

Appraisal System in Bandung, the City of Pigs: A Case of ATTITUDE

Eri Kurniawan^{1*} and Ana Aprilia²

¹Linguistics Study Program, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Bandung 40154, Indonesia

²Department of English Education, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Bandung 40154, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

This study seeks to investigate how Bandung city, one of the foremost tourist destinations in Indonesia, and its elements (the citizens, the Mayor, and specific things or places) are evaluated by the author of a blog post entitled *Bandung, The City of Pigs* to ascertain the author's attitude polarity (negative or positive). The Appraisal theory was utilized in this study to analyze an array of appraisal resources contained in the text. It is found that in general the author's evaluation of Bandung and its elements is negative, which is linguistically realized in the three subsystems of ATTITUDE system namely APPRECIATION, JUDGEMENT, and AFFECT. In addition, it is presumed this negativity also contributes to the virality of the text as it evokes the high-arousal negative emotion of the readers i.e., anger. In our analysis, the blog post entitled *Bandung, The City of Pigs* went viral as it has evoked the readers' negative emotions—namely anger—because of a high number of negative appraisal items employed in the evaluation. Implicationally, these findings are expected to raise people's awareness of the significance of making careful judgments in evaluating to avoid potential conflicts and other disadvantages.

Keywords: Appraisal theory, attitude, Bandung's tourism, blog, opinion, polarity

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E-mail addresses:

eri_kurniawan@upi.edu (Eri Kurniawan)

ana.aprilia@student.upi.edu (Ana Aprilia)

* Corresponding author

INTRODUCTION

Bandung's development in tourism is flourishing in the last decade and makes a significant contribution to the regional economy (Windarti, 2016). It is recorded in statistics that 5,000,625 tourists (4,827,589 domestic and 173,036 foreign tourists) have visited Bandung in 2016 (Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Bandung, 2016). Predictably,

the number will continue to spike owing to the increased number of new tourist attractions recently built in Bandung. The new tourist attractions include public spaces and parks such as Super Hero Park, Pet Park, Photography Park, Fitness Park, and Film Park. In addition, in 2015 the UNESCO proclaimed that Bandung is one of the 42 creative cities in the world. For that reason, nowadays Bandung city has more potential to attract more domestic and foreign tourists than in previous days. Bandung's advancement in infrastructure and tourism may contribute to the city's popularity. It is likely that more people will try to find out any related information about the city to validate or make sure that Bandung is a place worth a visit. The information gathering can be done in many ways, such as by asking a friend, reading a book or a tourism brochure, or seeing a travel consultant. However, due to the advancement of technology and the increased number of smartphone use, nowadays it is possible to get the information without even stepping outside the house, i.e. by merely browsing the internet. This activity seems to be today people's favorite since it tends to be more effortless and less time-consuming.

Information about Bandung is available in various kinds of texts such as mass media, official tourism website, and personal blogs. With the increasing use of online reviews on a touristic place that prospective visitors may read, blogs are often utilized as a strategic outlet, due to their resemblance to online diaries (McNeill, 2005) whose writing style

tends to be personal or subjective. In this digital era, the use of a blog as a medium to express opinions is becoming increasingly popular. Therefore, nowadays it is fairly easy to find other people's opinion by merely reading their blogs. People's opinions become critical when it comes to planning a holiday as a tourist may require some reviews from others about the destination he or she is going to visit. People's opinion, or "what other people think," has always been an essential piece of information for most people during the decision-making process (Pang & Lee, 2008).

A blog post entitled *Bandung, The City of Pigs* is an example of personal opinions about Bandung that has the potential to influence the potential tourists' decision. The blog post was written in English by Inna Savova (2014), a female Bulgarian who had lived in Bandung for about 3.5 years. In her post, Savova conveyed her criticism about Bandung's hygiene and its citizens' behavior towards cleanliness.

Savova's criticisms about Bandung's hygiene contain some truth. Garbage disposal, for instance, has been a lingering issue in the city. Some people cope with their domestic garbage by burning it, potentially causing air pollution. Some others throw away solid waste into the rivers, leading to flooding in some areas of Bandung (Bandung City Environmental Management Board, 2014). This municipal waste problem, according to Windarti (2016), contributed to a declining number of visitors to Bandung in 2006 and 2008. To sum up, in Windarti's (2016) analysis,

economic progress triggered by tourism has adversely impacted environmental issues in Bandung.

