을 끝이곧대로 받아들이지 않길 바란다.

Negation is contractive in that it leaves no room for alternative viewpoints, while modality is expansive in that it is more dialogic, leaving more room for negotiation than a direct command.

4.1.4. Inscribed vs Invoked

Before moving on to discussing the results of the appraisal analysis, a distinction between inscribed and invoked is briefly made. The category of attitude can be either inscribed or invoked. When a word or phrase explicitly conveys negativity or positivity, appraisal is 'inscribed' as in the following examples of *mwunung* (incompetence) and *kwulpok* (pandering):

- (13) 저탄소, 저에너지형 경제구조로의 전환의 핵심을 제대로 파악하지 못한 현 정부의 무능(*mwunung* 'incompetence')을 보여주는 것이

며 변화를 두려워하는 특정 세력들에 굴복(kwulpok ‘pandering’)한 것으로 보인다.

On the other hand, in the example below, the expression *ipmas tasinun* (smacking its lips) is metaphorical, and interpreted negatively as ‘being greedy’ in the context in which it is used:

- (14) 04 MB 정부의 규제완화(2)골프장 골프장에 입맛 다시는(*ipmas tasinun* ‘smacking its lips’) [invoked: judgment: propriety] 정부와 지자체...

In this case, appraisal is said to be invoked or indirect. Another case of invoked appraisal can be found in the example below:

- (15) 연간 재생복사지 사용량이 3퍼센트에 불과한 가장 큰 원인은 녹색 성장을 내건 **정부와** 각 부처, 국회, 지자체, 학교 같은 공공시장에서 재생복사지를 거의 사용하지 않고(*sayonghaci anhko* ‘rarely using’) [engagement: deny, invoked: judgment: propriety] 있기 때문이다.

sayonghaci anhko (rarely using) is judged negatively evaluative. It is not intrinsically negative, but only negative within the context in which it occurs. Similarly, in the example below, the keyword *MBsik* (MB style) is only interpreted as negative from the context in which it is used, and thus encoded as inscribed social valuation:

- (16) 결국 화려한 수사로 시작된 이 법안은 현 정부가 추진하는 토목성장 위주의 사이버녹색성장만을 뒷받침하는 수단으로 격하되어 현 정부가 마감하게 되면 같이 사라지게 될 운명을 가진 MB식(*MBsik* ‘MB style’) [invoked: social valuation] 특별법에 불과해져 버렸다.

It needs to be mentioned that the distinction is not always clear-cut. For instance, *kwangphwung* (crazy gust of wind) and *nantocil* (slashing) are metaphorical, but not encoded as invoked in the example below:

- (17) 이명박 정부가 들어선 이후 더욱 거세게 불고 있는 토목 광풍(*tewuk keseykey pwulko issnun thomok kwangphwung* ‘ever increasing crazy gust of wind’) [graduation: force, social valuation]으로 온 국

토가 난도질당하고(nantociltanghako 'getting hacked up') [graduation: force, social valuation] 있기 때문이다.

While used metaphorically, they are instantly understood as negative, and the interpretation does not depend on their context. For this reason, they are treated as inscribed. It is also noted that the intensification is 'infused' (Martin and White 2005: 143) in the two expressions, and therefore they are doubled-encoded as graduation and social valuation.

4.2. Appraisal Applied: Results and Discussion

This section presents the findings of the Appraisal analysis, with discussion of their implications. First, the total number of tokens of Appraisal is given in Table 7.

