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Persuasion in Discourse: Evaluation Methods of Vegans

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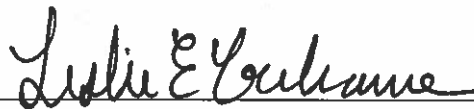
Persuasion in Discourse: Evaluation Methods of Vegans

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies from
The College of William and Mary

by

Kate Sandberg

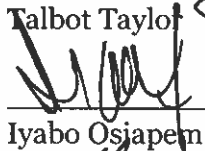
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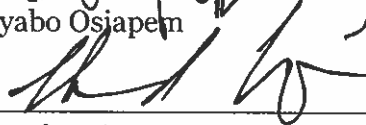
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1.Introduction

Due to a phenomenon of ‘do-gooder derogation’ (Minson & Monin, 2012), vegans, or individuals who abstain from consuming animal products, are constantly subject to criticisms of their way of life. Since their decision to depart from social conventions on a basis of morality is inherently threatening to a non-vegan, they are forced to navigate potential retaliation and criticism from individuals outside the vegan community. Thus, interactions with non-vegans in a largely non-vegan world result in vegan identities that are founded on defensive stance-taking. In a prior study of vegan discourse, I concluded that this do-gooder derogation is facilitated by vegans’ utilization of high amounts of judgment when discussing their lifestyle to raise themselves on various social scales and compensate for a lower position on a scale of normality. Whether an individual is primarily a health, environmental, or animal rights vegan, linguistic evaluations seem to be useful tools for counteracting potential negative judgments related to the social scale of normality. However, their connection to morality may make them inefficient means for preventing backlash. This paper will investigate which evaluative tools are prioritized by the different vegan identities as a means for conveying stances and evaluate these tools in terms of their success in contributing to the aligning function of stance-taking in order to build solidarity and prevent contention between a vegan speaker and a non-vegan listener.

1.1 Veganism

The vegan lifestyle is one which aims to cause as little harm to animals as possible. This involves abstaining from eating or using animals and animal by-products. The term was first coined in 1944 by Donald Watson, who wanted to form an alliance of non-dairy vegetarians within the Vegetarian Society (Salsedo, 2011). This alliance was called the Vegan Society, and in 1951, it first defined veganism as being based on a principle of not exploiting animals (Salsedo, 2011). In 2012, there were about 1 million vegans in the United States, or about 0.5% of the population, while about 4% identified as vegetarian (Greenebaum, 2012).

The Vegan Society identifies three main motivations for transitioning to a vegan lifestyle: animal welfare, personal health, and environmental impact. These different motivations have a great influence on the type of vegan identity an individual decides to construct. Identity, or an individual's self-concept, is defined by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) as being a product of talk rather than the source of specific ways of speaking. Additionally, identities are temporary, multiple, specific to interactions, and influenced by a variety of factors, including larger ideological processes (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). Therefore, the motivation which is most important to an individual's decision to become a vegan often influences the ways these individuals decide to describe their vegan lifestyle, and these differences in language allow vegans to build various vegan identities which are based on the different vegan motivations.

Greenebaum (2012) refers to vegans motivated by animal welfare as "ethical vegans," whose decision to eat a vegan diet is heavily influenced by personal morals. These animal rights vegans acknowledge and oppose the conditions that animals bred for consumption are subjected to, and they believe that the killing of animals is not justified for this purpose, especially when they are killed prematurely (The Vegan Society). Typically, these vegans also disagree with animals being kept in captivity, and they dislike the testing that is done on them for medical and cosmetic research, causing them to boycott products that are tested on animals. Although Greenebaum labels these vegans as "ethical vegans," I will refer to them as "animal rights vegans," as the other vegan identities are similarly motivated by ethics and morals and should not be excluded from an 'ethical' label.

The second motivation identified by the Vegan Society, environmental impact, stems from the findings of many scientific studies that animal agriculture is linked to climate change, water pollution, land degradation, and a decrease in biodiversity (Salsedo, 2011). Reports produced by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (2006) which state that the livestock sector is one of the largest sources of greenhouse gases are often cited by vegans as support for the idea that meat-eating is contributing to pollution (Salsedo, 2011). Additionally,

livestock require more protein, water and calories than they produce, and are therefore considered by vegans to be a wasteful form of production (The Vegan Society). Thus, so-called “environmental” vegans believe vegan diets are beneficial because they require much less land and resources in general.

The final main motivation that the Vegan Society identifies is personal health. Recent research has found evidence that a plant-based diet can prevent illnesses such as heart disease, type 2 diabetes, and cancer, and that it often leads to lower blood pressure and cholesterol. As a result, there are numerous individuals who switch to eating a vegan diet due to some negative health event (stroke, heart attack, etc.). These individuals can be classified as eating a vegan diet but not adhering to a vegan lifestyle, as their vegan choices do not often extend outside of the realm of food. Greenebaum (2012) refers to these individuals as “health vegans,” but they will be referred to as “plant-based eaters” in this paper, as that is what my speakers used to label themselves.

While most vegans are initially influenced by one of these factors, many adopt the rest of the motivations after they have transitioned to the lifestyle. However, the fact that these differing paths of entry exist has caused many arguments and debates over how best to live out the vegan philosophy, and how to convince others to similarly make a change. For animal rights vegans, the framing of the treatment of animals as a civil rights issue, with a specific focus on animal rights, is the most common method for spreading the movement. However, for environmental vegans and plant-based eaters, the focus is usually placed on the well-being of humans and ecosystems rather than animals, and the movement advocates for reduction and reform rather than total abstinence (King, 2011). These vegans believe that reducing any amount of reliance on animal products, even without a moral motivation, is good enough, while animal rights vegans believe that one can only be a true vegan if they place value around animal rights and abstain from using all animal products (Greenebaum, 2012).

Greenebaum (2012) further investigated the division between those who “eat” vegan and those who “live” vegan. He found that animal rights vegans tended to present themselves as being more committed to the diet and as holding a moral high ground over plant-based eaters. Additionally, they exhibited a belief that plant-based eaters tended to be motivated by fad diets and health crazes, that it is easier for them to cheat, and that they are generally motivated by self-interest. Having placed themselves on the moral high ground, Greenebaum (2012) found that when animal rights vegans failed to live up to the strict standards that they claimed plant-based eaters did not adhere to, they either altered their public behavior to define a community “gray area” or blamed the structure of society in general and its lack of support for a vegan diet. For example, many vegans argue over whether additives like sugar and honey should be excluded from a vegan diet. As a result, any vegan’s decision to include these foods in their diets is justified because it is considered a “gray area.” Some animal rights vegans also justify the use of medicines tested on animals by acknowledging the structure of society and their inability to obtain medicine not created in this way (Greenebaum, 2012).

All three vegan identities make up a social group which chooses to be in the minority on the basis of morality. As a result, they face an initial interactional hurdle referred to as “do-gooder derogation,” or the “putting down of morally motivated others” (Minson & Monin, 2012, pg. 200). The fact that vegans base their behaviors on moral claims automatically suggests that someone with different behaviors is immoral. Minson and Monin (2012) focus on vegetarian individuals and argue that an anticipation of this moral reproach causes non-vegetarians to feel negatively toward vegetarians. They found that meat-eating participants in their study not only expected vegetarians to judge themselves as more moral than non-vegetarians, but negative valence words produced to describe vegetarians were more associated with vegetarians who viewed themselves as morally superior. In a second experiment, the researchers also found that after imagining the moral reproach of vegetarians, participants rated vegetarians far less positively. These results suggest that vegans’ perceptions of being seen as lower in the eyes of

non-vegans is justified, and that they face an unfortunate hurdle when it comes to defending their lifestyle choices.

The three primary vegan identities that exist make them an interesting avenue for further study. While all vegans are essentially advocating for the same thing (a diet or life that excludes animal products), they differ fundamentally in the ways they believe this lifestyle should be carried out. Thus, the ways in which vegans of various identities build stances relative to non-vegans and attempt to over-come the phenomenon of do-gooder derogation sheds important light on the ways these identities differ and allows one to gather a good representation of vegan advocacy techniques in general.

1.2 Approach to the Community

I first learned about veganism from my dad, who made the decision to transition to a vegan diet for health reasons over 10 years ago, when I was in middle school. While he did not require my brother and I to adhere to the same diet, he was not shy about sharing his reasons for making the switch, and as a result, I became educated on vegan issues from a relatively young age.

My dad has always found it difficult to socialize because of his strict diet, as it causes an immediate obstacle to creating solidarity with non-vegan individuals. At any event that involves food, he is inevitably forced to answer the question about why he isn't eating any meat or dairy, a question that he always dreads facing. No matter what he says, he often receives negative feedback from his peers. His listeners are either baffled and do not understand, causing my dad to feel lowered in their eyes in terms of intellect, or they are offended by my dad's supposed "attack" on their own meat-eating diet, as he cannot speak about his choice without implicating that a non-vegan diet is morally wrong. Thus, rather than feeling excited to share information about a lifestyle that is so important and inspiring to him, he feels compelled to give a simple statement and then avert the topic to something safer.

While I have never followed a vegan diet myself, I have always considered my dad's beliefs to have merit. Therefore, I began to wonder if the resentment non-vegans feel in response to my dad's moral decision was being further instigated by the linguistic resources my dad might be using to explain his reasons for being a vegan, and whether there might be other ways to talk about a vegan lifestyle without offending an audience.

1.3 Prior Study

With the questions elaborated on in section 1.2 in mind, I conducted a summer research project two years ago that involved conducting sociolinguistic interviews with three vegans I found through my dad's connections with the community. Using the Appraisal framework developed by Martin and White (2005), I investigated which evaluative resource was most often used by my participants to convey stances on a variety of vegan issues: affect, appreciation, or judgment. I concluded that because vegans were lower on a scale of normality, they did indeed compensate for this position by utilizing high amounts of judgment conveyed through language to raise themselves on the social scales of morality, capacity, and tenacity (Martin & White, 2005).

Since my dad made the initial transition to a vegan diet for health reasons, most of my participants were also health vegans that my dad knew. Additionally, they were all middle-aged women. Therefore, I decided that it would be interesting to expand this project to include a larger demographic (i.e. both more vegan identities and a wider variety of genders and ages) to investigate whether this conclusion held up in different communities and vegan identities. This paper aims to investigate these conclusions, but also to take a closer look at the ways in which vegans build their stances, simulated through a sociolinguistic interview format with myself, a non-vegan.

1.4 Ramifications for the Community

As with any more marginal lifestyle, veganism faces a number of criticisms that force its followers to constantly be at work against negative stereotypes. Besides dealing with do-gooder derogation, vegans must also combat claims that a vegan diet is a privileged one, since most individuals believe it takes a lot of time and creativity to prepare vegan meals, and that many vegan products are expensive and only available in specialty locations (Greenebaum, 2015). Additionally, many individuals argue that the vegan diet can actually have negative health effects, since it lacks essential nutrients and vitamins like vitamin B12, omega-3 fatty acids, and vitamin D. Some studies have even suggested that vegans may be at an increased risk of osteoporosis because of a lower calcium intake. Finally, others point out that meat and dairy are an important part of many cultural traditions and that it is difficult to socialize or eat out as a vegan (Greenebaum, 2015).

The prevalence of these criticisms makes it difficult for vegans to describe or talk about their lifestyle without acknowledging the critical elements of big-D discourse (Gee, 1996) that surround the movement in general. Because choosing not to consume animal products is seen as such a non-conventional choice, vegans must defend their decision to follow the diet by using scientific evidence and moral imperatives. Doing so automatically builds negative stances toward a more conventional, meat-eating diet, which is then often interpreted in a negative light by non-vegan audiences. Thus, the process is a cycle: negative stereotypes about an unconventional vegan diet prompt vegans to in turn develop negative stances toward conventional diets, which in turn offends individuals with conventional diets, who then continue to propagate negative stereotypes about vegans. Thus, the current research aims to facilitate easier interactions between in-group and out-group members of social groups (In this case, veganism). By identifying the specific linguistic strategies vegans use to defend their lifestyle, I hope to discover ways to promote a vegan diet without threatening the face of other vegans or non-vegans, and to therefore decrease the effect of anticipated moral reproach and do-gooder

derogation (Brown & Levinson, 1987). The conclusions of the study will therefore help the vegan movement spread while also allowing vegans to be more open about their way of life outside of their vegan communities.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1 Introduction to Stance

Stance is most generally defined as a process of evaluation, “whereby a stancetaker orients to an object of stance and characterizes it as having some specific quality or value (Du Bois, 2007, pg. 143). Stance and stance-taking have received much attention from scholars over the years, and the linguistic methods through which stance is conveyed have taken on many different names, including evaluation, appraisal, and attitude (Chindamo et al, 2012). In general, most of the research surrounding stance makes a distinction between affective stance (when speakers utilize their emotional responses to characterize some object), and epistemic stance (when speakers present themselves as knowledgeable or ignorant about some phenomenon) (Du Bois, 2007).

Both affective and epistemic stance rely heavily on positioning, which Harre and van Langenhove (1999, pg. 17) define as “the way in which the discursive practices constitute the speakers and hearers in certain ways.” For example, utilizing a phrase such as, “I’m happy that I’m going to the party,” positions an individual as having a positive response toward the party. Positions are inherently related to higher order social acts. Thus, they generally revolve around social value systems and scales like morality or propriety. In relation to stance, Du Bois (2007) defines positioning’s role as “situating a social actor with respect to responsibility for stance and for invoking sociocultural value” (Du Bois, 2007, pg. 143). Therefore, evaluating an object through affect or evidential markers positions the speaker as having some stance toward the object, a stance which is heavily influenced by societal and cultural values.

Research by Biber (2004, 2006) has indicated several lexical/grammatical resources in English through which speakers can easily convey evaluations and position themselves. For epistemic stance-taking, the available linguistic resources include adverbs such as *actually*, *certainly*, *apparently*, and *possibly*, complement clauses that utilize verbs such as *conclude* or adjectives such as *obvious*, and modals such as *might*, *may*, *should* and *could*. For example, a speaker might say that their final exam “might be a take-home exam,” or will “possibly be open-book.” The use of these adverbs and modals positions the speaker as having insufficient knowledge to make an assertion of certainty about either of these facts.