Of particular interest is that Savova's blog post went viral in 2014 for many people considered the language used offensive. According to Ericssen (2014), the content had been read by more than 25,000 people in a short period of time which was a quite high number for a blog post. Various responses emerged once the blog post was widely shared on Twitter, blown up by the local mass media, and responded by Ridwan Kamil, the then Mayor of Bandung. Blog commenters who agreed with Savova's evaluation about Bandung cleanness were relatively as many as those who disagreed. However, there is one thing that they have in common: most of them lament the 'voice' of the writing that is considered racist, vulgar, and offensive. In recent systemic linguistic theorizing, 'voice' refers to distinctive configurations of appraisal choices, and the voice theory has evolved within the framework of APPRAISAL (Martin, 1997 as cited in Coffin, 2002), a system network of semantic options for evaluating people, things, and phenomena. Therefore, with regard to this study, the Appraisal theory (Martin & White, 2005) is considered as a proper tool to investigate the author's evaluative language in *Bandung, The City of Pigs*.

The Appraisal Theory transpired from a project called "Write it Right" led by linguist James R. Martin in the 1990s along with other scholars such as Peter White, Rick Iedema and Joan Rothery in Sydney (Wang,

2011 as cited in Wei et al., 2015). The theory lies under the umbrella of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday, 1994). SFL holds that language involves three types of communicative functionality, i.e. ideational (experiential), interpersonal, and textual meanings or metafunctions (Halliday, 1994). In SFL, Appraisal Theory is located as an interpersonal system at the level of discourse semantics (Martin & White, 2005). Emilia (2014) explained that the interpersonal metafunction was to do with negotiating and maintaining a relationship with others. In other words, the Appraisal framework is a development of work in SFL and is concerned with interpersonal meaning in the text—the negotiation of social relationships by communicating emotion, judgment, and appreciation (Read et al., 2007). The theory describes how authors use language to communicate their engagement with others (Read, 2010 as cited in Alamsyah et al., 2015).

Martin and White's (2005) appraisal theory is, according to Asher et al. (2009), is among the analytical tools in analysing opinions, emotions, and affect in cognitive theories. In genre analysis, the appraisal theory was utilised to analyse grant proposals, a study conducted by Pascual and Unger (2010). This theory has even been adopted in quantitative inquiries, as in Fuoli's (2012)'s investigation of social responsibility of world-class companies, i.e. BP and IKEA. All these evidences appear to suggest that the theory has proven valid to dissect people's assessment of things in texts.

There are three main components of APPRAISAL namely ATTITUDE, ENGAGEMENT, and GRADUATION. Martin and White (2005) explained the three components as follow,

ATTITUDE is concerned with our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgments of behavior and evaluation of things (e.g. *My dad is a hero* [value judgment]). ENGAGEMENT deals with sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse (e.g. *I think* [probability] *that your statement is truthful*). GRADUATION attends to grading phenomena whereby feelings are amplified and categories blurred (e.g. *This effectively* [focus] *proves him wrong*.) (p. 35).

Each component has sub-components that comprise its appraisal resources. For a better understanding of appraisal resources, Figure 1 is presented.

ATTITUDE has three subsystems namely AFFECT, JUDGEMENT, and APPRECIATION. As explained by Coffin (2002), AFFECT is a resource for construing emotional responses (e.g. *I feel sad*), JUDGEMENT is a resource for judging behavior in ‘ethical’ terms (e.g. *a dirty city*), and APPRECIATION is a resource for valuing texts and processes (e.g. *a beautiful woman*). GRADUATION deals with values which scale meanings along two possible parameters—either by raising or lowering intensity (FORCE, e.g. *the fuel price skyrocketed*) or by sharpening and softening the focus (FOCUS, e.g. *a true friend*). Lastly, ENGAGEMENT comprises resources for engaging with and negotiating heteroglossic diversity—