Table 7. The total number of tokens of Appraisal

| | NGOs | MoE |
|---|---|---------------------------|
| Keywords | <i>cengpwumun</i> (government - topic, 108), <i>cengpwuuy</i> (government - possessive, 93), <i>cengpwuka</i> (government - subject, 42), <i>cengpwu</i> (government, 39) | <i>silchen</i> (practice) |
| Total number of occurrences of the keywords | 282 | 246 |
| Total number of appraised occurrences | 208 | 107 |
| Total number of tokens of appraisal | 815 | 314 |

The total number of appraised occurrences refers to the number of concordance instances of the keywords where at least one token of appraisal is identified, meaning that there are examples with no evaluation present. 73% of instances of *cengpwu* (government) are found to be evaluative, and the heavily evaluative nature of the NGO corpus has been anticipated from the keyword analysis. Meanwhile, 43% of instances of *silchen* (practice) are identified as evaluative. This figure may be low in comparison to 78% of the NGO corpus, but seems sur-

prisingly high given the announcement-like nature of the texts in the MoE, as shown in Section 2. The ratio of the number of tokens of appraisal against that of appraised occurrences also warrants attention. In the NGO corpus, on average, each instance or sentence has 4 tokens of appraisal, while there are 3 tokens of appraisal in each instance in the MoE corpus. Given below are the examples of multiple tokens of appraisal from the NGO corpus and MoE corpus:

- (18) 그러나(*kulena* ‘but’) [engagement: counter] 녹색연합이 누누이 (*nwunwui* ‘repeatedly’) [graduation: force] 지적하고(*cicekhako* ‘pointed out’) [engagement: attribute: acknowledge] 천명해왔듯이(*chenmyenghaywasstusi* ‘made clear’) [graduation: force, engagement: attribute: pronounce] 현재 이명박 정부가 추진하는 녹색 성장과 녹색뉴딜은 진정성 있는(*cincengseng issnun* ‘trustworthy’) [judgment: veracity] 녹색사회 실현 정책이 아닌(*anin* ‘not’) [engagement: deny] 녹색 가면을 눌러쓴(*noksayk kamyenul nwullessun* ‘disguised as green’) [judgment: veracity] 막개발(*makkaypal* ‘slapdash development’) [social valuation] 정책에 불과합니다 (*pwulkwahapnita* ‘merely’) [engagement: counter].
- (19) 가정부문에서 녹색생활 실천을 통한 온실가스 감축은 불필요한 (*pwulphilyohan* ‘unnecessary’) [social valuation] 난방을 줄이고 가전제품의 적절함(*cekcelhan* ‘appropriate’) [social valuation] 사용을 통해 효과적으로(*hyokwacekulo* ‘effectively’) [social valuation] 달성할 수 있을 것으로 전망(*cenmang* ‘expected’) [engagement: entertain]

It seems that the Appraisal systems have a tendency of clustering, rather than occurring in isolation. Again, it is revealing to see how heavily tokens of Appraisal can cluster in the MoE corpus. Initially, it was expected that the texts in the MoE would not be so evaluative based on the initial observation that the texts are primarily in a neutral-sounding announcement format. However, the Appraisal analysis has shown that evaluation, though not obvious, is present in the texts, demonstrating how pervasively evaluative language is used. Table 8 outlines the results of the analysis with the frequency of each category:

Table 8. The Frequencies of the Appraisal Categories

| Appraisal | | | | MoE | NGOs | |
|--------------|----------|------------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Engagement | Contract | Disclaim | Deny | 2 | 34 | |
| | | | Counter | 14 | 88 | |
| | | Proclaim | Concur | 0 | 7 | |
| | | | Pronounce | 0 | 6 | |
| | | | Endorse | 2 | 5 | |
| | Expand | Entertain | | 15 | 50 | |
| | | Attribute | Acknowledge | 28 | 65 | |
| | | | Distance | 0 | 39 | |
| | Subtotal | | | | 61 | 294 |
| | Attitude | Affect | | | 16 | 21 |
| Judgment | | Social esteem | Normality | 0 | 2 | |
| | | | Capacity | 29 | 15 | |
| | | | Tenacity | 15 | 12 | |
| | | Social sanction | Veracity | 1 | 57 | |
| Propriety | | | 18 | 89 | | |
| Appreciation | | | | 22 | 3 | |
| | | Social valuation | | 60 | 145 | |
| Subtotal | | | | 161 | 344 | |
| Graduation | Force | | | 83 | 151 | |
| | Focus | | | 10 | 29 | |
| | Subtotal | | | | 93 | 180 |
| Total | | | | 315 | 818 | |

