

Reporting land conflict in Uganda

A genre and appraisal theoretical analysis of Runyankore-Rukiga newspaper reports

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News reporting studies have largely been confined to the Western cultures and languages, yet news reporting in other languages has proliferated throughout the world (Thomson et al. 2008; Thomson & White 2008). This article explores news reporting in Runyankore-Rukiga, an agglutinating Ugandan Bantu language, focusing on land conflict. Assuming the influential discourse-linguistic framework of Appraisal theory and genre theory (Thomson et al. 2008), the article investigates the linguistic expressions of evaluative language in Runyankore-Rukiga across government-oriented and private newspapers. It also examines the properties that constitute Runyankore-Rukiga hard news reports. Although the genre analysis reveals that the structure of Runyankore-Rukiga hard news reports resembles the satellite structure of the English hard news reports as proposed by White (1997), some differences are identified. Not only does the news report unfold in a chronological order, it exhibits a distinct discursive feature that is characterized by anecdotes, metaphors, grim humor, or proverbs in the lead paragraph. This type of introduction does not necessarily capture the gist of the entire report but rather seeks out the reader's attention. The article further explicates the nature of lexicogrammatical properties of evaluative language that news writers invoke to express attitudes in the news events. The appraisal exploration also examines instances of graduation in which different figures of speech and non-core lexis are invoked to amplify attitudinal values. The article thus extends Appraisal theory analysis to one of only a few African languages examined within this framework, and contributes to the understanding of news reporting in these languages and cultures.

Keywords: Runyankore-Rukiga, news reports, land conflict, appraisal, genre

Introduction

Media studies on newspaper reporting have often been confined to the Anglo-American modes (Thomson & White 2008; Thomson, White, & Kitley 2008). For example, White (1997, 1998) and Thomson et al. (2008) have explored the linguistic resources that journalists employ to write news reports in the Anglo-American print media. News reporting studies outside the Anglo-American context have explored news reporting in Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian, and Vietnamese languages and cultures (Chen 2004; Thomson & White 2008; Thomson et al. 2008). Moreover, hardly any linguistic research exists on newspaper genres in African languages and cultures, yet newspapers have spread throughout the world not only in English but also in many local languages and cultures (Thomson & White 2008; Thomson et al. 2008). Therefore, this linguistic investigation of newspaper genres in Runyankore-Rukiga is an attempt to explore how news reporting unfolds in African languages, thus extending discourse on news reporting to other languages and cultures.

The article specifically seeks to explore the nature of appraisal resources that Runyankore-Rukiga newspaper writers invoke to communicate issues of land conflict in Uganda across government and privately owned newspapers. It examines the generic structure and properties that define hard news reports dealing with land conflict. In this regard, it seeks to establish whether the Runyankore-Rukiga hard news report exhibits a generic structure analogous to the orbital structure proposed by White (1997). It also explicates how news writers adopt particular linguistic and cultural constructs to express their stances on value positions inherent in the news texts.

Newspaper reporting in Runyankore-Rukiga

Runyankore-Rukiga is one of the five major languages of wider communication in Uganda, the others being Lugbara, Luganda, Luo, and Ngakarimajong. According to the 2002 population census, Runyankore is spoken by 2,330,000 speakers, whereas Rukiga is spoken by 1,580,000 (UBOS 2002). Its lexical similarity with Rukiga is 84% to 94%, an indication of the mutual intelligibility between the two (Paul 2009). It is taught at both primary and secondary school levels as well as at one of the leading universities in the country, Makerere University. Besides being used in the print media, Runyankore-Rukiga is used as a broadcasting medium for many FM radio stations in southwestern Uganda. It is also widely spoken throughout western Uganda and is understood in northwestern Tanzania and the eastern areas of the Democratic Republic of Congo (Paul 2009).

Runyankore-Rukiga newspaper reporting thrives in a bustling newspaper industry that boasts five English language newspapers and about eight newspapers published in various local languages. Currently, there are three mainstream English daily newspapers, namely, *The New Vision*, *Daily Monitor*, and *The Red Pepper*. *Bukedde and Kamunye*, Luganda newspapers, are the only daily newspaper published in a local language. Other major newspapers published in local languages include *Orumuri*, *Entatsi*, *Rupiny*, and *Etop*, all of which are published on a weekly basis. The study corpus is drawn from *Orumuri*, “the Torch,” and *Entatsi*, “the Spy,” which are government and private newspapers respectively.