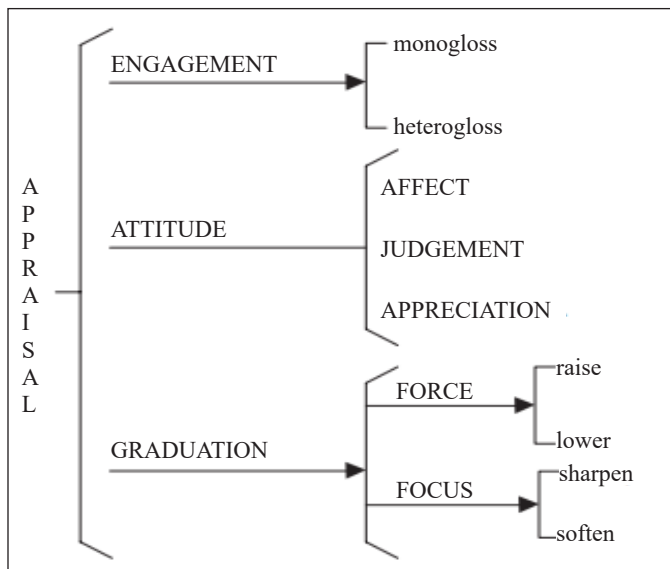


Figure 1. An overview of appraisal resources as adapted from Martin and White (2005)

the various convergent, alternative and counter socio-semiotic realities or positions activated and referenced by every utterance (White, 1998). This includes such linguistic features as modals of probability (e.g. *probably*), reality phrase (e.g. *it appears*) and attribution (e.g. *Research has shown*).

ATTITUDE is further broken down into types and sub-types, as illustrated in Figure 2.

As aforementioned, AFFECT is associated with personal emotion, which, according to the above appraisal system, falls into three subtypes: HAPPINESS (internal mood, e.g. *happy vs. sad*), SECURITY (environmental and social well-being, e.g.

confident vs. uneasy), and SATISFACTION (attainment of one's goals, e.g. *thrilled vs. angry*). JUDGEMENT is divided into two: ESTEEM and SANCTION. ESTEEM consists of three sub-types: NORMALITY (what is culturally deemed as normal, e.g. *normal vs. odd*), CAPACITY (individual capability, e.g. *successful vs. unsuccessful*), and TENACITY (individual dependability, e.g. *reliable vs. unreliable*). Meanwhile, SANCTION is split into VERACITY (honesty, e.g. *truthful vs. dishonest*) and PROPRIETY (a person ethics relative to cultural norms, e.g. *polite vs. rude*). The last type APPRECIATION is further classified as REACTION (instinctive), COMPOSITION (perceptive), and VALUATION (cognitive). While REACTION can be IMPACT (*engaging vs. dull*) or QUALITY (*lovely vs. nasty*), COMPOSITION is to do with BALANCE (*unified vs. uneven*), COMPLEXITY (*simple vs. simplistic*), and VALUATION (worth, e.g. *profound, shallow*).

How APPRAISAL system is realized in texts has received much attention from many linguists or discourse analysts. Recently, there have been many publications relating to the topic. For instance, by utilizing the APPRAISAL theory, Tallapessy (2015) investigated how the journalists of *The Jakarta Post* demonstrated their attitudes in terms of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT, and APPRECIATION to show their feelings towards the case of corruption. He found that the use of strong judgment, as indicated by the absence of modality, indicated that the appraisers (journalists) tried to get public

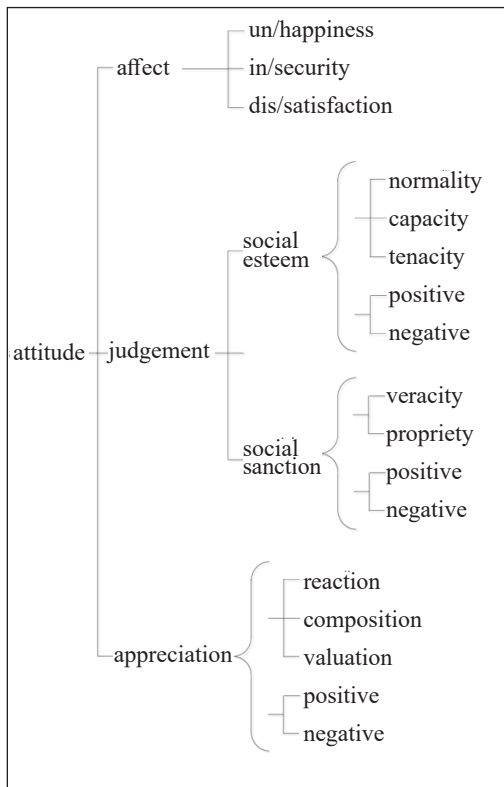


Figure 2. A detail look at ATTITUDE as part of Martin & White's (2005) appraisal resources

support. Another work on APPRAISAL system analysis was done by Arunsirot (2012) who examined attitudes expressed in 32 Thai online newspaper commentaries. The findings revealed that the commentators made use of both positive and negative emotional responses through either adjectives, noun phrases or verb phrases in terms of AFFECT, which dealt with the expression of emotion (Arunsirot, 2012).