For affective stance, it is common for individuals to utilize adverbs such as *amazingly*, *importantly*, *surprisingly*, and *happily*, as well as complement clauses that begin with words such as *hope*, *worry*, *dread*, and *fear* (Chindamo et al, 2012). For example, a speaker might say that they are “dreading going up on stage tonight,” indicating a negative evaluation of performing onstage and positioning the speaker as being the author of that evaluation. Finally, stance can also be indicated through paralinguistic features such as prosody, tone, loudness, and gesture (Chindamo et al, 2012). For example, Keisanen (2007) suggests that a high pitch and loudness are linguistic features which indicate affective stance.

In a sociolinguistic interview context, it is important to recognize the effect that the interview genre has on the way stances are taken up by interactional participants. Any stance that an interviewee takes up is generally in response to an interviewer’s questions (Lampropoulou and Myers, 2013). This paper will investigate how members of the vegan community convey stances in a sociolinguistic interview format. It will utilize Du Bois’ (2007) stance triangle as well as the Appraisal framework (Martin and White, 2005) to understand the ways in which vegans of various backgrounds and motivations build stances which are prompted by my interview questions.

2.2 Stance Triangle

Du Bois (2007) proposes that stance can be viewed as a single act that is made up of three components: the evaluation of a stance object, the positioning of the self in relation to that object, and the alignment of that evaluation with other possible evaluations and discourse participants. Evaluation involves assigning negative and positive values to different objects through linguistic resources such as affect, judgment, and appreciation. For example, describing something as “beautiful” is a linguistic act of appreciation that assigns that object a positive value based on the aesthetic notion of beauty. The second element of the stance triangle, positioning, is the act of situating a social actor with respect to responsibility for the stance (Du Bois, 2007). In other words, a speaker who attributes a positive value to some object by describing it as “beautiful” positions themselves as taking ownership of that positive assessment. Finally, alignment is considered to be the act of referencing the relationship between two stances. Alignment can refer to a speaker’s taking up or denial of a stance projected by another speaker in the current moment of discourse, but it can also target stances established in previous moments of discourse. This concept is known as dialogicality, or the fact that an individual’s speech is always derived from and engaging with the previous speech of others (Du Bois, 2007).

The three components of stance can be viewed as a triangle whose points are represented by three key entities: the first subject, the second subject, and the shared stance object (Du Bois, 2007). Because of the triangular nature of the stance act, an utterance that only references one of these three entities still allows participants to draw inferences about the others. In the sociolinguistic interview context of the current study, the interviewee will represent the first subject, as they project the initial stance, the interviewer/listener is the second subject, and the various themes of veganism are the shared stance objects.

Du Bois (2007) maintains that it is essential to understand the full context of the situation in order to grasp the mechanisms behind alignment and stance-taking in general. This

includes the background of the stancetaker and what they have said previously in the interaction, the nature of the object toward which the stance is being directed, why that stance is being taken at that particular moment, and the nature of discourse situation (i.e. interview, casual conversation, etc.) (Du Bois, 2007). Since stance is a social act in addition to a linguistic act, it references sociocultural values. Therefore, understanding the values of the community in which a moment of discourse is taking place is essential for understanding the building of stances.

The stance triangle has primarily been utilized as a framework for studying how stance-taking can contribute to identity construction. In a study involving sociolinguistic interviews with ESOL teachers, Baynham (2011) utilizes the stance triangle to analyze positioning and alignment in narratives of professional experience. He found that his participants routinely positioned themselves in relation to the policy environment, to learners, to teaching and learning, and to their sense of control in their working lives. Importantly, their shifts in and out of performance were dependent on the participant's roles and alignments in the interview rather than particular types of narratives, suggesting that interview questions do have some influence over the ways in which particular stances are built. The present study will continue to utilize the stance triangle to expand on studies addressing how stances are built in interview contexts.

The stances that vegans choose to build contribute to their specific vegan identity. Additionally, should a vegan wish to convey these stances in a way that is non-confrontational with a non-vegan listener, the nature of the stance triangle should enable them to convey evaluations while also aligning their audience with the same evaluations in order to facilitate a smooth interaction. Thus, it is interesting to determine how the various linguistic means of evaluation may contribute to the three aspects of the stance triangle.

2.3 Appraisal Framework

The Appraisal framework, developed by Martin and White (2005), is a useful resource for studying evaluation. It is founded in the systemic functional linguistic paradigm proposed by M.A.K. Halliday, which states that there are three modes of meaning: textual, ideational, and interpersonal (Martin & White, 2005). Ideational meaning deals with experiences and the actors involved in those experiences, while textual meaning deals with information flow. Interpersonal meaning, on which the Appraisal framework focuses, is concerned with the negotiation of social relations and the ways in which people interact and share feelings (Martin & White, 2005). The Appraisal framework attempts to expand the realm of interpersonal meaning by investigating interpersonal stances. It identifies three axes along which a speaker/writer's intersubjective stance may vary: attitude, engagement, and graduation (Oteiza & Merino, 2012). These axes are illustrated in figure 1.

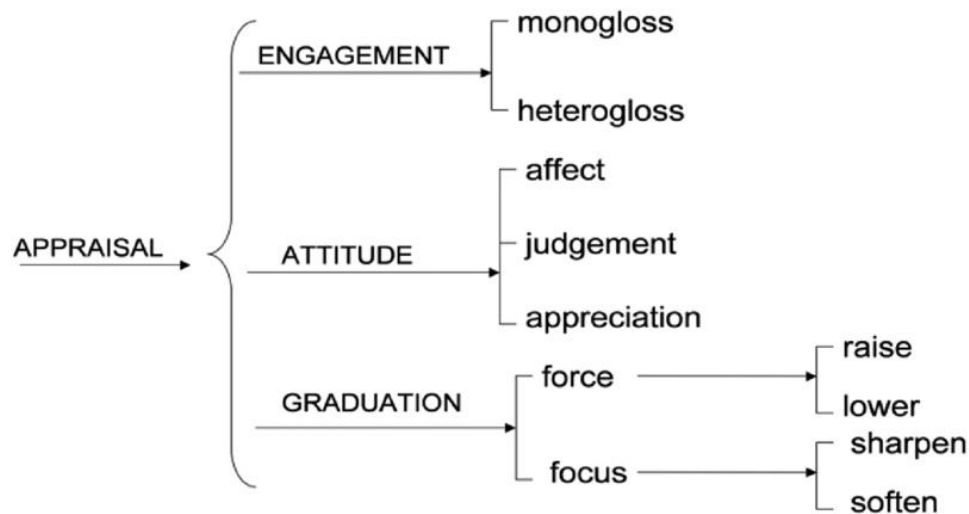


Figure 1. (Oteiza, 2017)

Attitude, on which this paper will focus, involves the assessment of something as positive or negative through affect, judgment, or appreciation. In Du Bois' (2007) terms this is the evaluation component of the stance triangle, which uses the same three aspects. Affect involves the use of emotional reactions which signify positive or negative feelings toward some

phenomenon. The Appraisal framework addresses a number of dimensions of affect, such as whether the feelings are experienced internally or realized with some extra-linguistic manifestation, whether they are part of a general ongoing mood or are a reaction to an emotional trigger, and how intense those feelings are (Martin & White, 2005). Martin and White (2005) thus conclude that affective evaluations can be divided into three categories: un/happiness, in/security, and dis/satisfaction. Un/happiness deals with moods of happiness or sadness, in/security references feelings of peace and anxiety in relation to an environment and dis/satisfaction refers to feelings of achievement and frustration in relation to activities.

Judgment, the second component of attitude identified by the Appraisal framework, deals specifically with the approval/disapproval of human behavior according to social norms (Martin & White, 2005). According to the framework, judgments can be divided into social sanction judgments and social esteem judgments (Martin & White, 2005). Social sanction judgments reference cultural rules and regulations and are generally codified in writing through documents such as laws. Typically, they deal with the social scales of legality, morality, veracity (how truthful something is), and propriety (how polite something is) (Martin & White, 2005). Sharing similar values on these scales is what forms the basis of civic duty. Social esteem judgments, on the other hand, are not seen as sins or crimes but simply raise or lower a person's status. They are generally policed and determined through oral culture such as chat, gossip, and jokes (Martin & White, 2005). They deal with the social scales of normality (how un/conventional someone is), capacity (how capable someone is), and tenacity (how resolute someone is) (Martin & White, 2005). Judgment is closely linked to modality, particularly the modalizations of probability, usuality, and ability (Martin & White, 2005).

The last component of attitude, according to the Appraisal framework, is appreciation. Appreciation involves referencing the value of different objects and natural phenomena (Martin & White, 2005). It can be divided up into three subcomponents: reactions, composition, and value. Appreciative reactions identify whether something catches our attention or pleases us and

is often related to affect. These reactions can be further divided into appreciations of impact (shown through words like *arresting, captivating or boring*), and appreciations of quality (shown through words like *fine, beautiful, or ugly*). Appreciations of composition deal with how balanced or complex something is and are closely related to perception. They can be divided into appreciations of balance (shown through words like *harmonious, unified, or uneven*), and appreciations of complexity (shown through words like *simple, pure, or extravagant*) (Martin & White, 2005). Finally, appreciations of value are closely related to cognitions and opinions, and they deal with how innovative, authentic, or timely something is. They are indicated through words like *penetrating, profound, deep, shallow, or fake* (Martin & White, 2005).

The other two axes along which a speaker's intersubjective stance may vary are referred to by the Appraisal framework as engagement and graduation. Graduation, or the adjustment of the intensity or precision of a stance, will not be discussed in this paper. However, engagement, or the sourcing of attitudes and the entertainment of various opinions, is an important axis to consider when it comes to identity construction. Engagement deals specifically with the ways linguistic resources like modality and polarity position the speaker with respect to a value, position or stance (Martin & White, 2005). Thus, engagement is heavily influenced by Bakhtin's concept of dialogism (Bakhtin, 1981). These two theories state that all verbal communication reveals the influence of and refers to what has been said before, in addition to anticipating what could potentially be said in the future. Thus, engagement examines how speakers align or disalign with other stances. This is also known as the third component of Du Bois' (2007) stance triangle.

Martin and White (2005) explain that if a statement does not overtly reference any alternative positions, then it can be considered a bare assertion. However, statements which do reference alternative opinions can be considered either dialogically expansive or dialogically contractive. Dialogically expansive statements represent a proposition as a single idea out of many others, and they make allowances for alternative positions. In contrast, dialogically

contrastive statements challenge and fend off alternative opinions (Martin & White, 2005). Multiple methods can be used to engage with previous stances. The ones identified by the Appraisal framework include those of disclaim, proclaim, entertain, and attribute. Disclaim, which is used by a speaker to reject some contrary position through denial (negation) or countering, and proclaim, which involves representing a proposition as very true by ruling out alternative positions, are both dialogically contractive. However, entertain, which presents a proposition as being subjective and as being one of only a range of possible opinions, and attribute, which represents a proposition as being one of a range of possible positions by showing that it is grounded in the subjectivity of some external voice, are dialogically expansive.

In the relevant literature, the Appraisal framework has thus far primarily been used to investigate written forms of discourse, particularly artifacts from the genre of journalism. For example, much of White's own research has focused on Appraisal in the media and the ways in which even supposedly "objective" news reports use invocations (implications) of positive and negative attitude (White, 2009). Other studies using Appraisal have investigated the use of evaluation in academic essays and in the classroom in general. For example, Liu (2013) investigated the use of evaluative language between high-rated and low-rated English argumentative essays written by EFL students, and Ferguson (2010) investigated what types of linguistic resources teachers and students utilize to evaluate their work and the process of learning in the classroom. Another recent area of research relating to Appraisal involves computational methods and sentiment analysis (Whitelaw, Garg, & Argamon, 2005)

A small number of studies have focused on the connection between Appraisal and identity. A study by Delahunty (2012) investigated how appraisal is utilized to form multiple identities in an online discussion forum, and Zappavigna (2014) also investigated identity-building on Twitter. However, overall, there are currently few studies utilizing Appraisal that link its role in persuasion (as investigated in journalistic discourse) with its potential role in identity construction. Additionally, few studies have utilized it to analyze spoken discourse.

Therefore, this research fills a gap in the literature by investigating how persuasion itself can be built into identities, and by applying the framework to spoken data.

3. Methodology

The data for this study consist of five sociolinguistic interviews with vegan speakers of varying ages and backgrounds. The sociolinguistic interview is an often-used sociolinguistic method of data collection which aims to collect the most naturalistic sample of spoken discourse as possible for an interview setting (Labov, 1972). The participants were recruited by reaching out to specific, well-known vegan activists in my community, who then directed me toward other vegans. Three of the speakers identified themselves as animal rights vegans. The first two speakers, identified with the pseudonyms Michael and Elise, are a middle-aged husband and wife with two children who consider themselves to be primarily animal rights vegans who participate daily in animal activism efforts. The family has rescued two pigs who live in their home and whom they use to carry out their vegan campaigns. Elise works as a teacher while Michael carries out activism as his full-time job. The couple's children are also being raised vegan. Amy is a nurse who has also participated in a number of activism efforts with Michael. She was recently married, and her husband went vegan around the same time. Finally, George is a middle-aged animal rights vegan who advocates for animal rights daily through social media. Additionally, he is a big proponent of yoga and meditation as a way to connect oneself with all living things.

The other two participants represent the remaining two vegan identities. Leah is a middle-aged plant-based eater who transitioned to the diet because of digestive issues and who was certified as a vegan educator through a class given by a well-known vegan activist. She teaches vegan cooking classes out of her own home to individuals interested in transitioning to the diet. Her husband and two daughters also try to follow the vegan diet. John is a college-aged,

environmental vegan who became a vegan a year prior to his interview because of his disdain for the impact the animal agriculture industry has on the environment.

Four of the interviews were conducted in-person in public locations, while one was conducted through a Skype call due to physical distance between myself and the participant. The interview schedule always began by asking participants for their How I Became a Vegan Story. However, it branched out to include questions addressing common themes and discussions within the vegan community, including family reactions to their vegan transition and opinions surrounding the consumption of faux meats. New questions were also added as the conversation progressed in keeping with best practices for encouraging naturalistic discourse in sociolinguistic interviews. Additionally, the participants were not told whether or not I was a vegan at the beginning of the interview. Rather, they were only informed of this fact if they inquired about it at some point during the course of the conversation.

I transcribed each interview utilizing the transcription software Transcriber and then reformatted the transcripts into a Word document with line numbers. The transcription conventions utilized are listed below (based on Cochrane 2014 and Schiffrin 1994).