A number of observations can be made from the results. Out of the three sub-systems, attitude (344 tokens: 42%) is the most frequently occurring category closely followed by engagement (294 tokens: 36%) and graduation (180 tokens: 22%) in the NGO corpus, while attitude (161 tokens: 51%) occurs most frequently followed by graduation (93 tokens: 30%) and engagement (61 tokens: 19%) in the MoE corpus. For both corpora, attitude makes up the largest system, but the second largest system differs with graduation being for the MoE corpus and engagement being for the NGO corpus.

4.2.1. Attitude

Turning to the system of attitude, in the NGO corpus, social sanction in the judgment category (146 tokens) is the most frequently occurring sub-category. It consists of veracity and propriety, which are concerned with issues of trust and ethics. It is suggested in the keyword analysis that the main targets of evaluation in the NGO corpus are the government and its policy, and the Appraisal analysis shows that the focus of evaluation is on how trustworthy the government and its policy are. The government is portrayed mainly as untrustworthy and deceitful, as illustrated in the examples below,:

- (20) 이와 같은 편법 동원(*phyenpep tongwen* ‘**employment of underhand tactics**’) [**judgment: propriety**]은 사회적 논의를 무시하고 (*sahoycek nonuylul mwusihako* ‘**ignoring social consensus**’) [**judgment: propriety**] 정부 주도로 기본법을 제정하기 위한 것으로 보여지며(*wihan kesulo poyecimye* ‘**appears to be intended to**’) [**engagement: entertain**] 특정 의도를 지니고 있다고 밖에 볼 수 없다(*isstako pakkey pol swu epsta* ‘**can only be thought of as having a hidden agenda**’) [**graduation: force, engagement: entertain**].
- (21) 정부는 4대강 살리기 사업 최초 발표시 보를 4개 설치하는 것으로 하였다가(*hayestaka* ‘**was supposed to...but**’) [**engagement: counter**] 중간발표에서 16개로 숫자를 대폭(*tayphok* ‘**drastically**’) [**graduation**] 늘리며, 고정보와 가동보를 적절하게 설치하는 것처럼 이야기하였으나(*keschelem iyakihayessuna* ‘**talked as if**’) [**engagement: counter, invoked: judgment: veracity**] 오늘 가동보를 설치할 계획임을 최종 발표했다(*palphyohayssta* ‘**announced**’) [**engagement: attribute: acknowledge**].

The issue of the government credibility is also expressed in the tokens of the less frequent sub-categories of capacity and tenacity, as shown in the example below:

- (22) 온실가스 감축 목표도(*to* ‘**even**’) [**engagement: counter**] ‘산업계 눈치보기(*nwunchipoki* ‘**brown-nosing**’) [**judgment: capacity**]’, 녹색성장기본법도(*to* ‘**even**’) [**engagement: counter**] ‘산업계 눈치보기(*nwunchipoki* ‘**brown-nosing**’) [**judgment: capacity**]’ 뿐(*ppwun*

'only' [engagement: counter]인 현 정부는 진정으로(cincengulo 'truly') [graduation: focus] 기후문제를 해결할 의지(haykyelhal uyci 'will to deal with') [judgment: tenacity]가 있는지 의심스럽다(uysimsulepta 'doubtful that') [engagement: entertain].