It can be seen that most of the previous works have only focused on types of texts that are expected to be faceless or objective such as news items. This study, however, focuses on a type of text that typically has a subjective voice namely a blog post. The term 'blog' itself can be defined as "a website that contains an online personal journal with reflections, comments, and often with hyperlinks provided by the writer" (Merriam – Webster, 2005). Although people write in their blogs for various purposes, the vast majority of blogs can be viewed as personal diaries, where bloggers write about their experiences, opinions, and emotions (Leshed & Kaye, 2006). Accordingly, unlike academic texts that are expected to be faceless (Biber & Finegan, 1988 as cited in Coffin, 2002) and formal in tone (Kurniawan et al., 2019), blog texts/posts are typically written in voices that are more subjective (see Melville et al., 2009).

Numerous studies have concentrated on blogs. Among others, Melville et al. (2009) performed a sentiment analysis on weblogs, specifically identifying whether a blog expressed a positive or a negative about certain brands and products. In a similar

vein, Godbole et al. (2007) conducted the same analytical tool, i.e. a sentiment analysis on online newspapers and blogs. Using a large amount of corpora, they attempted to pinpoint people's opinions—favorable or adverse—to a number of entities including famous figures.

To the author's best knowledge, a blog post analysis using the APPRAISAL theory in Indonesian context has never been conducted. Therefore, this study is expected to fill that gap. This study seeks to analyze how Bandung city and its elements (such as the citizens, the Mayor, and specific things or places) are evaluated by the author of *Bandung, the City of Pigs* to ascertain the extent of the author's attitude polarity (the extent of negativity as the title implies and positivity if any). The blog post is chosen for its virality on the internet and its potential to change the tourist's decision-making. Accordingly, this study proposes a research question as follows: how is the appraisal system realized in *Bandung, the City of Pigs*?

Generally, the findings of this study are expected to raise people's awareness about the significance of making careful judgments in evaluating things to avoid potential conflicts and other disadvantages. In addition, this study is also expected to make contributions to Bandung tourism marketing since this study is also part of sentiment analysis. Opinions, in a marketing sentiment analysis, are critical because they are key influencers of consumers' behavior (Liu, 2011 as cited in Alamsyah et al., 2015). Therefore, this study functions to inform Bandung tourism marketers about

their “customer’s satisfaction.” As a result, they are expected to be able to counter any consumers’ negative opinions by proving that Bandung is a tourist destination that is worth a visit. For Savova’s case, they can start with improving the hygiene or cleanliness of Bandung by working together with the local government.

The remainder of the paper is organized into three sections namely method, findings and discussion, and conclusion. Method section outlines the research design, data collection, and data analysis of this study. Findings and discussion section revolves around the discoveries of investigation of appraisal resources in the text and provides the explanations of the findings. Finally, the conclusion section summarizes the results of this work and suggests possible future studies.

METHODS

The data used in this study was a blog post that belonged to Inna Savova, a female Bulgarian who had lived in Bandung for 3.5 years. The content described Savova’s criticism of Bandung’s hygiene and its citizen’s behavior towards cleanliness. The data was taken from <https://venusgotgonorrhoea.wordpress.com/2014/01/16/bandung-the-city-of-pigs/>. The author of the article has now removed the blog partly due to the sensitive nature of the article posted therein and the external pressures that emerged. However, the readers can visit <http://internetanmulu.blogspot.com/2014/02/bandung-dijuluki-city-of-pigs.html> to access the original article.

The blog post was selected since it once became the internet sensation and many people deemed the language used by the writer offensive. In addition, since the content was an opinion written in English and by a non-native citizen, it might have a vast influence over Bandung city’s tourism marketing globally in the future. In this case, Savova’s evaluation of the city could change the potential tourists’ assessment and behavior as well.

The analysis was conducted within the framework of Martin’s Appraisal theory (Martin & White, 2005), focusing on one appraisal system only: ATTITUDE (AFFECT, JUDGMENT, APPRECIATION), following Arunsirot (2012) and Tallapessy (2015), since it was the only system within the appraisal theory that could tell the polarity (negative-positive) of the text. This system was adequate to answer the research question proposed in this study.