.	Final Intonation
,	Continuing Intonation
?	Rising Intonation
:	Lengthened syllable
th-	Truncated word/syllable
The --	truncated intonation unit (Chafe, 1984)
THE	emphasis
..	pause during intonation unit from half a second to one second
...	pause during a turn from one to three seconds
@	laughter (repeated indicates greater length and/or intensity)

hh	audible breath out
h^	audible breath in
Mhm	non-lexical backchanneling
“ “	direct constructed dialogue (Tannen, 2007/1989)
[]	overlapping speech
{ }	comment on voice quality or inaudibility

Before any coding took place, each transcript was broken up into key themes addressed by the interview questions. For example, a number of questions were asked to each interviewee, such as the How I Became a Vegan Story, the Biggest Change question, and family reactions. Other questions were more dependent on the speakers, such as questions about the medical community for plant-based eaters and questions about the animal agriculture industry for animal rights vegans. Each of these sections was separated and labeled with its respective title. Additionally, sections of the transcripts that did not contain any material of interest were marked off as being unimportant for the current study and were not included in the later coding documents.

Each transcript was given its own Excel file with three different sheets: one for affect, one for judgment, and one for appreciation. As the only coder, I coded tokens of affect for the speaker, the emoter, whether the affect was authorial or non-authorial, the specific emotion, whether the evaluation was positive or negative, and the target of the evaluation. The specific emotion for all instances of affect was coded as liking or dislike unless a specific emotion word was used in the token itself. In those situations, the specific emotion mentioned was coded. Situations that reflected opinions or feelings of indifference were coded with “indifference” for the emotion and “ambiguous” for the polarity of the evaluation. Instances of self-talk, onomatopoeia and interjections were also coded as implied affect. For example, “oh my gosh,” was coded as indicating an affective reaction of liking or dislike.

Evaluations of human behaviors were coded as instances of judgment. These judgments were coded according to six scales: morality, tenacity, capacity, propriety, veracity, and legality (Martin & White, 2005). They were identified on the basis of words with implicit social values (such as “cheat,” “murder,” “lazily” etc.) in addition to linguistic phenomena such as constructed dialogue, which served to represent another speaker’s behavior as separate from the speaker’s and open for evaluation. Judgment tokens were coded as morality judgments when the speakers were discussing animal welfare/rights. Tokens that constituted tenacity judgments typically involved some discussion of the commitment required to take up a vegan diet/lifestyle. Instances of speakers discussing an individual’s ability to understand the benefits of veganism were coded as capacity judgments. These were particularly common when vegans discussed the medical community’s lack of education on a vegan diet. Finally, propriety judgments were coded when speakers spoke about others’ reactions to their vegan lifestyle if they weren’t respecting their decision to be vegan.

While the Appraisal coding was initially intended to include tokens of appreciation, by mid-way through the coding process, it became apparent that appreciation was not being utilized nearly as much as affect and judgment. This is most likely because a vegan lifestyle is an aspect of human behavior, and therefore evaluations directed toward it tended to be judgments. Therefore, I decided to cease coding for appreciation and focus the analysis on affect and judgment.

4. Analysis: Appraisal Framework

As individuals who lead what society would label as an “unconventional lifestyle,” vegans run the risk of being lowered in the eyes of society on a number of social scales, particularly the scale of normality. A possible means for protecting oneself from these potential judgments involves the use of evaluative language to either a) raise and protect one’s higher position on alternative social scales or b) legitimize a switch to the lifestyle by aligning listeners with vegan

stances. The Appraisal framework analysis will focus on the usage of two evaluative tools (affect and judgment) by vegans in order to assess whether these are seen by vegans as valuable means for protecting and legitimizing one's vegan identity. Focusing on affect, the paper will investigate how speakers of different vegan identities employ varying levels of authorial and non-authorial affect, and whether this affect may be useful for aligning listeners with vegan stances and making a non-normative lifestyle seem justified. Then, attention will be paid to which social scales are most often targeted by the judgments of individuals who take up the different vegan identities, and whether these judgments function as a means for compensating for a lower position on a scale of normality.

4.1 Affect

Affect was a common evaluative tool used by my participants to convey assessments of various aspects of a vegan lifestyle. The specific emotions that were used and the contexts in which they appeared varied based on the vegan identity of the speaker. For example, when discussing their How I Became a Vegan Story, two self-identified animal rights vegans, Michael and Elise, displayed seven tokens of affect, while an environmental vegan, John, only displayed 3 and a plant-based eater, Leah, displayed none. This suggests that emotions are considered to be an important evaluative tool for the animal rights vegan identity, while they play a much smaller role in the advocacy of a plant-based eater or environmental vegan.

The usage of affect by animal rights vegans is particularly noticeable in extracts taken from an interview with Michael and Elise. A total of 113 tokens of affect were coded in their transcript. As mentioned previously, Michael and Elise displayed the greatest number of tokens of affect in their How I Became a Vegan Story relative to other vegan participants. For example, in the extract below, Elise discusses the couple's motivations for transitioning their children to a vegan diet.

140. **Elise:** but we kinda wanted them to know: WHY

evaluate a meat-eating diet while also justifying this evaluation through her positive emotions toward animals. This justification combined with her emphasis on sad (ln 147) suggests that Elise assumes most individuals share an inherent love for animals, and that her emphasis on her affective reaction is acting as a signal to her listeners that they are in aligned with her stance. Should this attempt at rapport-building be successful, a transition to a vegan diet should seem more justified, and any potential judgments that could be formed of Elise on the basis of normality should be counteracted.

The idea that the use of affect by animal rights vegans may be an attempt at aligning/rapport-building is further supported by the balanced use of authorial and non-authorial affect in Michael and Elise’s transcript. Overall, 47 out of 108 instances of affect were coded as non-authorial in the transcript, making up about 43% of the total affect, almost half of the tokens. This balanced trend is visible even within specific themes of the transcript. For example, in the How I Became a Vegan Story, three instances of authorial affect and three instances of non-authorial were recorded. In the section discussing negative reactions from non-vegans, the numbers are again balanced, with 11 tokens of non-authorial affect and 11 of authorial. Generally, this balance of authorial and non-authorial affect was due to Michael and Elise’s tendency to use non-authorial affect to describe the emotions of the animals being treated unfairly by the animal agriculture industry. For example, in the extract below, Elise describes the negative emotional reactions that pigs who are manufactured for human consumption have toward their own treatment.

625.	Elise:	[you know sometimes] they look...like they're in pain or they're sad
626.	Kate:	[wo:w]
627.	Elise:	some..almost sad to say..look..happy?
628.		almost? just because it's like
629.	Elise:	[I'm outside and here] you know what is this
630.	Michael:	[It's new they're just curious yeah it's like]
631.	Elise:	[and they're about] to die
632.	Kate:	[yeah]

633. **Elise:** [and you're ju-] I don't know which is more heartbreaking
 634. **Kate:** [mhm]
 635. **Elise:** [the ones that are] thinking this is fun or the ones
 636. **Michael:** [yeah]
 637. **Elise:** that just look like they're miserable...[but]

In this extract, Elise ascribes several instances of negative affect to the pigs being killed. For example, she says that they are *in pain*, *sad* (ln 625), and *miserable* (ln 637). Describing the emotional reactions of the pigs first builds an evaluation on behalf of the pigs toward their own treatment. However, Elise also utilizes authorial affect to align herself as being in agreement with the stance projected by the pigs. She says that it is *heartbreaking* (ln 633), indicating her own negative evaluation of the pigs' treatment and aligning herself with the pigs' stance.

Elise's use of rising intonation in lines 627 and 628 suggests that her use of non-authorial affect is also an attempt to align her audience with the pigs' stance. Guy and Vonwiller (1984) write that rising intonation primarily functions as a verification of the listener's comprehension, but that it can also function as a request for affective feedback, to check if the listener is with the speaker emotionally. Thus, Elise's use of rising intonation in these lines hints at her desire to have her listeners understand and agree with her and the pigs' emotional reactions. Should Elise succeed in bringing her listener to understand her emotional reactions, the potentially negative effect of a non-normative identity could be counteracted, as she is helping her non-vegan audience acknowledge the fact that it is actually already aligned with the negative stances vegans have toward meat-eating.

A balanced usage of authorial and non-authorial affect is also visible in an interview with another self-identified animal rights vegan: George. While discussing the reactions non-vegans have toward his activism efforts, he attempts to describe the emotions individuals generally feel toward animal suffering in the extract below.

569. **George:** some people are unaffected..for whatever reason
 570. or- and I could give like five of their reasons but
 571. and some- yeah some folks who eat meat..definitely do not wanna

572. **Kate:** see that part of it
573. **George:** yeah
574. and and really strongly react to that sort of thing
 and if they..some of these folks also were to see that being done or
 even..shall we say less violent
575. to uh dogs or cats?
576. they get very very very upset.
577. even just looking at eu- euthanasia
578. for- for for uh..quote on quote unwanted companion animals
579. they get very upset.

George mentions that most individuals get *very upset* (ln 579) when they learn about any violence done to companion animals like dogs and cats. Thus, using non-authorial affect, he builds a stance on the part of non-vegans toward the treatment of animals: a token of negative affect negatively evaluates the mistreatment of animals and thus, by extension, the consumption of them. George aligns himself as being in agreement with the stance he attributes to non-vegans through his usage of the phrase *for whatever reason* (ln 567), which conveys that not having this emotional reaction seems abnormal to him. Once again, rising intonation suggests that George's use of non-authorial constitutes an attempt to signal to his audience that because of universal, human, emotional reactions to animal mistreatment, their own stances are already aligned with vegans, since they hold the same negative stance toward animal mistreatment that vegans do. Thus, non-authorial affect may allow him to protect his position in society by making a vegan lifestyle seem so justified that its unconventionality is insignificant enough to not warrant a normality judgment.

Amy, another animal rights vegan, also utilized non-authorial affect in her transcript. However, rather than using emotional reactions to evaluate veganism itself, she targeted her evaluations at the judgments and impolite behaviors displayed by non-vegans which act as a threat to the vegan identity in the first place. For example, in the extract below, she discusses a reaction she received from a man behind her in line at Starbucks after learning about her lifestyle.

520. **Amy:** yeah
 521. and I've s- I've heard from some um vegans who will
 522. um avoid using the word vegan because it's
 523. it's a trigger word for some people they get really angry about-
 524. when uh the ca- uh cashier just now at Starbucks asked me about
 the shirt
 525. the guy behind me like "ugh" like
 526. like made a dismissive noise I'm like
 527. hh "alright like sorry I brought it up" @

Not only does Amy use the affective word *angry* (ln 523) to describe how some people negatively evaluate her decision to live a vegan lifestyle, but she expands beyond explicit emotion words to convey her criticisms through constructed dialogue. Constructed dialogue refers to the speech of another individual which is relayed by a different speaker at a later time, also often referred to as “reported speech (Tannen, 2007/1989).” A study by Debras (2015) concluded that speakers use multimodal enactment (change in pitch, gesture, etc.) when conveying constructed dialogue in order to distance themselves from a stance, but that they do not use multimodal enactment when they are endorsing a stance. The only item included in the dialogue on the part of Amy’s criticizer is the interjection, *ugh* (ln 525). As a form of onomatopoeia which involves a pitch change, *ugh* can be considered a type of multimodal expression, and it therefore suggests that Amy is distancing and disaligning herself from the man’s stance. Although her negative evaluation of the man’s behavior is already indicated through constructed dialogue, her inclusion of authorial affect later on in the segment further contributes to her evaluation. The sigh at the beginning of her constructed dialogue in line 527 conveys her own negative emotional reaction toward the man’s initial response, indicating her decision not to take up his stance. Amy’s balanced use of authorial and non-authorial affect helps illustrate to her listener that they share these same negative, human emotions toward disrespect and impoliteness, aligning her listener with a negative stance toward the man’s behavior. Thus, Amy protects her position in society by framing the man’s actions as

disrespectful and suggesting that the judgments most vegans feel they must necessarily push back against are unwarranted in the first place.

Across participants, individuals who did not identify as animal rights vegans displayed significantly fewer tokens of non-authorial affect than those who did. For example, tokens of non-authorial affect made up only 0.085% of John's affect tokens and 24% of Leah's, as shown in Figure 2. George, an animal rights vegan, is the only individual whose affective tokens do not follow this trend, as he used a larger amount of authorial affect.

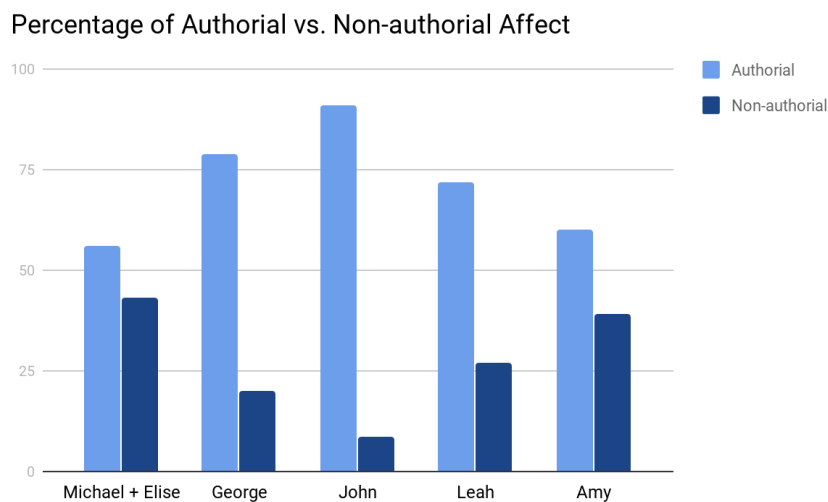


Figure 2

Overall, affect was not utilized as often by individuals who used small amounts of non-authorial affect, such as Leah and John. While animal rights vegans like Michael and Elise used intense emotional imperatives, John and Leah did not utilize this resource as fully. In fact, John's emotional reactions toward various aspects of veganism were much less extreme than those indicated by animal rights vegans like Michael and Elise. In his transcript, several instances of authorial indifference were coded as being directed at veganism, something only seen as non-authorial tokens attributed to non-vegans in Michael and Elise's interview. For

example, in the extract below, John discusses his feelings toward some of the more controversial aspects of a vegan diet, such as whether or not vegan individuals should consume food products produced by insects, such as honey and red 40.