Social valuation is the most frequently occurring category for the MoE corpus with the frequency of 60, and a close second for the NGO corpus with the frequency of 145. The tokens of social valuation in the NGO corpus are found to frequently translate into evaluation of the government as being incompetent and unreliable in the case of the following examples:

- (23) 그럼에도 불구하고(kulemeyto pwulkwuhako 'nevertheless') [engagement: counter] 입법예고의 철저적인 문제점(mwunceycem 'problem') [social valuation]과 곳곳에 의도를 지닌 것으로 보이는 독소(tokso 'toxic') [social valuation]조항, 부족한(pwucokhan 'insufficient') [social valuation] 내용 등으로 인해 사회적 반발과 혼란을 불러일으킬(sahoycek panpalkwa honlanul pwulleilukhil 'cause social confusion and resistance') [invoked: social valuation] 것으로 보이며(poimye 'it seems that') [engagement: entertain]...
- (24) 결국 화려한 수사(hwalyehan swusa 'flowery words') [social valuation]로 시작된 이 법안은 현 정부가 추진하는 토목성장 위주의 사이비(saipi 'false') [social valuation] 녹색성장만을 뒷받침하는 수단으로 격하되어(kyekhatoye 'relegated') [social valuation] 현 정부가 마감하게 되면 같이 사라지게 될 운명을 가진(salacikey toyl wunmyengul kacin 'destined to disappear') [invoked: social valuation] MB식(MBsik 'MB style') [invoked: social valuation] 특별법에 불과해져 버렸다(pwulkwahaycye pelyessta 'merely ended up being') [engagement: counter].

In the example below, there are three tokens of judgment. Grammatically speaking, the target of appraisal is *noksayksengcang* (green growth), but encoded as judgment on the account of the fact that an actual agent of each act (to exploit, to employ empty rhetoric, and to make empty promises) is the government:

- (25) 저탄소 녹색성장이 현 정부의 정치적(cengchicek 'politically moti-

vated’) [invoked: social valuation] 목적으로 **오용되고(oyongtoyko ‘exploited’)** [judgment: propriety] **미사여구를 동원한(misayekwulul tongwenhan ‘employing empty rhetoric’)** [judgment: veracity] **말잔치(malcanchi ‘empty promises’)** [judgment: veracity]에 그칠 (**keuchil ‘merely ended up being’**) [engagement: counter] **우려(wulye ‘worry’)** [affect]가 있어 13가지 항목으로 의견서를 제출했다.

There may be objection to this approach, and this is something that needs to be discussed further to refine the application of the Appraisal framework.

On the other hand, what is at issue in the MoE corpus are capacity and tenacity (45) in the judgment category. This ties in with the concept of the keyword *silchen* (practice) which requires effort and a will to do it, as illustrated in the example below:

- (26) 환경부에서는 경포습지(운정지구) 조성사업이 저탄소 녹색시범도시 선정 이후 첫 사업이라는 상징성과 함께 강릉시 공무원과 산업체, 그리고 지역주민 전체가(**cencheyka ‘entire’**) [graduation: force] 하나가 되어(**hanaka toye ‘cooperate’**) [judgment: propriety] **녹색생활 실천자(silchenca ‘practitioner of green life’)** [judgment: capacity] 역할을 충실히(**chwungsilhi ‘faithfully’**) [judgment: tenacity] 이행하고 있다.

In line with the construal of environmentalism as *silchen* (practice), the tokens of social valuation in the MoE corpus are concerned with importance of and needs for the practice of going green, as illustrated in the examples below:

- (27) 시민사회, 산업계, 정부는 저탄소 녹색사회의 구현을 위해서는 일상생활에서 온실가스를 줄여나가는 **녹색생활의 실천이 중요하다(cwungyohata ‘important’)** [social valuation]는 점과 이의 확산을 위하여 사회 내 여러 부문의 참여가 **절실하다(celsilhata ‘in urgent need of’)** [graduation, social valuation]는 점에 인식을 같이 한다.
- (28) 특히 **녹색생활 실천 필요성(philyoseng ‘needs’)** [social valuation]에 대한 **국민들의 인식이 높아지고(kwukmintuluy insiki nophaciko ‘the public’s awareness increases’)** [invoked: social valuation] 구체화된 정책들이 분야별로 **성과가 창출되면서(sengkwaka changch-**

wultoymyense ‘yielding results’) [invoked: social valuation], 녹색 성장이 국민생활에 뿌리내리고 있는(*kwukminsaynghwaley ppwulinayliko issnun* ‘taking root in the public's life’) [invoked: social valuation] 것으로 평가된다(*phyengkatoynta* ‘is evaluated’) [engagement: entertain].