The first step of the analysis was manually marking up the appraisal resources/categories contained in the text. To facilitate the analysis and to avoid personal bias, Martin and White (2005) had established the so-called “regions of meanings”, i.e. “semantic resources for construing emotions” (Oteíza, 2017) that offered a typology of words that denoted feelings or emotions. To mark up the appraisal resources automatically and effectively, the text was imported into text annotation software called UAM Corpus Tool that was created by O’Donnel (2012), tailored for semiautomatic annotation of texts. The software was used since a

conventional approach (by using a pen and paper) often led to difficulties when the analyst found an error in the coding and intended to change them (O'Donnel, 2012).

After the types of appraisal resources were marked up, the next step was classifying the appraisal resources in the text through a set of features the software offers. It included a feature for creating a table to specify the appraising items, their subtypes (AFFECT, JUDGMENT, APPRECIATION), and the appraised items; getting the descriptive and comparative statistics of the appraisal resources found in the text, all with the help of the software. Finally, the findings were elaborated in accordance with the proposed research question and based on the framework of Appraisal (Martin & White, 2005).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Based on the analysis in this study, it is found that there are 79 instances of appraising items in the text. The appraising items refer to at least four appraised items that include citizens of Bandung, Bandung city, Ridwan Kamil, and specific items or places that are considered as the elements of Bandung city. However, to avoid wordiness, this paper does not display a detailed analysis in this section. Instead, Figure 3 is presented to show the overall statistical results of the analysis.

As seen in Figure 3, it is found that the writer draws on all ATTITUDE's subsystems namely AFFECT (7.59%), JUDGEMENT (50.63%), and APPRECIATION (41.77%) in evaluating Bandung and its elements.

JUDGEMENT

JUDGMENT is to do with evaluating people and the way they behave – their characters (how they measure up) (Martin & White, 2005). From the aforementioned statistics, it can be seen that JUDGEMENT is the most frequent system of the author's evaluation (50.63%). From 40 instances of appraising items found in the text, 25 of them are in the social-esteem category, and 15 of them are in the social-sanction category: normality and propriety. In the text, the writer predominantly made judgments to Bandung citizens in terms of how normal (normality: 17.72%) and ethical (propriety: 16.46%) they were based on her perspective.

Concerning normality subsumed under Judgment-Social Esteem, most of the appraising items reveal that the writer evaluated Bandung citizens as slovenly people. In the first place, the author chose the word 'pigs' in the title: *Bandung, the City of Pigs*. The word functions to capitalize her evaluation that Bandung citizens' behavior can be compared (and equated) to pigs, the animals that have reputation as filthy animals (Nicholls, 2015). This comparison is unacceptable and offensive to Bandung citizens as most of them are Muslims ("*Jumlah Penduduk*" [The population number], 2014) and in Islamic religion, pigs are *haram* or strictly prohibited to be eaten or touched.

To further elaborate the slovenliness and other unusual behaviours of Bandung citizens, the writer also made negative judgments on specific behaviors—whether or not one's act was socially acceptable,