526. **John:** um but yeah I'm very:
527. I tend to be very strict with like everything
528. um except like bee- like..insect production
529. so like honey I eat honey
530. um like I'm cool with it there and like
531. s- red 40 which comes out of beetles
532. I'm cool with that too um

In lines 526-532, John uses the phrase *I'm cool with it* (ln 530) to describe his feelings toward eating honey and red 40. This phrase suggests that he is not necessarily a proponent of eating these two substances, but that he doesn't have a problem with it either, therefore conveying a feeling of indifference and an ambiguous stance toward this aspect of veganism. Thus, while most animal rights vegans utilized very strong emotions and evaluations, John's did not seem to rely as fully on affect. Therefore, it did not appear that John considered this to be a useful linguistic means for justifying his lifestyle.

Leah, a plant-based eater, also exhibited a much larger number of tokens of authorial affect relative to non-authorial ones. Additionally, she utilized a very small amount of affect in general. In fact, almost all her emotional evaluations revolved around food: tokens of dislike directed at meat and non-vegan food, and tokens of liking directed at vegan foods. These included affective tokens directed at foods were common throughout most of the interviews in sections discussing favorite foods. Therefore, they were left out of the analysis for most speakers and not considered in the affect totals. This limited usage of affect by Leah suggests that because emotions do not play a large roll in her decision to follow a vegan diet, she does not find affect to be as useful of an evaluative tool for protecting her position in society. Rather, she tends to utilize other means of evaluation to justify her decision to eat the way that she does.

Overall, the trends of affect across the different vegan identities suggest that because emotions play a larger role in an animal rights vegan's decision to follow a vegan lifestyle, affect becomes a useful evaluative tool. Balanced numbers of authorial and non-authorial affect accompanied by indicators of attempted alignment, such as rising intonation, suggest that tapping into shared human emotions may be a tool which vegans find useful for making a transition to their lifestyle seem justified. This justification could potentially counteract the negative normality judgments commonly directed at vegans by suggesting that vegan critics already share the same evaluations of animal mistreatment and meat consumption that vegans do, making negative evaluations of a vegan lifestyle seem unwarranted. Vegans who are not animal rights vegans, such as environmental vegans and plant-based eaters, did not exhibit large amounts of affect in their interviews, as their identities are less rooted in emotions from the start. Thus, affective evaluations did not appear to be considered by these individuals to be a vital means for justifying a vegan lifestyle.

4.2 Judgment

Because veganism is a lifestyle choice, the evaluations that are directed toward vegans themselves are generally negative ones surrounding the social scales of normality and capacity. Thus, it was especially common for my vegan participants to utilize this same evaluative resource to counteract the effects of these negative judgments. By making their own negative judgments of the behavior of non-vegans, they raised themselves on alternative social scales, attempting to protect their position in society by compensating for a lowered position on the scale of normality with extremely high, secure positions on others.

The judgments that my participants employed revolved around 4 social scales identified by Martin and White (2005): propriety, morality, tenacity, and capacity. Propriety judgments were primarily found in sections of the interviews where participants discussed their efforts to spread the vegan movement or the reactions they receive from non-vegans in response to their

lifestyle. Morality judgments revolved around the issues of animal rights. Capacity judgments referenced the ability of an individual to understand why a vegan diet could be beneficial, and tenacity judgments referred to the ability of an individual to make an all-out change to the diet without reverting to one that includes meat and dairy.

Analyzing these judgments across the three main vegan identities suggests that vegans all utilize great amounts of judgment to raise themselves on various social scales. However, the ways in which these scales are prioritized varies depending on the speaker. For example, Michael and Elise demonstrated high numbers of morality judgments, suggesting that an animal rights vegan prioritizes maintaining a high position on the scale of morality to protect its social status. However, Leah demonstrated a much larger number of capacity judgments, suggesting that maintaining an air of authority based on knowledge of the benefits of a vegan diet was seen by her as the most important means to compensate for the unconventionality of her lifestyle. Thus, it appears that protecting one's status on some social scale relative to non-vegans is important to all vegans, but that the specific scale targeted depends on the vegan identity.

As mentioned previously, morality was the social scale most often referenced by animal rights vegans, who utilized these judgments to raise themselves through positive judgments of vegan behaviors or negative judgments of non-vegan ones. Michael and Elise demonstrated 204 tokens of judgment, 92 of which referenced the scale of morality, making up about 45% of the total tokens of judgment, as shown in figure 3.

Percentage of Judgments Based on Social Scale: Michael & Elise

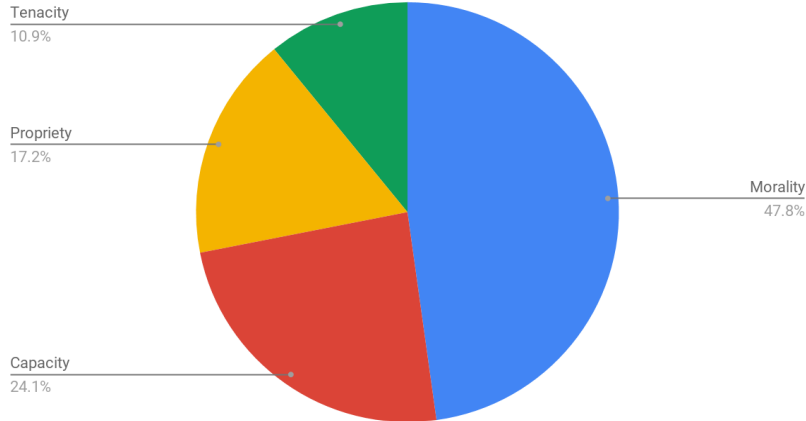


Figure 3

Most of these tokens occurred in portions of the interview where the two speakers were talking about animal rights. For example, in the extract below, Michael and Elise discuss the negative ways in which dairy farmers treat their animals.

1015. **Michael:** I mean it's like..when you read about the dairy farms going out of
Business and they're like
1016. "oh but we put our animals first" and it's like
1017. "you kill them when they're four years old like no matter what" like
1018. like an animal that will live like 15 to 20 years
1019. **Michael:** "[you kill] them at four like that's not..putting the animal fi[rst
like]"
1020. **Elise:** [yeah] [if your bus]iness is..to make money
1021. **Michael:** [awful. yeah]

In this extract, Michael and Elise draw on the immoral notions of murder and abuse to negatively evaluate the mistreatment of animals by the animal agriculture industry. In line 1017, they say that the animals are killed when they are a very young age, and in line 1019, Michael says that dairy farmers are not putting the animals first. Both of these actions are generally regarded by society as immoral, and they therefore constitute a negative morality judgment. Additionally, he repeats the fact that dairy farmers are killing animals when they are four years old in both lines 1017 and 1019, intensifying his judgment and focusing it specifically on the

dairy farmers through a direct address with the use of the pronoun *you* (ln 1017). The constructed dialogue included in this section also serves to distance Michael from the stance portrayed by dairy farmers in line 1016, that they *put [their] animals first*. By conveying the dairy farmer's stance through a quotation, Michael illustrates that he is not aligned with it, and prepares his listener to expect and register a negative evaluation and judgment of it. Through both statements, Michael lowers the animal agriculture industry, and by association meat-eaters, on the scale of morality, while also protecting his own high moral status for recognizing the immorality of these actions. Thus, although he unavoidably occupies a lower position on the scale of normality, he is able to compensate for this position by raising himself on the morality scale to justify his unconventional lifestyle and prevent being lowered in the eyes of society.

The greater presence of morality judgments in speech by animal rights vegans was common across themes besides animal rights. Sections of the interviews discussing divisions within the vegan community and responses that non-vegans have to a vegan diet were also common parts of the interview in which to find them. For example, in the extract below, Elise describes the mistreatment she is often subjected to at the hands of non-vegans who do not appreciate she and her husband's activism.

916. **Elise:** and so it's very hard to be someone who:
917. is making choices out of a place of compassion and love
918. and yet you are treated..with the most disdain and hate and
 disrespect of.. of any- any person @
919. I mean..not you know with race and everything else I know that's a
 that's a huge issue but it's just
920. so much anger comes out at me just because I don't eat meat.

In line 917, Elise utilizes the emotions of *compassion* and *love* to raise herself on a scale of morality, as making a decision based on these emotions is seen by society as more moral. However, in line 918, she mentions that she and other vegans are treated with the *most disdain and hate and disrespect* of any person. Using non-authorial affect, Elise makes a negative

morality judgment of non-vegan listeners, as treating another individual with hate is generally regarded as immoral. The word *yet* at the beginning of line 918 serves to further this judgment, as it suggests that non-vegans are treating her in an immoral way even though she has the high position on a scale of morality that she attributed to herself in the first line. This in itself lowers non-vegans even further because she suggests that they can't even recognize what is moral. In line 920, she says that *so much anger comes out at me just because I don't eat meat*. Again, the use of the word *just* indicates some level of absurdity on the part of non-vegans. Through the use of these positive and negative morality judgments, Elise is not only able to maintain her own high position on the scale of morality, but also manages to use that high position to intensify her judgment of her critics, lowering them even further as she questions why non-vegans should look down on her at all.

John, an environmental vegan, illustrates an alternative ranking of the importance of these social scales. He displayed a considerably smaller number of tokens of judgment (54). Only 14 of these tokens were labeled as morality judgments, making up 25% of his data, a much lower portion compared to Michael and Elise, although still a substantial amount, since environmentalism still has some links to morality. 25 of the tokens were coded as capacity judgments, making up 46% of the data. These levels of judgment are illustrated in Figure 4.

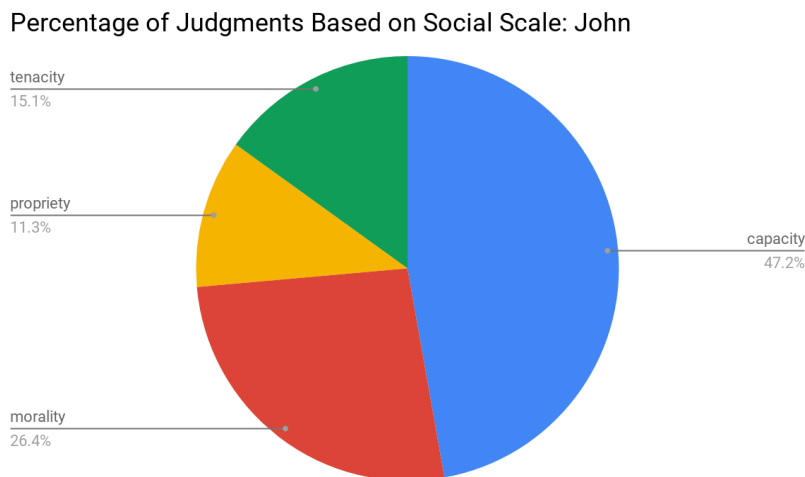


Figure 4

These differing amounts of judgment suggest that John prioritizes maintaining his position on the scale of capacity, justifying his decision to transition to a vegan diet by claiming that other individuals fail to understand the obvious benefits it could have on the world. For example, in the extract below, he discusses the terrible quality of the meat products produced by the company Tysons, maintaining that no individuals should be eating them and that his decision to refrain from consuming its products is an entirely justified, educated decision.

1162. **John:** like Tysons nobody should be eating Tysons
1163. **Kate:** yeah
1164. **John:** like Tysons is crap I-
1165. I stopped eating Tysons like in eighth grade
1166. **Kate:** yeah
1167. **John:** before even going vegan like
1168. you know what I mean like the red like Tysons thing yeah
1169. **Kate:** mhm
1170. **John:** that brand like that brand is shit it's a grade f
1171. **John:** [like] yeah it's [terrible]

In this extract, the phrase *nobody should be eating Tysons* (ln 1162) creates an initial negative evaluation directed at individuals who do eat it. Although the social scale being targeted at this moment is unclear, John's assertion in line 1165 that he *stopped eating Tysons like in eighth grade* and that he did this *before even going vegan* (ln 1167) indicates that he has chosen to address the scale of capacity to justify his abstinence from the food made by this company. The fact that he understood from a young age that Tysons was unhealthy suggests that individuals who still eat Tysons are failing to grasp the obvious, especially considering John emphasizes the negative evaluation of Tysons products through the usage of profanity (*shit* or *grade f*) in line 1170. These two appreciations intensify the capacity judgment and lower non-vegans even further on a scale of capacity. Additionally, John's use of the word *even* (ln 1167) raises himself even higher on the scale by suggesting that not only can he grasp the benefits of the diet, but his ability to do so is exceptional considering he recognized it from a very early

point. Thus, rather than address the moral issues with Tysons like an animal rights vegan might do, John gives himself an air of authority by raising himself on the scale of capacity and protecting himself from being lowered in the eyes of society.

John's capacity judgments are not solely directed at a non-vegan public in general. Rather, they are applied even to his own family members. For example, in the extract below, he draws on both the scales of capacity and tenacity to negatively evaluate his dad's attitude toward his son's unconventional diet.

379. **John:** [and my dad is] very anti like
380. **Kate:** [very cool] (response to previous utterance from John)
381. **John:** "no you need to have meat you need to have dairy" and I'm like
382. "well you have health issues that
383. you need to like they're like actually work on because"
384. he eats a LOT of meat and a lot of dairy um
385. he does live like a healthy lifestyle like they always go out and like
 walk and do things
386. that are active
387. but he has like heart problems he has um
388. blood sugar problems so like
389. there's a lot of things that can be addressed
390. **John:** but he's not willing to even do like..two weeks of.. [cutting] them
 out

In these lines, John negatively evaluates his dad's negative capacity judgment of his son's diet, introduced with constructed dialogue in line 381, when his dad hypothetically states that John needs to be eating meat and dairy. The use of constructed dialogue not only indicates John's disalignment, but sets up his dad's stance as a straw man argument, or a stance that the audience should expect to be refuted or negatively evaluated by John later. This expected negative evaluation comes in the form of a tenacity judgment, which becomes especially clear when John mentions that his dad has health issues that he needs to *actually work on* (In 383). The inclusion of the word *actually* suggests that his dad is aware of his health problems, but that he has not made the step to really fix them. In the last line of the excerpt, John mentions that his dad is not *willing to even do like..two weeks of cutting them out*. Again, the word *even* in this

line suggests that the task his father isn't *willing to do* is not that big. Thus, both of these phrases constitute negative evaluations of John's father on the basis of tenacity, in that he is unwilling to make a change to his diet in order to fix his health. Through all of these lines, John is able to take the initial scale targeted by his father and counteract it with constructed dialogue while also introducing an entirely new scale on which to judge his father. These negative evaluations raise John on both the scales of tenacity and capacity, counteracting his dad's own attempts to lower him on a scale of normality and capacity and thus protecting his status in the eyes of his dad and of society.