The tokens include *cwungyoseng* (importance), *cwungyohata* (be important), *cwungyohamulo* (being important), *cwungcemcekin* (focused), *celsilhata* (be in urgent need), *simkakhay* (serious), *simkakseng* (seriousness), *philyohata* (need), *philyohatanuntey* (said to need), *cisokkanunghan* (sustainable), *hyokwacek* (effective), *hyokwacekulo* (effectively), *aceyntaka toyko issnun* (becoming an agenda), *sentocekin* (leading), and *sengkongcekulo* (successfully).

Going green is also talked about in terms of difficulty or ease associated with it as in the following examples of social valuation:

- (29) 이번 사진공모전은 저탄소 녹색성장을 소재로 하되 일상생활에서 쉽게 접할 수 있는(*swipkey cephal swu issnun* ‘accessible’) [social valuation] 녹색생활 실천 아이디어와 우리나라의 아름다운(*aluntawun* ‘beautiful’) [appreciation] 환경과 인간의 조화된(*cohwatoyun* ‘harmonious’) [appreciation] 모습 또는 기후변화와 온실가스 배출의 심각성(*simkakseng* ‘seriousness’) [social valuation]을 일깨워 줄 수 있는 미발표 작품을 대상으로 한다.
- (30) 돈 안들이고(*ton antuliko* ‘without spending money’) [social valuation] 녹색생활 실천만으로(*noksayksaynghwal silchenmanulo* ‘only by practicing green life’) [engagement: counter] 온실가스 확(*hwak* ‘drastically’) [graduation: force] 줄인다(*cwulinta* ‘lower’) [invoked: social valuation]

The category of affect is relatively minor for the NGO corpus, and is represented by the keywords *wulyeka* (worry - subject) and *wulyehul* (worry - object), as shown in the example given below:

- (31) 환경단체가 우려했던 대로(*wulyehayssten taylo* ‘as worried’) [affect, engagement: concur] 한국 정부가 제출한 ‘녹색성장’ 발의안(motion 140)은 폐막일 정부 그룹과 NGO 그룹 각각으로부터 과반 이상의 찬성표를 얻으며 세계자연보전연맹(이하: IUCN)의

공식 결의문으로 채택되었다

Meanwhile, as introduced in Section 4.1.1, the tokens of affect in the MoE corpus construe the practice of being environmentally-friendly as something that may feel inconvenient, but should be made to be doable or even enjoyable:

- (32) 녹색생활을 실천하는 것이 처음에는 **불편하겠지만**(*pwulphyenhakeyssciman* ‘inconvenient’) [affect] 지구를 생각하는 마음으로(*cikwulul sayngkakhannun maumulo* ‘caring for the Earth’) [judgment: propriety] 모든(*motun* ‘every’) [graduation: force] 국민들이 녹색생활 실천 운동에 동참하여 줄 것을 요청하고(*yochenghako* ‘request’) [engagement: attribute: acknowledge] 있다.

The tokens of affect include *pwulphyenhakeyssciman* (may feel inconvenient), *culkepkey* (happily), *chinkunhakey* (friendly), *culkil swu isstolok* (to enjoy), *ttaktakhakey nukkyecil swu issnun* (may feel strict), and *elyepko pwulphyenhakey nukkyecil swu issnun* (may feel difficult and inconvenient). This is in continuum with the representation of going green in the use of social valuation tokens above. In a similar vein, the tokens of appreciation given below also construe the practice of green life as something that should be practiced with ease:

- (33) 그린스타트 운동 활성화를 위하여 국민들이 녹색생활을 **쉽고 편리하게**(*swipko phyenlihakey* ‘easily and conveniently’) [appreciation] 실천할 수 있는 여건을 조성한다.
- (34) 녹색생활을 실천하고 혜택도 볼 수 있는(*hyeythaykto pol swu issnun* ‘even beneficial’) [engagement: counter, social valuation] 그린카드의 사용이 **한층**(*hanchung* ‘even more’) [graduation: force] 쉬워진다(*swiwecinta* ‘made easy’) [appreciation].