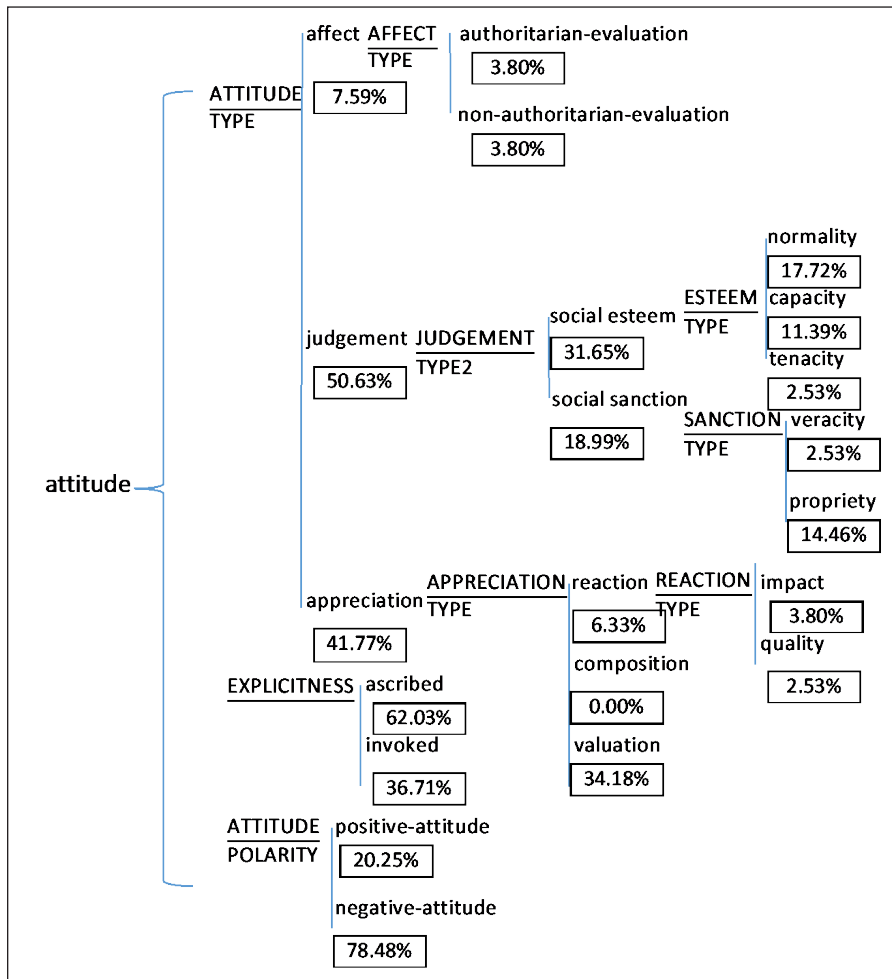


Figure 3. Statistical result of ATTITUDE in Bandung, The City of Pigs as captured from the UAM Corpus Tool

laudable, or normal. The following details her judgments on specific behaviors:

- the way the citizens took a shower that she evaluated as *unenjoyable*. What she was observing here was something cultural, where some Bandung citizens (or Indonesians in general) did not have access to showers. Instead, they had an open water container where a mug-like plastic container was used as a

tool to scoop water and throw water on the body. This cultural practice, in her judgmental view, was unenjoyable;

- store water in large containers *where all kinds of bugs drown (and sometimes mice)*. Here, she was observing how some Bandung inhabitants stored water in some ‘open’ containers where some undesired objects might fall

- into. She was exaggerating what potentially occurred with ‘nominals’ “all kinds of bugs”, “mice”;
- dry their clothes (*...you don't hang them to dry. You just toss them over your gate, half on the street, half in your yard, on the dirty door and you wait until the passing cars and motorcycles dust them dry*). Her observation was the way people in Bandung dry their clothes was unacceptable by placing them on dirty places such as a door, a gate or a street. Her judgment on this act was most apparent in the phrasing “you wait ... dust them, dry”, which was an exaggeration;
 - dispose garbage (*or burns it in the best case possible. Oh, didn't I mention that's the only way they know how to dispose of trash?*). Garbage disposal was a long-standing problem in Bandung and she claimed the only way the people know was burning, which was a mere personal claim; and
 - work out (*And by work out understand eat, eat, eat*). Here, she was witnessing a number of people in Bandung who loved to enjoy eating since Bandung was well-known as a culinary haven. While it was true that some people enjoyed such a routine, of course it was not a substitute for physical exercise.

Relating to appraising items of propriety, the writer dominantly made a negative judgement on the behaviors that

she considered unethical such as stealing and breaking the trash cans/plastic bags, ruining the city parks, and throwing garbage.

Concerning the polarity of JUDGEMENT, Table 1 is presented.

Table 1
The comparison of negative and positive JUDGEMENT

	Negative (N=34 out of 62)	Positive (N=6 out of 16)
Social esteem	32.26 % (N=20)	31.25 % (N=5)
Social sanction	22.58 % (N=14)	6.23 % (N=1)

Table 1 illustrates that of 62 appraising items employed to evaluate Bandung citizens' behaviour and disposition, 34 of them were negative. However, although the negative judgement towards the appraised items was dominant, it was of interest to see that the writer seemed to make an exception for Ridwan Kamil, the then Mayor of Bandung. It could be seen from the six instances of positive appraising items found in the text, all of them referred to Ridwan Kamil. In contrast to his people, Ridwan Kamil was presented as a more civilized person compared to the rest of the Bandung citizens. He was mainly appraised for the capability he had such as in the following appraising items: *got a foreign (USA) education, can make a change, and Bandung and Indonesia, in general, need more people like that*. The writer then summed up her evaluation by saying that Ridwan Kamil was *good*. However, at the end of the writing, the writer seemed to take back her own

previous positive judgment by expressing her hesitation such as in *I don't know if he is that good or he just got me hooked up on another lie* (judgment of veracity). It is noteworthy that this statement contradicts her earlier positive assessments to Ridwan Kamil, and this appears to suggest that her view is precariously unreliable.