The third primary vegan identity, plant-based eater, represents the other end of the scale in terms of the use of morality judgments. While John utilized fewer moral judgments than animal rights vegans, Leah, a plant-based eater, displayed only 10 morality judgments out of a total of 100, making up only 10% of her judgments. On the other hand, 35% were capacity judgments and 41% were propriety judgments, as shown in Figure 5. Therefore, based on this speaker's data, it seems that Leah's plant-based identity is much more focused on her own ability to understand the health benefits of a vegan diet and to stick to the diet even without a large moral motivation.

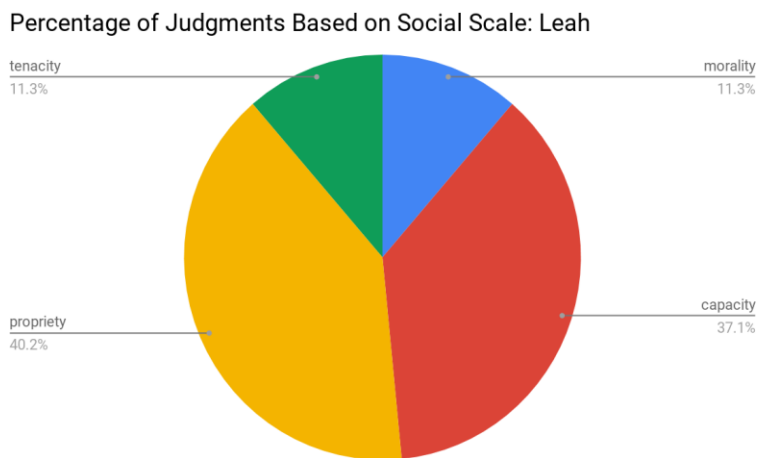


Figure 5

For example, in the extract below, Leah discusses the fact that most doctors lack an education in nutrition, meaning they often do not understand the benefits of a vegan diet.

923. **Leah:** um but yeah it's..it's really odd.@
924. that you wouldn't get it.
925. cu- you would think that'd be your first line of..defense
926. like..you get a lot of pharmacology stuff you get a lot of
927. you know all that kind of stuff by why not
928. teach people "well maybe prevent some of this stuff by
 just..changing your dietary habits?"
929. I don't know.
930. **Kate:** yeah
931. **Leah:** it's not rocket science to me but [I don't know @]

In line 923, Leah says that it is *really odd* that doctors don't receive a lot of nutrition training, negatively evaluating the medical community on the basis of capacity, since it fails to understand the importance of an education in nutrition. Additionally, she intensifies this capacity judgment through the intensifier *really* (ln 923) along with her laughter following the word *odd*, which hints at a negative affective reaction toward the medical community's lack of nutritional knowledge. Leah also mentions in line 925 that *you would think* that type of education would be included in a medical curriculum. This statement can be seen as an attempt to reference the common ground (Stalnaker, 2002), or what is considered shared background knowledge between the speaker and the listener, and hints at Leah's attempt to align her audience with her stance, since she considers the obvious importance of nutritional education to be common sense. Finally, in line 931, Leah mentions that *it's not rocket science* to her, again suggesting that the medical community is simply unable to grasp the obvious: that a vegan diet could easily reverse many of the medical issues individuals are experiencing. Through all of these statements, Leah makes the fact that a vegan diet is so beneficial for one's health seem so obvious that failing to recognize it immediately lowers one's status in terms of capacity. Thus, she simultaneously raises herself on this scale, as it is clear that she recognizes its importance,

since she is the one pointing out that it is obvious. This higher position on a scale of capacity compensates for her lowered position on the scale of normality, preventing her from being lowered in the eyes of society.

Similar to John, Leah's capacity judgments also extend to her own family members, as shown in the extract below, when she describes her sister-in-law's attempts to understand Leah's lifestyle and diet.

482. **Leah:** you know I think it's it's definitely.. better now than it was like a couple years ago.
483. I think it's becoming more a term that people are aware of..um
484. but yeah they still don't quite understand it because they think
485. like I have a sister-in-law bless her heart
486. I mean she ju- you know vegan
487. she still d- she's STARTING to understand but you know for the longest time she thought
488. **Leah:** oh we still ate fish, or we still ate dair[y, I mean] there's this
489. **Kate:** [@]
490. **Leah:** you know what I mean? it's like..it's hard for people to understand it so

In this extract, Leah directly mentions in line 484 that most people don't *quite understand* veganism, immediately making a negative capacity judgment of her non-vegan audience. The word *understand* is used three times throughout the entire extract, emphasizing the fact that non-vegans are only non-vegans because they are unable to grasp the benefits of the diet. Additionally, her use of rising intonation combined with the phrase "you know" in line 490 hints at Leah's attempts to align her listener with the judgments she is conveying. Throughout the entire segment, Leah negatively judges non-vegans on the basis of capacity, thus simultaneously raising herself on the same scale and justifying her unconventional lifestyle by suggesting that veganism should be the norm, but that most individuals just fail to understand its benefits.

One especially interesting difference in the use of judgments across the vegan identities was found in the usage of propriety judgments. While all individuals utilized this social scale to

evaluate other individuals' behavior, particularly when discussing responses and reactions from non-vegans, the direction in which these judgments were targeted differed based on the identity. For example, animal rights vegans tended to lower most non-vegans on a scale of propriety rather than directly raise themselves. For example, in the extract below, Amy describes the reaction she received from a non-vegan driver next to her in response to the vegan bumper stickers she has on her car.

451. **Amy:** [u:h so two weeks ago my:]
452. **Amy:** my car has got a couple bumper- bumper stickers but um
453. a couple weeks ago
454. maybe two weeks ago? I was at a stoplight
455. and some people actually roll by and start screaming bacon out
 their windows
456. and I'm like "I don't even know what you want me.."
457. **Amy:** "wha- how do you want me to resp[ond to that like@..]?"

Amy's negative propriety judgment becomes clear in line 455 when she uses the word *actually* before describing the other individual's actions. The use of this word suggests that the individual's actions are unwarranted and unexpected for the situation. Her use of the word *screaming* rather than "yelling," or some other similar item, also intensifies the propriety judgment, as screaming at someone is generally seen as impolite by society. Amy's use of self-talk in lines 456-457 also furthers the judgment by suggesting that it is so against society's norms for polite interaction that she doesn't even really know how to respond to it. Through these lines of her transcript, she lowers non-vegans on a scale of propriety, attempting to compensate for her lowered position on a scale of normality by bringing non-vegans down to a comparable level on a different social scale.

Michael and Elise illustrate similar negative propriety judgments of their non-vegan audiences. For example, in the extract below, Elise describes some of the reactions she has received from non-vegans.

1230. **Elise:** I'm..I mean I'm a teacher I'm a mom like I'm pretty..nice and

1231. friendly? but like
this guy once was saw..him with the pigs and I was far enough
away

1232. he didn't know I was anything- anywhere with them and I-

1233. **Elise:** what did he say first? [something like]

1234. **Michael:** [something 'bout] lamb or something

1235. **Elise:** he's like "oh um...oh look it's uh bacon or something" I'm like

1236. "you know that's..those are our those are our pigs that's not a nice
thing to say you know
they're members of my family"

1237. **Elise:** or something like that just to kind [of]

1238. **Kate:** [mhm]

1239. **Elise:** express it in a way that..you know

1240. it's just that "oh ok" but he's like

1241. "well oh.. I guess I shouldn't tell you that I had lamb last night"

1242. and I was like

1243. "I guess I shouldn't tell you that you're an asshole then"

1244. **Elise:** and like it just comes [OUT of me] because you're just like.. so
much

1245. **Kate:** [yeah]

1246. **Elise:** and [then to just like]..to your face they're saying things that they
think

1247. **Kate:** [yeah]

1248. **Elise:** they think it's FUNN[Y.] they think it's hilarious to say I ate this
and you're just like

1249. **Kate:** [mhm]

1250. **Elise:** "you don't have to tell me that" yeah

Elise begins her description of non-vegans' reactions to her vegan lifestyle by first positively evaluating herself as being *nice* and *friendly* in line 1230. By positively judging herself based on the scale of propriety, she immediately intensifies the judgment about anyone who is impolite to her, as she has framed herself as being undeserving of this reaction. She indicates her initial negative propriety judgment of her criticizer through constructed dialogue (ln 1235-1243) that contains the individual's insults, distancing herself from the stance the criticizer conveys and signaling to the audience that they should expect a negative evaluation of what is contained in the dialogue.

Elise's propriety judgments are intensified even further when the individual continues to insult Elise despite her protestations. In fact, Elise utilizes the word *but* in line 1241 to indicate that the individual continued despite the fact that the conventions of conversation suggest that it

should have ceased after Elise's initial response. At this point, the audience is already aligned as viewing the individual's actions as impolite, and Elise therefore protects her own self from being negatively judged on the basis of propriety when she mentions that the man is an *asshole* in line 1243. In the rest of the extract, Elise's judgments become even more severe. Using descriptions of the individual's actions such as *to your face* (ln 1246), she negatively evaluates her criticizer on the scale of propriety, since actions such as insulting someone to their face are generally seen as impolite in society. Her propriety judgments are further intensified in line 1248 when she says that not only do individuals insult her in this way, but they think it's *funny*, with emphasis on the word funny, as well as *hilarious*. These instances of non-authorial affect make the judgment seem even more serious, as the offender is unable to even recognize that they are being impolite. Through these negative propriety judgments, Elise lowers non-vegans on a scale of propriety, protecting her position in society by bringing a non-vegan down to a level on a social scale comparable to her position on the scale of normality.

While animal rights vegans in general displayed these negative propriety judgments of non-vegans rather than any direct raising of themselves on this social scale, Leah not only directly raised herself on a propriety scale but also directed negative propriety judgments at vegan activists. For example, in the extract below, she describes her approach to spreading the word about veganism.

1057. **Leah:** I'm more about like..uh
1058. more being approachable. and being real and just like
1059. "hey this is who I am it may not work for you: but this is why I do it" and
 you know
1060. um..yeah I just- that's just not me carrying signs @
1061. **Kate:** yeah
1062. **Leah:** my husband would be like "thank god"
1063. **Kate:** thank goodness
1064. that you're not doing that
1065. **Leah:** it'd be awful and he'd be like
1066. well he'd disown me I think I don't know

In line 1058, Leah indicates the social scale that is being targeted by establishing her own high position on a scale of propriety through her descriptions of herself as *approachable* and *real*. However, rather than using this initial position to intensify a negative propriety judgment of non-vegans, she uses it to target vegans who do not spread the word about the movement in the way that she does. Interestingly, this judgment is conveyed through non-authorial affect on the part of her husband. Through constructed dialogue, she mentions that her husband's reaction to her decision to not carry signs was *thank god* (ln 1062), indicating a feeling of relief and thus a negative evaluation of vegans who do that kind of activism on the part of her husband. Leah also says that he would *disown* her (ln 1066) if she were to behave that way, again indicating her husband's negative evaluation of that type of behavior on the basis of propriety. Leah aligns herself with these evaluations by saying that she strives to avoid being like this, raising herself on the scale of propriety and compensating for her lowered position on a scale of normality by raising herself on a social scale relative to other vegans, rather than to non-vegans, a strategy not utilized by any other participant.

Overall, judgment was a highly utilized method of evaluation by all vegans, suggesting that it can be a valuable resource for compensating for a lowered position on the scale of normality. However, while animal rights vegans employed higher numbers of morality judgments, the environmental vegan participant and the plant-based eater participant used far less. Rather, they focused on establishing and maintaining their high position on the scales of capacity and tenacity through judgments. Additionally, most vegans utilized the scale of propriety to lower non-vegans on a social scale. However, Leah, a plant-based eater, attempted to raise herself in the eyes of non-vegans by lowering other vegans on this scale. Thus, while judgments were an important evaluative tool utilized by all individuals, the ways in which it was utilized varied depending on the vegan identity of the speaker.

4.3 Conclusion

The Appraisal analysis suggests that the vegan identities differ in the linguistic tools they choose to utilize to protect their position in society. Animal rights vegans demonstrated higher amounts of affect, as well as more balanced amounts of authorial and non-authorial affect. These affect tokens combined with tokens of potential alignment like rising intonation suggest that using affect allows vegans to align their listeners with their own vegan stances and make a transition to the diet seem justified. Justifying the movement then makes any potential criticisms seem unwarranted. The environmental vegans and plant-based eater participants, however, employed larger amounts of judgments, suggesting that their focus was on raising themselves on other social scales in order to compensate for their lowered position on a normality scale. The social scales on which these vegans chose to exert the most effort to maintain their high position depended on the vegan identity. While animal rights vegans seemed to place the most importance on their high position on a scale of morality (as demonstrated by their high numbers of morality judgments), the environmental vegan utilized far less morality judgments, and the plant-based eater the least. On the other hand, these speakers placed much more importance on maintaining their status on the scales of capacity and tenacity, as demonstrated through higher numbers of capacity and tenacity judgments.

The linguistic tools of evaluation outlined by the Appraisal framework heavily contribute to the first component of Du Bois' stance triangle: evaluation. However, in order to justify a vegan lifestyle, these evaluations are often necessarily negative evaluations directed at a lifestyle that is not vegan. Though this unfortunate aspect of vegan advocacy would at first appear to be a roadblock to smooth interactions, as it produces great potential for offense to be taken by a non-vegan listener, the Appraisal analysis discussing affect suggests that evaluations cannot be considered as solely contributing to the evaluation component of the stance triangle. In fact, they also play a large role in another component: alignment. In the following section, judgment and affect will be discussed in terms of their simultaneous contributions to the evaluative and

aligning components of the stance triangle, and how vegans might rely on their assumed aligning function to ensure smooth interactions while also protecting their position in society.

5. Analysis: Stance Triangle

As illustrated in chapter 4, affect may enable a speaker to build effective, non-confrontational stances by contributing to the three parts of the stance act as defined by Du Bois (2007): evaluation, positioning, and alignment. Because of the interconnected nature of the stance triangle, not only is affect a tool of evaluation, but it also a tool of alignment. The use of affect alongside linguistic attempts at alignment suggests that vegans may consider this evaluative tool to be a resource for creating solidarity between a non-vegan identity and a vegan one by acting as a cue to the listener of their alignment with vegan stances. Just like affect, judgment also contributes to these same components of the stance triangle. By referencing shared systems of cultural value, judgments can alert a listener that they are aligned with vegan stances by virtue of the fact that the judgments are registering as valid evaluations. Thus, the aligning function of both affect and judgment is a resource which vegans could potentially utilize to build stances that seem justified and understandable rather than extreme and alienating to a non-vegan audience.