Through the employment of the attitude system, in essence, the issue of going green is reduced to individual responsibility in the MoE corpus.

4.2.2. Graduation

Graduation, the second most frequent type of Appraisal in the MoE corpus can be said to be less directly evaluative than attitude in that

its function is to intensify or emphasize other lexical items or tokens of appraisal rather than to carry an evaluative meaning itself, as, for example, *mwunung* (incompetence), a token of judgment. In the example given below, the adverbial token *hwak* (drastically) intensifies the act of reducing greenhouse gas, thus, contributing to the positive evaluation of the practice of green life:

- (35) 돈 안들이고(ton antuliko ‘without spending money’) [social valuation] 녹색생활 실천만으로도(noksayksaynghwal silchenmanulo ‘only by practicing green life’) [engagement: counter] 온실가스 확 (hwak ‘drastically’) [graduation: force] 줄인다(cwulinta ‘lower’) [invoked: social valuation]

In the example below, the token *silcilcekulo* (in real and earnest) enhances the positive evaluation of practicing green life by stressing the ‘real and earnest’ participation, not just as a gesture:

- (36) ‘내가 먼저’ 실천하는(‘nayka mence’ silchenhanun ‘Me first’ practice of) [judgment: capacity] 녹색생활의 중요성(cwungyoseng ‘importance’) [social valuation] 강조(kangco ‘emphasis’) [engagement: attribute: acknowledge] 및 이를 위해 실질적으로(silcilcekulo ‘in real and earnest’) [graduation: focus] 참여할 수 있는 계기 마련이 필요(philyo ‘needed’) [social valuation]

As a more indirect mode of evaluation, graduation works in the background to boost the use of the other systems. The initial impression that the texts in the MoE are non-evaluative may be partly owed to the use of graduation with relatively high frequency.

4.2.3. Engagement

Lastly, the system of engagement accounts for 36% of the tokens of appraisal of *cengpwu* (government) in the NGO corpus, following the system of attitude, which takes up 42%, while not featuring prominently in the MoE corpus. In comparison to graduation, engagement is more directly evaluative as a system of resources through which one can align with or distance from a proposition. Individually, the sub-category of counter occurs most frequently with 88 occurrences, followed by acknowledge (66), entertain (50), distance (39), and deny

(34) (See Table 8).

In the NGO corpus, counter anticipates something negative, as shown below:

- (37) 아래 <표4>에서 살펴보듯이 이명박 정부 들어 대기보전 예산은 지속적으로(cisokcekulo ‘constantly’) [graduation: force] 감소했고, <표5>에서 보여지듯이 2010년에는 급기야(kupkiya ‘eventually’) [engagement: counter] 10.3%의 가장 큰(kacang khun ‘biggest’) [graduation: force] 감소폭을 보여주었다(poyecwuessta ‘has shown’) [engagement: endorse].
- (38) 사회적 형평에 바탕한 ‘지속가능성’과 ‘민관 공론과 소통의 기회 확대’는 세계적 추세임에도 (chwuseyimeyto ‘despite the trend’) [engagement: counter], 정부는 기존 대통령 직속 지속가능발전위원회의 위상을 환경부 산하 위원회로 대폭(tayphok ‘dramatically’) [graduation: force] 축소함

As it turns out, in the NGO corpus, counter is frequently preceded by acknowledge, leading to negative appraisal of the government’s proposition, as exemplified in the examples below:

- (39) 정부는 감축잠재량 분석을 위해 마갈 모형을 거시경제에 미치는 영향 분석을 위해 거시경제일반균형 모형을 사용했다고 밝히고 있다(palkhiko issta ‘has explained’) [attribute: acknowledge]. 그러나 (kulena ‘but’) [counter] 국가의 온실가스 감축목표는 모델링 프로그램을 돌려서 나올 수 있는 수치가 아니다.
- (40) 지금 정부는 범국가적으로(pemkwukkacekulo ‘pan-national’) [graduation: force] 새로운 경제·사회 패러다임 전환을 추진하겠다고 녹색성장을 이야기하고 있다(iyakhako issta ‘talking about’) [attribute: acknowledge]. 하지만(haciman ‘but’) [counter] 보전해야 할 소중한 생태계이자 수많은 지역 주민의 삶의 터전인 갯벌과 바다를 마구잡이로 매립하는 것은 녹색성장을 추구한다는 정부의 이야기가 헛된 구호에 불과하다는 것을 단적으로 보여주는 것이다.
- (41) 이명박 정부 스스로가 기후변화 대응을 환경분야의 주요 국가재정 운영방침으로 밝혔으나(palkhyessuna ‘declared’) [attribute: acknowledge, counter] 예산은 오히려(ohilye ‘but’) [counter] 대폭

삭감되었다(tayphok sakkamtoyesta ‘has been slashed’) [graduation, invoked: social valuation].

Acknowledge ‘expands’, allowing alternative viewpoints, but its expansive potential is canceled off by being followed by counter. Deny, another subcategory of contract also tends to be preceded by counter, as shown in the examples below:

- (42) 그러나(kulena ‘however’) [engagement: counter] 한국 정부 측은 녹색성장은 녹색경제를 향한 전략적 개념으로 자기(caka ‘to suit their purpose’) [judgment: propriety] 정의하며, 녹색성장을 녹색경제와 구분하려는 입장에서 물러서지 않았다(mwulleseci anhassta ‘wouldn’t back down’) [engagement: deny, judgment: tenacity].
- (43) 반면(panmyen ‘on the other hand’) [engagement: counter] 한국 정부는 2008년 한국에서 개최된 람사르협약 제10차 당사국총회의 결의안 중 하나인 대규모(taykyumo ‘massive scale’) [graduation: force] 갯벌매립 중단의 약속조차(yaksokcocha ‘even the promise’) [engagement: counter] 지키지 않는(cikhici anhnun ‘not kept’) [engagement: deny] 가입국의 불명예(pwulmyengyey ‘dishonor’) [judgment: propriety]를 안고 있다.

The appraisal is again on the government’s actions, which are depicted as stubborn and dishonorable. Distance, another expand category is used to ‘distance’ from what the government says, which is discredited by counter and deny in the examples below:

- (44) 이명박 정부는 국제사회에서 녹색리더(noksayklite ‘green leader’) [judgment: capacity]를 자임(caim ‘self-appointed’) [judgment: propriety]하고자 하고 있으며, 국민들에게 정부의 저탄소 녹색성장, 기후변화 대응 사업의 추진이 국격을 높여주고 있다고 자랑하고 있다(calanghako ista ‘is boasting’) [engagement: distance, judgment: propriety]. 그러나(kulena ‘but’) [engagement: counter] 환경예산에서 살펴볼 수 있듯이 이명박 정부는 오히려 기후변화 대응을 위한 대기보전 예산을 대폭 삭감하고 말했다.
- (45) 현 정부가 주장하는(cwucanganun ‘claimed’) [engagement: attribute: distance] 강과 하천의 녹색에는 생태적, 생물자원적 의미는

없고(epsko ‘not’) [engagement: deny] 수변 생태문화도시와 생태관광 등으로 축소되어 있으며 생태문화도시와 생태관광의 미명하에(mimyenghaey ‘under the cloak of’) [judgment: veracity] 강을 파헤치는(phaheychinun ‘violently digging up’) [graduation: force] 공사가 진행되면 강에 의존한 생명들에게 치명적인(chimyengcekin ‘fatal’) [social valuation] 영향을 줄 것이다(cwul kesita ‘will affect’) [engagement: entertain].