APPRECIATION

APPRECIATION is the second most frequent system of the writer's evaluation (41.77%). This system is to do with resources for construing the value of things, including natural phenomena and semiosis (as either product or process) (Martin & White, 2005). APPRECIATION system is specialized to disclose the writers' evaluation of Bandung as a place where people live. Specifically, the appraising items of APPRECIATION are employed to appraise specific places and specific inanimate objects in Bandung; and Bandung as one of the cities in Indonesia. Based on the analysis as exhibited in Table 2 below, it was found that there were 32 instances of APPRECIATION. Similar to the other two systems, this system could also reveal the writer's negative and positive evaluation.

Table 2
The comparison of negative and positive APPRECIATION

	Negative (N=24 out of 62)	Positive (N=8 out of 16)
Reaction	4.84 % (N=3)	12.50 % (N=2)
Composition	0.00 % (N=0)	0.00 % (N=0)
Valuation	33.87 % (N=21)	37.50 % (N=6)

Table 2 clearly shows that in 32 instances, 24 of them exhibit negative appreciation and 8 of them positive appreciation. What is apparent here is the amount of valuation—evaluation of an object, product, and process based on some social convention—is much higher than that of reaction—emotional impact of an entity on the reader—and composition—evaluation based on the composition of a product or a process, which implies that the author predominantly stresses on the social valuation of Bandung.

The appraising items found in the text indicate that the writer evaluated Bandung as an improper place for humans to live. It could be seen from the explicit appraising value-laden expressions such as *dirty, stinky, filthy, disgusting, toxic, and hazardous* [valuation]. In addition, earlier, in the title of the blog post, Bandung was appraised as if it is a natural environment for pigs to live: *Bandung, the City of Pigs*.

From how the APPRECIATION system is realized, it could also be seen that the writer's voice seemed very strong in terms of how she positioned the readers to believe that Bandung was not a clean place to live. In specific, the writer used various negative adjectives (as mentioned in the previous paragraph) and presuppositions to describe the hygiene of Bandung. For instance, the phrase could be found in the lines where she described a specific house with a rat lives inside it, *A rat, longer than 20cm, running free in the house, eating whatever he can get (sometimes the cat) is a daily routine*. The phrase did not contain explicit adjectives that presuppose the place was dirty. Instead,

the author told her experience of seeing a rat *running free* in a house. However, by reading the phrase, the readers could imply that the place was not hygienic as rats were often culturally associated with disease and filth (see Seegert, 2014; Texas A&M University, 2008).

With regard to the polarity of APPRECIATION, Table 2 presents the comparison of negative and positive APPRECIATION.

AFFECT

AFFECT is concerned with registering positive and negative feelings, it tells whether the speaker/writer feels happy or sad, confident or anxious, interested or bored (Martin & White, 2005). AFFECT was the least dominant system in the text, i.e. only 7.59%. In the text, AFFECT was realized through both authorian-evaluation and non-authorian-evaluation. It was found that there were only six instances of AFFECT namely *shocked, likes, screamed, in amazement, ashamed, and feel sad*.

Based on the findings, it could be seen that the feelings construed in the text were mostly unhappy ones. For example, the writer expressed how she felt when she encountered that the citizens were careless about the city’s cleanliness, such as in the following phrase, *When I first came to the city I was shocked from all the dirt*. In another instance of the appraisal items, the writer felt sad as she found that the Bandung citizens got her wrong and thought of her

as mentally deranged when seeing her picking up and collecting garbage along the street, *They just see me as some crazy white woman, which makes me feel sad*.

The AFFECT system was not dominant in the text. However, it still contributed to the polarity of the entire evaluation. Table 3 illustrates the polarity of AFFECT.

Table 3
The comparison of negative and positive AFFECT

	Negative (N=4 out of 62)	Positive (N=2 out of 16)
Authorian evaluation	3.23 % (N=2)	6.25 % (N=1)
Nonauthorian evaluation	3.23 % (N=2)	6.25 % (N=1)

EXPLICITNESS

Implicit expressions are often linked to sarcasm. Sarcasm is an indirect form of speech intentionally used to produce a particularly dramatic effect on the listener (McDonald, 1999 as cited in Dauphin, 2002). Sarcasm is usually accompanied by specific negative attitudes, such as disapproval, contempt, scorn, and ridicule (Dauphin, 2002). This study found that there were several implicit or indirect realizations of the author’s evaluation in the text. The general statistical analysis revealed that 29 out of 79 appraisals items were categorized as *invoked*. It meant that the evaluation was not explicit in a word or phrase but rather implied by information given (O’Donnel, 2012). Table 4 presents the statistics and some examples of indirect realizations.