In this analysis, Du Bois' (2007) stance triangle will be used to discuss how vegans employ affect and judgment to evaluate a stance object, position themselves relative to that object, and then align their listener with this same stance to prevent any discord in the interaction. The analysis will discuss four primary themes of the interview: the How I Became a Vegan Story, the Biggest Change, other vegan identities, and non-vegan reactions. First, the analysis will address how judgments of participants' pre-vegan selves in their How I Became a Vegan Story might allow them to build and align their audience with a negative stance toward meat-eating individuals without directly judging the non-vegan listener. Then, attention will be paid to how the participants utilize evaluations of their current, vegan selves when answering

the Biggest Change question. Finally, it will investigate how vegans expand outside of evaluations of veganism in general to build secondary negative stances directed at other vegan identities and at a general disrespect for the vegan community.

5.1 The How I Became a Vegan Story

Each sociolinguistic interview began with the same question: How and why did you decide to transition to a vegan lifestyle? The very nature of this question constitutes a negative normality judgment, as it suggests that a vegan lifestyle is not the norm by assuming that an explanation is needed to justify a transition. Therefore, to counteract this negative judgment, my vegan participants attempted to convey and align their listeners with a negative stance toward the shared stance object of meat-eating so that a transition to the diet seemed justified enough that its unconventionality became null. Since judgments reference shared cultural values, they were utilized in this context to cue the listener in to the process of alignment with a negative stance toward a meat-eater.

In the context of the How I Became a Vegan Story, all participants utilized judgments to evaluate a shared stance object (in this case, their pre-vegan selves). One example of this focus on an individual's pre-vegan lifestyle is Amy's description of the meat-heavy diet she was provided with as a child. Her decision to become a vegan was heavily influenced by the fact that her father was a butcher, causing her childhood diet to be very centered around meat. In the extract below, she utilizes affective language and morality judgments to indicate her negative evaluation of this type of diet.

5. **Amy:** yeah
6. um so: I: ugh
7. it kind of was always inevitable my um..dad uh when I was
 growing up was a butcher
8. and like EVERY meal was very meat heavy um
9. I wanted to go vegetarian for years
10. and every- every single day I'd be like
11. "I'm being vegetarian today" and I'd come home and it'd be like

12. steak for dinner burgers for dinner and I'm like,
13. **Kate:** @@
14. **Amy:** ok um: so I told myself when I moved out of my parents house that
I was going to eat less meat and
15. I d- I knew: that I didn't want animals to die for my food?

Amy, the first subject, uses affect to accomplish the first and second components of the stance triangle: negatively evaluating the meat-heavy meals she and her family ate when she was a child and positioning herself as being the author of this evaluation. She prefaces the description of these meals with the word *ugh* (ln 6), which indicates a feeling of disgust in response to the food she was provided with in her childhood. Emphasizing the word *every* (ln 8) and asserting that these meals were given to her *every single day* (ln 10) adds to the intensity of this negative affective reaction by suggesting that the emotion was caused by the unnecessary frequency with which her family ate meat. Because a feeling of disgust toward meat is not necessarily a shared affective reaction, Amy doesn't seem to rely on this evaluative tool to accomplish the final component of the stance act: alignment. Rather, she switches to judgment at the very end of the extract to accomplish this goal. Saying that she didn't want animals to *die for [her] food* (ln 15) constitutes a morality judgment that negatively evaluates a diet including meat. While this judgment is firstly evaluative, it also highlights the fact that the listener is already aligned with Amy's stance, as it requires that the audience be tuned in and oriented to similar cultural values to have an evaluative effect. Therefore, the fact that it registers as a negative morality judgment based on the generally accepted idea that killing something for one's own benefit is morally incorrect suggests that Amy's audience is already aligned with her negative evaluation and overall stance. The idea that Amy is attempting to align her audience through the use of this judgment is supported by the use of rising intonation (ln 15). Thus, utilizing this token of judgment not only contributes to the first components of the stance act, but it contributes to alignment by reminding the members of her audience that they understand the values that the stance is based on. This final component of the stance act facilitates an

amiable interaction by making it difficult for a non-vegan to disagree with Amy's position, and it creates solidarity by suggesting that even a non-vegan identity shares some of the same values as a vegan one.

Michael and Elise based judgments of their pre-vegan selves on the scale of capacity. For example, in the lines below, Michael discusses the couple's initial discovery of the ways animals bred for consumption are treated, and how this discovery prompted their transition to veganism.

33. **Michael:** but we went from that to:
34. trying to switch to healthy and in that process:
35. saw what was happening to animals um
36. I always credit Alec Baldwin when he said
37. "if you drink a glass of milk you kill a baby cow" and
 thinking "he's crazy"
38. and then like researching and being like "ok"
39. "you know like he's not..lying"
40. and so: it was at that point like I said I was gonna go vegan

In the lines above, Michael focuses on the shared stance object of his pre-vegan self. He utilizes capacity judgments contained in constructed dialogue to accomplish the first part of the stance act, negatively evaluating his pre-vegan self. For example, he mentions that his initial reaction to Alec Baldwin's assertion that eating meat and dairy is harmful to animals was *he's crazy* (ln 37). However, he follows this up with his realization that Baldwin is *not lying* (ln 39), disconfirming his previous thought and negatively evaluating his pre-vegan self on the basis of his inability to understand the truth behind Baldwin's statement. Including his initial reaction in constructed dialogue in lines 37-39 distances Michael from the stances he used to have toward veganism and accomplishes the second part of the stance act by positioning Michael as now having a negative evaluation of this meat-eating mindset.

While there are no overt linguistic hints at attempted alignment in this section, the fact that Michael constrains his judgments to his pre-vegan self rather than generalizing them to

non-vegan listeners suggests that he is attempting to avoid being confrontational. Therefore, his decision to convey his evaluations through capacity judgments of himself might also be a means through which he signals to his audiences that they are aligned with his stance, since they understand the evaluations he is conveying. Since he assumes that his judgments will only register as valid if his listeners share the same cultural values surrounding intelligence and education, he also assumes that they should be aligned to consider Michael's pre-vegan knowledge as uneducated and naïve if his judgments have had an evaluative effect. Therefore, Michael's use of judgment allows him to accomplish all three components of the stance act in a way that is accepted by his audience and is perceived as perfectly understandable rather than an attempt at confrontation.

The aligning power of judgment in the How I Became a Vegan Story also extended to the third most common social scale on which my participants' judgments were based: tenacity. For example, when John describes why he only recently became a vegan, he discusses his hesitancy to fully commit to the lifestyle.

12. **John:** um I've wanted to be: vegetarian slash vegan for a while but
13. I never had like the courage to?
14. cuz I knew like that I believed in it and I believed in
15. some of the aspects but then
16. I just never..um wanted to fully commit?

In this excerpt, John utilizes a number of judgments to accomplish the first part of the stance act and negatively evaluate his pre-vegan self on the basis of tenacity. For example, he says that he *never had like the courage to* (ln 13) become a true vegan, and that he never wanted to *fully commit* (ln 16) to the lifestyle. A lack of courage and an unwillingness to commit reference shared cultural values about personal resolve. Thus, by choosing judgment as his evaluative resource, John negatively evaluates his pre-vegan self and positions himself as having ownership of this evaluation. However, John's use of rising intonation in lines 13 and 15 also suggests that he is attempting to create solidarity by signaling to his audience that they are

already aligned with this same stance. Since the entire evaluative power of the judgment lies on the assumption that the listener shares the same values, the judgment inherently ensures that, if it registers as an evaluation, the listener is aligned to understand the reasons behind this evaluation. Therefore, judgment as a tool of evaluation allows John to highlight the fact that his listener shares similar values, facilitating a smoother interaction by ensuring that his evaluations seem justified.

Leah, a plant-based eater, differs in the stance she ultimately builds in her How I Became a Vegan Story relative to the other participants. While most individuals focused on using judgments to build a negative stance toward a non-vegan lifestyle, she was much more likely to build a positive stance toward her current, vegan self. For example, in the extract below, she describes how she is now a much healthier individual because of her decision to switch to a vegan diet.

12. **Leah:** why I'm STICKING with it though is not necessarily just for health reasons
13. but I experienced a lot of..um
14. just typical kind of like medical issues
15. I don't know if you want me to go into that or not
16. um: but I found that by putting certain things off my plate and
 introducing other things?
17. that I was a lot..um..healthier for it? and I reversed all my..issues?
18. and now I'm super healthy

In this extract, Leah places the initial focus of her How I Became a Vegan Story on her current, vegan self as the shared stance object rather than her pre-vegan one. In fact, she avoids discussing her pre-vegan self in detail when she says *I don't know if you want me to go into that or not* (ln 15). She describes her vegan self as *healthier* and *super healthy* (ln 17, 18). While these initially appear to be a form of evaluation not explicitly addressed in this paper (appreciation), her use of agentive verb phrases and the personal pronoun *I* in line 17 indicates that these are in fact positive self-judgments, as her healthy state is the result of her own behavior and actions. For example, she says that she *reversed all [her] issues* (ln 17), giving

herself complete agency over her health. This judgment references the scales of capacity and tenacity, as it suggests that Leah's unique ability to understand the benefits of the diet and actually make the change are what have resulted in her healthiness. Using a judgment of this kind allows Leah to accomplish the first two components of the stance triangle: she positively evaluates her vegan self while positioning herself as having ownership of this evaluation.

However, choosing judgment as her evaluative tool allows her to activate its inherent alignment ability by referencing shared cultural values of initiative and self-motivation. Therefore, she is also able to signal to her listener that they are aligned with a positive stance toward her efforts to improve her own health through veganism and, by extension, a positive stance toward a vegan individual in general since they share these same values. This alignment should ensure that Leah's listeners view her decision to become a vegan as justified, counteracting the negative normality judgment that the very nature of the How I Became a Vegan Story perpetuates and avoiding offending her non-vegan listeners.

When describing their How I Became a Vegan Story, participants were particularly likely to build negative stances toward their pre-vegan, meat-eating selves to prevent directly offending a non-vegan listener, a behavior which suggests that vegans have a desire to align their audiences with their stances and create solidarity between speaker and hearer. Utilizing judgments referencing several different social scales, they accomplished all three parts of the stance act as defined by Du Bois (2007), negatively evaluating aspects of their pre-vegan lifestyle while positioning themselves as the owners of these evaluations. Additionally, their combination of judgments with linguistic hints at alignment suggests that they utilized evaluative tools as signals of speaker-hearer alignment, facilitating a smoother interaction and preventing their audience members from being offended by judgments of non-vegans.

5.2 Biggest Change

Another question that was asked to all interviewees was what the Biggest Change was in their lives since going vegan, whether that change was positive or negative. Responses to this question worked in contrast to the answers given in response to the How I Became a Vegan Story. Rather than building and aligning non-vegans with a negative stance toward a non-vegan lifestyle, participants targeted judgments and evaluations at positive aspects of their current vegan lifestyle, building and aligning audiences with a positive stance toward a vegan diet.

One of the most common types of self-judgments found in the Biggest Change sections of the interviews were morality judgments directed at each individual's newfound self-awareness of the effect their actions have on those around them. For example, Leah's response to the Biggest Change question focused on how becoming a vegan has made her start giving more consideration to how her own choices may affect the world she lives in.

338. **Leah:** you know I think it's made a difference because I'm more-
339. I think conscious of my choices overall.
340. um because it really opened up a window of..um
341. just being aware and being mindful?
342. not just what I eat but of the environment?
343. and what my choices how they impact other people
344. and it's made me I think to be a more..empathetic person? and
 understanding?

Leah accomplishes the first and second components of the stance act by indicating her positive evaluation of herself through adjectives such as *empathetic* and *understanding* (ln 344), both of which carry judgmental value based on the scale of morality. The final component of the stance act, alignment, is highlighted by Leah's choice to use judgment as an evaluative tool. Since the listener will only register these self-judgments as valid if they are aligned with Leah's stance, then they should also act as a signal to the audience that they are already aligned with Leah's stance. Leah's pairing of these judgments with other linguistic tools of alignment supports the idea that this evaluative resource may contribute to creating solidarity with

audiences. Her use of the phrase *you know* (ln 338) suggests to her audience that her self-assessment is justified and based on shared speaker-hearer values, hinting at her intent to align her audience with her positive stance toward her pre-vegan self. Additionally, her use of rising intonation in lines 341, 342 and 344 functions as a cue to her audience that she is attempting to create solidarity between herself and her listener. Leah also employs an additional linguistic tool which suggests that she has an ultimate goal of aligning her listener: a hedge. The use of the hedge *I think* (ln 338, 339, 344) cushions her judgments by indicating that she is aware of the subjectivity of her stance, but that they are in fact grounded in common values. Thus, Amy's use of judgments accompanied by other linguistic tools of alignment allows her to create solidarity between a non-vegan listener and her vegan self by highlighting the fact that they are already aligned with her stances.

Unlike the other participants, Elise and Michael's response to the Biggest Change question differs in that they build a negative stance toward their animal activist identity. Additionally, rather than rely on judgment to build this stance, they utilize affect, as demonstrated in the extract below.

1065.	Elise:	...
1066.		it's lonely
1067.	Elise:	[@@]
1068.	Michael:	[yeah we have-] yeah I mean I think
1069.	Elise:	it's dep- I mean depression we've [had mental health]
1070.	Michael:	[yeah]
1071.	Michael:	like- the alienation of..
1072.	Michael:	{inaud.}
1073.	Elise:	{inaud.}
1074.	Michael:	um the alienation from..ever feeling like you fit in I think
1075.		and I mean- I think
1076.	Michael:	I think you can be vegan and still..do th[at]
1077.	Elise:	[yeah]
1078.	Michael:	I don't think you can be an animal activist [and do that like]
1079.	Elise:	[yeah. that's the difference.]
1080.	Michael:	I think that's..the hardest part for me is like
1081.		I know everywhere I go there's a..good chance someone hates me
1082.		or like knows me for what I do

In line 1066 Elise says that veganism is *lonely*, and in line 1069 she says that it has caused her to be depressed. Both of these descriptions allow Elise to accomplish the first two components of the stance act by negatively evaluating a vegan lifestyle and positioning Elise as having a negative evaluation of her life. Her decision to use affect facilitates the final component of the stance act, alignment, by highlighting to the individual that they are already aligned, since they register the evaluation as valid because they can relate to these human emotions. Once again, Elise's hedge of *I mean* (ln 1069) supports the idea that she is ultimately attempting to align with her audience.