Finally, entertain, which belongs to the expand category, evaluates through expressing probability and modality. In the second example above, appraisal is presented as prediction of an outcome of the government project, thus negatively evaluating the government, while, in the examples below, appraisal is offered as a form of obligation:

(46) 부실한 목표와 실행방식, 일방적 소통, 그리고 녹색철학 부재로 탄생된 ‘저탄소 녹색성장기본법’은 이제 그 시행령과 시행규칙의 마련을 앞두고 있다. 그러나(kulena ‘however’) [engagement: counter] 이에 앞서 정부는 녹색에 대한 가치 정립을 새롭게 해야 할 것이다(hayya hal kesita ‘should’) [engagement: entertain].

(47) 정부는 이번 EPI 결과를 적극(cekkuk ‘wholeheartedly’) [graduation: force] 수용하여, 저탄소 시대에 걸맞는(kelmacnun ‘fully in tune with’) [graduation: force] 국가 경쟁력 강화와 환경개선 마련에 그 역할을 다해야 할 것이다(tahayya hal kesita ‘should fulfill’) [engagement: entertain].

Through entertain, appraisal is more indirect in that it is conveyed piggybacked on the evaluator’s assessment on what will and should happen, whereas the government’s proposition and action are directly evaluated in the other four categories discussed.

5. Conclusion

The study has set out to investigate whether and how the Appraisal Systems can be combined with the corpus approach in the examination of evaluative language in the corpora of government and NGO documents on environmental issues. The keyword analysis shows that:

- the most significant keyword for the MoE corpus is *silchen* (practice) and *cengpwu* (government) for the NGO corpus;
- the environmental issues are represented as a personal matter of practicing green life in the MoE corpus;
- the keywords in the NGO corpus show the focus on the government's policy - making on environmental issues;
- the modifiers and adverbials on the keyword list of the NGO corpus signal the evaluative nature of the texts.

The findings of the Appraisal analysis are summarized as follows:

- in both the MoE and NGO corpora, attitude is the most frequently occurring system of appraisal;
- in the NGO corpus, as the sub-categories of attitude, propriety and veracity in the judgment occur most frequently, evaluating the credibility of the government;
- in the MoE corpus, as the sub-category of attitude, social valuation occurs most frequently, construing going green as being difficult and inconvenient to practice, while focusing on its importance and needs;
- in the NGO corpus, the second most frequent system is engagement, while it is graduation in the MoE corpus;
- graduation in the MoE corpus works indirectly to enhance positive evaluation of the practice of green life;
- counter, the most frequent engagement sub-category in the NGO corpus, is used in combination with the other sub-categories of deny, acknowledge and distance to facilitate the negative evaluation of the government and its actions.

Overall, despite the issues with differences in text size and type of the corpora, it has shown the following:

- the Appraisal can be quantified even though it is on a small scale;
- the quantification of Appraisal reveals how the Appraisal Systems are distributed and used in the two corpora;
- the direction of the Appraisal analysis can be effectively guided by the collocate and keyword analysis;
- the Appraisal Framework is applicable to the Korean language text.

For future research, the refinement of the social valuation category may be one to consider. Particularly relevant to media texts, social valuation is identified as the major category for the both MoE and NGO corpora. However, unlike the category of judgment, it is not divided into any sub-categories. It may be instructive to refine the category, and give the analysis more nuance and granularity. Another possible venue of research is to examine how the Appraisal categories cluster around (See Section 4.2) and interact with each other. For example, it is noted that acknowledge often precedes counter in the NGO corpus, and the proposition conveyed by acknowledge is refuted by what is introduced by counter (See Section 4.2.3). In-depth analysis may provide a comprehensive picture of patterns of interaction and clustering among the Appraisal categories and their evaluative functions.

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