Table 4
Invoked evaluation of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT, and APPRECIATION

ATTITUDE-TYPE	N=29 out of 79
AFFECT	0.00 % (N=0)
JUDGEMENT	79.31 % (N=23)
APPRECIATION	20.69 % (N=6)

Table 4 above illustrates that invoked evaluation mostly appears in JUDGEMENT. In spite of the absence of explicit words or phrases in the text, the readers can still infer the author's negative judgement through the information she gives such as in the following passage.

Let me explain in here, that there is a very strange phenomena occurring in this city. There are a lot of perfectly good, lonely sandals out there just sitting in awkward places. My first thought was that someone dropped it. Yet I can't figure out how someone would lose a perfectly good shoe and not notice it, walking away with on barefoot. Or maybe it's some kind of movement? Like "Flip Flops for Peace"? What kind of sorcery is this?

The passage above is labelled as invoking evaluation of JUDGEMENT as it is considered as one of the appraisal items that is employed to evaluate the citizens' unusual behavior in an indirect way. The author assessed that the citizens liked to litter their second-hand, unused sandals in random places or simply by laying them in the yard. Culturally, the act of littering is

considered as a negative behavior that can be labelled as the realization of social sanction. Martin and White (2005) mentioned that JUDGEMENT of sanction had to do with 'veracity' (how truthful someone is) and 'propriety' (how ethical someone is). In line with that, the act of littering, therefore, can be tagged under 'propriety' label as the doer violates the 'regulations about how to behave as surveilled by the state' (Martin & White, 2005).

Another example of indirect realization can be found in the system of APPRECIATION. As discussed earlier in the APPRECIATION section, there was a phrase where the author expressed her abhorrence through implicit wordings. She described a specific house with a rat living inside, *A rat, longer than 20cm, running free in the house, eating whatever he can get (sometimes the cat) is a daily routine.* The phrase did not contain explicit adjectives that indicated the place was dirty. However, rats are often culturally associated with disease and filth (Texas A&M University, 2008) and seen as "emblems of decay and contamination" (Seegert, 2014). As a result, the reader then could infer that the author tried to make a negative evaluation through her experience telling.

ATTITUDE POLARITY

Polarity classification is just a few of the tasks under the umbrella of sentiment analysis (SA), itself only a tiny portion of the field of computational linguistics (Hart, 2013). SA—also referred to as subjectivity analysis, review mining, or appraisal extraction (Pang

& Lee, 2008)—is the act of detecting and classifying the sentiment expressed by an opinion holder (Gonzalez-Rodriguez et al., 2014). It has been mentioned earlier that this study is also part of sentiment analyses (SA) whose goal is to ascertain the polarity—negative or positive—of a text.

As Figure 2 illustrates, the negative evaluation far outnumbers (78.48%) the positive ones (20.25%). Hence, it can be inferred that the author's complete evaluation of Bandung and its elements is negative.

CONCLUSION

This study has analyzed how Bandung and its elements (the citizens, the Mayor, and specific things or places) are evaluated by the author of a blogpost *Bandung, The City of Pigs* to ascertain the author's attitude polarity (negative or positive) about the city. In specific, this study investigated the writer's evaluation by analyzing the appraisal resources embodied in the text within the Appraisal framework (Martin & White, 2005). The findings indicate that the author's evaluation of Bandung and its elements is dominantly negative. This negativity is realized in the ATTITUDE system that includes JUDGEMENT, APPRECIATION, and AFFECT.

In addition, it is presumed that this negativity also contributes to the virality of the text as it evokes the high-arousal negative emotion of the readers i.e., anger. In line with that, Berger and Milkman (2012, 2013), in their article entitled *What makes online content viral?* discovered that virality

was partially driven by physiological arousal. Content that evokes high-arousal positive (awe) or negative (anger or anxiety) emotions is more viral. In other words, only information or online contents with certain characteristics can be more viral than others. It is assumed that the blog post entitled *Bandung, The city of pigs* went viral as it had evoked the readers' negative emotions—namely anger—because of a high number of negative appraisal items employed in the evaluation. Therefore, investigating the correlation between the polarity of attitude and virality would be an interesting study to be conducted in the future.

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