Later in the excerpt in line 1074, Michael utilizes judgment when he says that he has experienced *alienation*. Alienating another individual is generally negatively regarded by society based on morality, and he therefore negatively evaluates the non-vegan individuals who cause him to feel this negative emotional response to his lifestyle. Michael's choice to use judgment as an evaluative tool also accomplishes the third component of the stance act by signaling to his audience that they are aligned with his stance. His hedges of *I think* (ln 1074, 1075) also hint at his ultimate goal to create solidarity with his listener. While the use of affect and judgment would at first seem to build a negative stance toward Michael and Elise's current, vegan lives, they actually build a negative stance toward the non-vegan world the two are forced to live in. They attribute the source of their negative emotions to the conditions animals are subjected to and the non-vegan environment they are forced to deal with rather than the lifestyle itself. Thus, their use of affect and judgment should allow them to create solidarity between themselves and their listener by aligning them with a negative stance toward the nature of the society that causes vegans to feel such negative emotions.

When discussing the Biggest Change in their lives since going vegan, a variety of evaluative tools were utilized by my participants to accomplish the first component of the stance act (Du Bois, 2007) by positively evaluating their current, vegan lifestyle. This finding suggests that judgment and other means of evaluation can be useful linguistic tools for justifying a vegan

lifestyle, but also for accomplishing this goal while facilitating a smooth interaction between individuals with differing identities, since they can highlight to non-vegan listeners that they are already aligned with vegan stances and that they have certain values in common with a vegan identity.

5.3 Non-Vegan Reactions

Most of my participants built negative stances toward a meat-eating diet or positive stances toward a vegan one. However, secondarily they built negative stances toward the impolite behavior non-vegans often display toward vegans (as demonstrated in the Biggest Change section of Michael and Elise's interview in the previous section). This secondary alignment reinforced and complemented the alignment of their listener with stances directed at veganism itself. As mentioned in the previous section, when asked to discuss the reactions their family members had in response to their decision to follow a vegan lifestyle, most participants answered with segments of discourse that clearly conveyed a negative stance toward the behavior of non-vegans, utilizing judgments referencing the scale of propriety.

To convey another individual's responses to their lifestyle, participants were required to represent stances that they themselves were not taking up and were not aligned with. As a result, one of the most common linguistic tools used by speakers to convey these non-vegan stances so that they could be challenged and evaluated was constructed dialogue. For example, in the extract below, John utilizes this tool to convey his mom's stance toward her son's vegan diet.

351. **John:** my mom is like very much into me:
352. like doing new things and trying new things
353. so like when I first told her she's like "ok I like this"
354. but now it's like 11 months later and
355. she wants me to go back to being non-vegan? Cuz
356. so I haven't seen my family in years um
357. **John:** and I'm gonna visit them soon hopefully [so:]
358. **Kate:** [cool]
359. **John:** um she's like "when you- when I see you I'm gonna cook like the
 things I used to make for you" and like

360. "we're gonna have amazing food"
 361. "and it can't be vegan" like
 362. "I'm gonna cook everything and you're gonna have to eat it"
 363. so it's kind of like it's gone from
 364. her being "yay this is cool good for your health"
 365. **John:** but then back to.."no: @ [stop"]

In lines 359-365, John utilizes constructed dialogue to present his mom's changing stances toward her son's vegan diet. Utilizing constructed dialogue allows John to accomplish the second part of the stance act by distancing him from her portrayed stance and positioning himself as choosing not to take it up or align with it. Additionally, it suggests to the audience that they should expect this stance to change or be refuted in the near future. Thus, while John makes few evaluative comments on the words he attributes to his mom, the fact that they are represented in constructed dialogue already conveys his disalignment with her opinions and thus his negative evaluation and stance toward them.

Later in the segment, John does employ explicit negative judgments of his mom's stance to accomplish the first component of the stance triangle by commenting on her dialogue. Using the word *but* in phrases such as *but now it's like* and *but then back to* (ln 363), he indicates a negative judgment of his mom's behavior on the basis of tenacity, since her quickly changing opinions contradict shared cultural values surrounding consistency. Additionally, the laughter he inserts in the middle of his mom's dialogue in line 363 conveys his negative affective reaction to his mom's words. Since John's judgments reference shared cultural values, they can accomplish the third component of the stance triangle by acting as a cue to his audience that they are aligned with his negative stance toward his mom's behavior. After all, if his negative tenacity judgments registered as valid, then the audience is aligned with his stance. Ensuring and highlighting alignment in this way enables John to protect his position in society but also create solidarity with his listeners so as to avoid offending them.

Vegans of other identities show very similar alignment tactics when it comes to discussing their family interactions. For example, in the extract below, Amy discusses one of her

first experiences at a holiday meal after going vegan, utilizing propriety judgments to negatively evaluate the responses she receives from her non-vegan family members.

124. **Amy:** the first year I um tried to do um
125. I think the only family dinner I'd gone to since..since going vegan
 was thank- a thanksgiving dinner
126. and they just like criticized like every-
127. **Amy:** I made my own food like [everything that they] were cooking I
 made my own and brought it with m[e]
128. **Kate:** [oh yeah][yeah]
129. **Amy:** and EVERYTHING was like..they were picking at it like
130. I brought a..big jar of gravy for myself and they were like you know
 "what is that" I'm like "it's..gravy"
131. **Kate:** yeah@
132. **Amy:** it's no different@ than what you're eating it just doesn't have
 animals in it
133. **Kate:** yeah exactly
134. **Amy:** um so yeah that was the only family dinner I tried to go to and
 then I didn't
135. didn't happen since.

Amy uses several linguistic resources to accomplish the first part of the stance act and convey negative propriety judgments of her family's behavior. For example, she says in line 126 that her family *criticized like every[thing]*, activating a shared cultural idea that excessive criticism is impolite to negatively evaluate her family's behavior. This judgment of over-criticism is continued in line 129, when Amy says that not only were her family members *picking at* her food, but they were picking at *EVERYTHING*. Emphasizing the word *everything* in this line intensifies her judgment. Constructed dialogue is also utilized to indicate Amy's negative evaluation of her family's words when she says her family members *were like you know what is that* (ln 130). Representing her family's speech in constructed dialogue accomplishes the second component of the stance triangle by distancing herself from her family's stance and positioning herself as choosing to disalign with this alternative opinion. The expected negative evaluation of her family's reactions comes when Amy responds to her family's inquiry about her food with the phrase *it's...gravy* (ln 130). The pause in the middle of this word hints at her negative evaluation

of her family's behavior by suggesting that she found their question so absurd that she had to take a moment to think about a good response. Finally, Amy's laughter line 131 further indicates her negative evaluation of her family's response. Thus, using negative propriety judgments and affective reactions, Amy accomplishes the first two components of the stance triangle by negatively evaluating her family's behavior, positioning herself as having a negative stance toward her family's reactions, and highlighting her audience's alignment with these evaluations through her use of judgment. Using her evaluations to reference common values about what is considered polite in certain social interactions allows Amy to signal to her audience that they are aligned with her stance and should therefore not feel personally offended by her stances.

George differs from many of the other vegan participants in that he conveys a positive stance toward his family's reaction to his diet. For example, in the extract below he describes his family's efforts to accommodate his diet at family meals.

459. **George:** the family I've mentioned. Uh:
460. they've been..really nice
461. in terms of when I was a vegetarian they would give me fish,
 seafood
462. always make sure there was something for me to eat
463. very very thoughtful

In this extract, George accomplishes the first two components of the stance triangle when he says his family has been *really nice* (ln 460) and also *very very thoughtful* (ln 463), two phrases that are heavy with propriety value. While utilizing these propriety judgments positively evaluates non-vegan individuals and positions George as being the author of this evaluation, it actually evaluates a specific set of non-vegan behaviors rather than the entire identity. Using judgment, George builds a positive stance toward non-vegans who are respectful and accommodating of vegan individuals. The third component of the stance triangle, alignment, is further facilitated by George's choice to use judgment, since he references shared cultural values surrounding politeness. Therefore, this use of judgment should signal to the

listener that they already share a positive stance toward respectful non-vegans. This final part of the stance act allows George to protect his position in society by negatively evaluating specific non-vegan behaviors but also highlight to his audience that they are aligned with his stance so as to create solidarity and prevent discord in the interaction.

To reinforce alignment of non-vegan listeners with positive or negative stances toward meat-eating or veganism, vegans secondarily utilized judgments and affect to build negative stances toward impolite behaviors directed at vegans. This use of evaluative tools allowed my vegan participants to still protect their identity by raising themselves on an alternative social scale (propriety), but also ensured that non-vegan listeners were aligned with a negative stance toward disrespectful behaviors directed at vegans so that they were not offended by judgments focused on non-vegan behaviors.

5.4 Different Vegan Identities

As discussed in section 1.1, a key division within the vegan community is the separation between animal rights vegans and plant-based eaters. Because of the starkness of this division, it was common for vegans to build negative stances toward the vegan identities different from their own in order to protect the position of their vegan identity relative to others. Thus, responses to questions asking what the participant felt the differences were between plant-based eaters and animal rights vegans often involved the utilization of judgments to build negative stances toward different vegan identities to make the speaker's own identity seem more legitimate and less deserving of criticism relative to the others. This utilization of judgment allowed the speakers to highlight their listener's alignment with these stances and prevent any opportunity for conflict or contention in the interaction.

Michael and Elise began utilizing judgments almost immediately after they were asked whether they saw themselves as different from plant-based eaters and/or environmental vegans.

For example, in the extract below, they use tenacity and morality judgments to distance themselves from both identities.

1326. **Michael:** I- I think usually we say like plant-based you know [like]
1327. **Kate:** [mhm]
1328. **Michael:** they're doing it because..you know that's what they either feel
better doing or whatever
1329. or you know they might even care about animals but..NOT feel like
it's..a moral necessity
1330. and so- I think when we're around those..like types of vegans
1331. you don't feel that sa:me
1332. I don't know I guess it'd be like the: Sunday catholic versus like the
person who like goes all week

In this extract, Michael uses a negative morality judgment to accomplish the first and second parts of the stance act: evaluation and positioning. He says that plant-based eaters tend to follow a vegan diet because it makes them *feel better* (ln 1328). Since doing something purely for one's own benefit is generally regarded as less moral, this assertion constitutes a negative morality judgment directed at plant-based eaters. The morality judgments continue in the following lines when Michael says that plant-based eaters might care about animals but not understand the moral dilemma to the same degree as individuals like Michael himself (ln 1329). His emphasis on the word *NOT* intensifies his negative morality judgment of this type of vegan identity. Additionally, he uses the demonstrative *those* in line 1331 to distance his own identity from the one he is describing and position himself as having a negative evaluation of this alternative vegan identity. Finally, in line 1333, he utilizes a simile to compare plant-based eaters to individuals who only go to church on holidays, creating a negative tenacity judgment directed at these individuals.

Michael's use of the hedge *I think* (ln 1326, 1330) along with his use of the phrase *you know* (ln 1329) suggest that he does have the intent to create solidarity with his non-vegan audience through alignment. Therefore, his judgments become a resource for highlighting the

fact that his audiences are already aligned with his stances, since share cultural values around morality and tenacity that are being referenced by Michael's judgments. Michael is thus able to ensure his non-vegan listener's alignment with a negative stance toward a particular sect of the vegan identity (plant-based eaters) and therefore contribute to a shared positive stance toward his own identity by comparison (animal rights vegans).

At another point in his interview, Michael's negative morality judgments expand to include environmental vegans, as shown in the extract below.

521. **Michael:** [yeah] I mean I think if it was just..health it'd be easy to fall off or like
522. **Elise:** [yeah]
523. **Michael:** I- I know environmental's become bigger now I don't think it was when we.[.like] started but
524. **Elise:** [mhm]
525. **Michael:** I don't think either of those things are as..sort of like.. morally obligating?
526. like cuz you can kinda cheat your own health and
527. **Michael:** you know and then [people]..yeah and like you can
528. **Elise:** [like a diet]
529. **Michael:** you know skip recycling once and you don't like go home and like you know
530. **Michael:** feel awful and bea[t yourself for it] but
531. **Elise:** [right]
532. **Michael:** knowing like "ok if I do this I'm actively choosing to make an animal suffer

In these lines, Michael continues to utilize morality and tenacity judgments to accomplish the first part of the stance act and negatively evaluate the other subsets of the vegan identity. For example, in line 521 he says it is *easy to fall off* of a vegan diet if you assume one of these alternative vegan identities, and that neither are as *morally obligating* (ln 525) as an animal rights vegan identity. The first assertion constitutes a negative tenacity judgment directed at the other two vegan identities, as Michael suggests that they struggle to stick to the diet and lack the commitment that an animal rights vegan has. The comment that the two other identities are not *as morally obligating* (ln 525) lowers the other vegan identities on a scale of

morality relative to animal rights vegans. Though Michael suggests that they are still morally higher than non-vegans, he uses the word *as* in his statement to suggest that compared to himself and other animal rights vegans, the other two vegan identities are inferior when it comes to moral values and behaviors. Michael furthers this judgment in line 526 when he uses the word *cheat* to suggest that plant-based eaters lack the tenacity and morality of animal rights vegans that makes them so able to stick to a vegan diet. Finally, Michael uses constructed dialogue in line 532 to distance himself from the characteristic he ascribes to non-vegans, that they are *actively choosing to make an animal suffer* (ln 532), positioning himself as having a negative evaluation of this type of behavior. Deliberately making another living thing suffer is culturally regarded as immoral, and this statement therefore constitutes a negative morality judgment. Michael's use of rising intonation (ln 525) and hedges like *I think* (ln 521) indicates that he does have an intent to accomplish the third component of the stance triangle by aligning with his listener. Therefore, his use of judgments allows him to highlight the fact that if his judgments are registering as valid to his listener, then they must already be aligned with his stance. This alignment facilitates a smooth interaction with Michael's audience while also protecting his vegan identity relative to other ones.

Similar to Michael and Elise's reliance on similes and comparisons to lower other vegans on social scales relative to their own vegan identity, George's methods of evaluation involve emphasizing a separation between the two identities through sequential, distinct descriptions of them. While positive judgments and evaluations are included in both sections and directed at both identities, the positive judgments directed at George's own vegan identity - an animal rights one - address the social scale of morality, while the ones directed at plant-based eaters address a scale of capacity. For example, in the extract below, George begins to answer the query as to whether plant-based eaters and animal rights vegans are really so different by describing what he perceives a plant-based eater to be.

260. **George:** YES I THINK THERE'S A HUGE DISTINCTION
 261. @@
 262. uh: for me..uh
 263. speaking as the voice of reason because I never have- you know let
 emotion cloud my- no Uh
 264. in short what I believe might be the general consensus
 265. and what I agree with as well and try to follow is
 266. plant-based seems to be..a way of..
 267. eating, a way of gaining your nutrition,
 268. a way of wellness, a way of also involving maybe fitness and
 exercise as well
 269. uh of pr- caring possibly also caring where your food comes from,
 270. **Kate:** mhm
 271. **George:** uh in terms of like uh GMOS, pesticides, organic, local uh
 272. or not all of those
 273. caring about what you put into your body, caring about how you
 prepare it,
 274. that is most..uh nutritional for you and for other humans,

George begins the excerpt by loudly emphasizing the idea that *YES [HE] THINK[S] THERE IS A HUGE DISTINCTION* between plant-based eaters and animal rights vegans (ln 260). Considering the fact that George himself is an animal rights vegan, emphasizing the distinction between his own identity allows him to accomplish the first component of the stance triangle by suggesting a negative evaluation of the identity that he sees as so separate from his own. George elaborates on this initial assertion by positively judging a plant-based eater identity through capacity and tenacity judgments. For example, he says that being a plant-based eater involves *caring about what you put into your body and how you prepare it* (ln 273), both of which suggest a level of self-awareness and initiative on the part of plant-based eaters. However, while George does positively evaluate a plant-based eater identity through these judgments, he does not position himself as being aligned with this stance. For example, he distances himself from these evaluations by saying phrases such as *seems to be* (ln 266), indicating that it is not quite clear to him. Additionally, he uses the evidential *possibly* in line 269 to convey his lack of complete understanding of these motivations and thus his separation from this identity. By distancing himself from the evaluations he conveys, he accomplishes the final act of the stance

triangle by signaling to his audience that they similarly should not be aligned with the disconnected stance he is conveying, and that they should pay more attention to the comparison that is obviously about to follow.

In the second part of George's answer, he describes what he believes it means to be an animal rights vegan like himself.

275. **George:** I..um for the other definition of vegan I see vegan and try to live
 vegan
 as a lifestyle
276. **Kate:** mhm
277. **George:** that is mostly..uh or not ev- is animal centric? as much as it can be
 as a human
278. uh that looks to: uh
279. I'm paraphrasing maybe the vegan society from fifty years ago
280. as much as practiceable or practical
281. reducing the suffering of animals..in what we do. So
282. not eating animals, not killing animals unnecessarily, not using
 animal products
283. and that goes beyond mere diet so
284. not wearing animals, not um..
285. not using animals in other ways

In this description of the animal rights vegan lifestyle, George accomplishes the first part of the stance act through several positive morality judgments directed at himself and other animal rights vegans. For example, he says that an animal rights vegan lifestyle aims to reduce the suffering of animals (ln 281). Since reducing the suffering of living things is generally seen as a moral activity, this constitutes a positive evaluation directed at George and other animal rights vegans. He goes on to say that animal rights vegans aim to not kill animals *unnecessarily* (ln 282). Again, killing a living thing without an understandable motivation is generally regarded as immoral, and George therefore positively evaluates animal rights vegans on the basis of morality. Utilizing judgments that reference shared cultural values allows George to ensure the successful accomplishment of the stance act by highlighting his audience's alignment with his stance. His assumption that a moral judgment has more persuasive power than a capacity or

tenacity judgment suggests that he does consider his judgments to be adequate tools for highlighting this alignment. Only if speakers are oriented to these scales will his positive judgments of an animal rights vegan lifestyle outweigh his positive judgments of a plant-based one. Therefore, George's use of the relative strength of the various social scales suggests that he finds judgment to be a useful means for signaling to his audience that they are aligned with his stance while also avoiding the usage of negative judgments directed at other vegan identities to prevent offending his listener.

When discussing the different vegan identities, participants raised their own vegan identity on social scales relative to the other vegan identities. While certain individuals chose to focus on accomplishing the first component of the stance act by negatively evaluating identities different from their own, others chose to utilize comparisons in order to avoid directly judging the alternative identities, focusing on making their own identity seem even more positive, or like the ideal vegan identity. The tools of affect and judgment were often utilized by the speakers and represented valid tools to highlight a listener's alignment with the stances conveyed by the speakers, thus allowing these vegan individuals to protect their own vegan identity's position in society without offending their audiences.

5.5 Conclusion

Considering the goal of vegans to protect their position in society, a smooth interaction between a vegan and a non-vegan should theoretically be difficult to achieve. However, it is possible that the evaluative tools of affect and judgment are useful means for creating solidarity between a vegan speaker and a non-vegan listener because of their ability to signal to a listener that they are already aligned with a vegan stance. While a token of affect can negatively evaluate some aspect of a non-vegan's lifestyle, it only has evaluative power if the listener is aligned to understand where that emotional reaction is coming from. Thus, if the listener understands the source of the emotion, then it is assumed that they also share this evaluation, and consequently,

this stance. If a judgment registers to an individual as a valid evaluation, then the individual must share the cultural values and norms being referenced by the judgment and be aligned with the stance that is being conveyed. Thus, the usage of affect and judgment by my vegan participants may also be an attempt to protect their position in society through evaluations of other identities while also highlighting their listener's alignment with these stances and evaluations so that they seem justified rather than offensive. By accomplishing all three components of Du Bois' stance act, these individuals may attempt to facilitate a smooth interaction while still accomplishing their identity-protecting goal.

6. Discussion

Both analyses included in this paper suggest that because of the unconventional nature of the vegan lifestyle, vegans are constantly at work to justify their lifestyle choice. This justification can be accomplished by processes of evaluation which either raise vegans on other social scales or which highlight a non-vegan listener's alignment with vegan stances. The evaluative tools chosen to accomplish these goals vary based on the specific vegan identity. For example, animal rights vegan participants in this study such as Michael and Elise relied more heavily on affect as a means for alignment than Leah, a plant-based eater, or John, an environmental vegan. Additionally, Michael and Elise's balanced use of authorial and non-authorial affect indicated their attempts to align with their listeners and create solidarity so that their decisions and opinions seemed justified. The social scales on which the judgments of vegans were built also differed based on the specific identity. While Michael and Elise prioritized maintaining a high position on the scale of morality through high numbers of morality judgments, John and Leah tended to prioritize the scales of capacity and tenacity.

The analysis suggests that the force of vegan evaluations should automatically be cushioned in terms of the listener's perception by virtue of the nature of the stance triangle. Since Du Bois' (2007) framework states that stance acts are composed of three simultaneous

actions which are all interconnected, it follows that an evaluation is never truly independent from the other elements of a stance act. In other words, the action of evaluating an object requires the use of linguistic tools such as judgment and affect, but these tools further contribute to the other two components of the triangle, such as alignment. Therefore, if the evaluation registers as valid to a listener, then they should similarly be aligned to the same stance as the vegan speaker, and if they enter the interaction already aligned, then the evaluation should register as valid. Highlighting this alignment creates a feeling of solidarity between the two individuals involved in the interaction.

While this intrinsic characteristic of evaluations suggests that they should be particularly safe methods of alignment to utilize, since an individual will either agree with an evaluation and therefore be aligned, or already be aligned and therefore agree with the evaluation, this is obviously not always the case. The nature of the stance triangle does provide two opportunities for a listener to orient to a speaker's stance (either through evaluation or alignment), but it also provides two opportunities for a listener to disalign. After all, if the initial evaluation does not register as valid, then the listener is also not aligned. Additionally, a listener may already be disaligned with the stance (as is often the case in vegan interactions) and therefore not see the evaluation as valid. For example, as in the *How I Became a Vegan* Story told by George, if the listener enters the interaction already disaligned with the negative stance George has toward the treatment of animals, then any of his judgments will simply be disregarded by the listener as incorrect. Thus, while the dual functions of evaluations make them seem like a useful resource for alignment, as they have two opportunities to be activated, this same property also makes them riskier.

Since vegans face an initial hurdle to creating solidarity in their interactions with non-vegans due to the phenomena of anticipated moral reproach and do-gooder derogation, it may be that they need to find and utilize other methods of alignment in order to create solidarity between the two identities. If non-vegan individuals already feel threatened by the judgments of

vegans, then they enter vegan interactions already disaligned. Therefore, the simple tools of judgment and affect are no longer enough to ensure a smooth interaction. One solution to this problem may be to find other means to focus on similarities between vegans and non-vegans rather than relying on the aligning function of evaluations to make these stances seem justified. Michael and Elise's use of non-authorial affect on the part of animals to highlight similarities between vegans and non-vegans seems like a good first attempt at doing this, as they emphasize the idea that both vegans and non-vegans alike simply want to reduce the suffering of living things. Additionally, it may be that vegans need to reduce the amount of judgments they utilize in general. If non-vegan individuals are entering the interaction with pre-formed judgments that refuse to be altered, protecting one's own identity with this same evaluative resource may simply be an ineffective method.

This study has important implications for members of the vegan community because it suggests that current methods of vegan advocacy may be further facilitating the effects of do-gooder derogation, and that different linguistic strategies may be necessary to create solidarity with a non-vegan listener in order to spread the movement. These findings also apply to members of other social movements who justify their unconventionality through moral claims. For example, members of different religious organizations often face the same obstacles as vegans, as out-group members inherently feel threatened by the moral judgments they assume religious individuals to be making. It may be that organizations such as these are currently highlighting differences between their spiritual identity and other non-religious ones, relying on the fact that their judgments of the other identity will register as valid to the listener. Alternatively, they may in fact be utilizing judgments to persuade their listeners, which is simply ineffective and just feeds into an out-group member's negative expectations. This study suggests that judgment may not be a useful evaluative tool for these types of interactions, and that it may be more important to focus on similarities between the identities rather than differences.

Although this study did include individuals representing the range of vegan identities, one of its major limitations is the fact that the data only include information from five participants. While this is typical of a study in discourse analysis, a larger number of participants would make the results more generalizable to the vegan community and various vegan identities. Additionally, the interview setting itself may have had an impact on the ways in which my speakers conveyed their opinions. While sociolinguistic interviews do aim to produce the most naturalistic type of linguistic data as possible in an interview setting, it is inevitable that the nature of my questions and the context of the interaction may have affected the language my participants chose to use. I also chose not to tell my participants that I was not a vegan unless they inquired about it themselves at some point during the interview. Therefore, it was often the case that the speakers became aware of my status as a non-vegan midway through the conversation. This reveal may have produced differences in the stances my speakers conveyed and the ways in which they conducted themselves between the beginning of their interview and the end. Finally, I was the only individual who coded the data for this study. While my clear coding criteria made my coding relatively consistent, it would have been ideal to have another individual code as well so as to ensure inter-coder reliability.

Further directions of study may address the perception of the relative level of offensiveness of the evaluative tools referenced by the Appraisal framework. For example, do individuals find negative affective evaluations directed at their own identity to be more threatening than judgments? Or are negative affective reactions more forceful to a listener? Additionally, it may be useful to apply a similar methodology to analyze the speech of individuals in other social communities which base themselves on moral ideals, such as a religious organization. For example, the speech of individuals who are all members of the same church could be analyzed to investigate whether judgments were playing a similarly large role as they do in this data. Finally, the data set for this study could also be expanded, as it consisted

primarily of middle-aged individuals. Thus, it may be useful to investigate more college-aged individuals or even children, who may feel less threatened by do-gooder derogation than adults.

7. Conclusion

Based on the primary motivations for becoming a vegan, the vegan identity can be broken up into three major divisions: animal rights vegans, environmental vegans, and plant-based eaters. While few individuals consider themselves to be solely motivated by one of these factors, the differences in language use across individuals who self-identify as plant-based versus animal rights etc. suggests that there are indeed divisions which exist in the community and which affect the identity that a vegan decides to build for themselves. Regardless of one's specific vegan identity, the fact that a general vegan identity departs from social norms requires that one justify a transition to the lifestyle to prevent being judged on a scale of normality and lowered in the eyes of society. Generally, this goal is accomplished by basing a transition to the diet on moral claims. However, this positive moral self-judgment creates an initial hurdle to ensuring solidarity with non-vegan individuals. Due to anticipated moral reproach and do-gooder derogation, non-vegans feel inherently threatened by vegan morality judgments, which causes them to increase their own criticisms and negative opinions of vegans. My study aimed to determine whether linguistic resources of evaluation used by vegans were further contributing to the effects of do-gooder derogation.

According to the Appraisal analysis, all vegans utilize high amounts of judgment to protect their position in society, although the social scale that is referenced by these judgments varies based on the specific vegan identity. While animal rights vegans used high amounts of morality judgments, the environmental and plant-based eater participants used significantly less. Rather, these speakers tended to rely more on judgments referencing the scales of capacity and tenacity. Additionally, vegan individuals utilized affect to highlight the alignment of their

non-vegan listeners with vegan stances in order to make their transition to the lifestyle seem justified, thereby making negative normality judgments seem unwarranted.

The analysis using Du Bois' (2007) stance triangle suggests that linguistic tools of evaluation like judgment and affect simultaneously allow vegans to protect their position in society while also facilitating a smooth interaction and creating solidarity with non-vegan listeners. Not only are linguistic tools means for evaluation, but they are also available tools for alignment. The combination of judgments and affect alongside linguistic hints at intended alignment suggests that vegan speakers consider these evaluative tools to be useful means for signaling to a listener that they are aligned with a vegan stance. Since judgments and affect reference shared cultural values and emotions, they are available options for ensuring that a listener recognizes and understands what an evaluation is based on and is simultaneously aligned to the stance that evaluation is contributing to.

Overall, the use of evaluative language by vegans suggests that judgment and affect are particularly useful means for vegans to protect their position in society while also ensuring a smooth interaction without offending a non-vegan listener.

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