The New Vision Printing & Publishing Company Limited, of which the government of Uganda owns 53%, shares ownership of *Orumuri*. The newspaper was started in October 1989 by the government to educate the public on government issues. It circulates mainly in the southwestern areas of Uganda, but it is also read in other parts of the country, especially Kampala. It has a circulation of 19,500 copies per week (New Vision 2011). *Orumuri* exhibits traits of a tabloid, interspersed with news of social significance such as political, economic, and social issues. *Entatsi* started in May 1998 in Mbarara, a southwestern town. Its founding was prompted by the lack of a local language newspaper to provide an alternative opinion to the existing government newspaper, *Orumuri* (personal communication with one of the founders). In 2005, it was sold to Red Pepper Limited, a local private media house. The newspaper is considered a tabloid whose “content is a blend of cultural, entertainment, sports, big pictures and the low-end market-oriented stories” (Red Pepper 2011).

Since both *Entatsi* and *Orumuri* serve readers of the same locality, their news reporting scope is mainly limited to the news value of ‘meaningfulness’. This news value foregrounds news events that are culturally meaningful to the target audience (Galtung & Ruge 1965). The news coverage is also restricted to ‘cultural proximity’, that is, it pays attention to the more familiar and culturally similar news events and glosses over those from culturally distant areas (Galtung & Ruge 1965).

Recounting land conflict in Uganda

The news corpus examined in this article comprises hard news reports, which belong to the news category of ‘aberrant damage’ (White 1997) and therefore appeal to news reporters. They focus on event issues in which the human initiative disrupts the social order by violence, dislodging citizens from their land, or taking human life because of land disputes or disagreement over boundary marks.

Land conflicts in Uganda are on the increase, and land disputes continue to proliferate (Rugadya 2009). One of the most salient land conflicts reported in the

print media was the Kibaale land question (Republic of Uganda 2006), in which a political decision ignited ethnic tensions including claims of land rights issues; tribal tensions between pastoralists and agricultural communities; and boundary conflicts between various ethnic groups (Rugadya 2009). The Land Amendment Bill 2007 equally attracted media attention, especially the news events deriving from a parliamentary debate on the statement to Parliament by the former Attorney General, Dr. Khiddu Makubuya, on the status of the perennial and disputed 9000 square miles of Buganda land on 6 March 2008. Other salient conflicts include clashes between lodgers and land proprietors, disputes over ownership rights, and the 'grabbing' of land by influential government officials. This article, however, focuses on land disputes involving evictions and violent clashes, which are usually widely reported in the local newspapers.

A multi-perspective approach to newspaper reporting

Given the multiple facets of news genres in terms of their discourse-linguistic nature, we advance a multiperspective theoretical framework for the study. The article is therefore informed by a multilinguistic approach comprising two major theories: Appraisal framework (Martin & White 2005), and genre theory (Swales 1990; Bhatia 1993, 2004; Martin & Rose 2008).

Genre theory is employed to identify, analyze, and describe the properties that characterize hard news reports related to land conflict in Runyankore-Rukiga newspapers. Since 'genre' is defined as a communicative event or text designed to achieve specific communicative goals in a conventionalized setting (Bhatia 2004), the focus on hard news genres whose specific communicative purpose is associated with issues of land conflict within the media profession is significant. The move or sociocognitive structure, which enables scholars to understand the construction and understanding of genres used by different professionals, informs the analysis of the hard news reports in this article (Bhatia 1993, 2004; Martin & Rose 2008).

Although the contemporary news story evolved from the nineteenth century chronological story, in which events were reported in the progressive manner of their occurrence (Bell 1991; White 1998), it has long since shifted to a move structure in which events are recounted in a non-progressive manner. White (1997, 1998) further explicates that stories and reports that fall under the category of English-language hard news reporting share a similar generic structure of non-linear, orbital organization. Such hard news reports consist of the nucleus and the body phase. The nucleus entails the headline or headlines and the lead. This component serves as an anchor to the rest of the news report and indicates 'key meanings' that are further explained in the body phase (Thomson et al. 2008: 214). The second phase

comprises various components in which elements of the nucleus are elaborated, contextualized, justified, or evaluated (White 1997; Thomson et al. 2008). However, as Bhatia (2004) and Martin and Rose (2008) clearly explicate, genres are dynamic in nature and apt to acquire features distinct from those that are conventional in other contexts. In this regard, the study argues that the establishment of generic properties of hard news reports in the context of a country like Uganda, whose linguistic and cultural norms deviate from the current prototypes of the Western world, is vital.

The study also invokes the Appraisal theory (Martin & White 2005), which developed from systemic functional linguistics (SFL). The theory demonstrates how speakers and writers exploit appraisal semantic domains to agree or disagree, approve or condemn, based on “socially determined value positions” (White 2002: 1), and how they invoke linguistic resources to enlist a similar response from their listeners and readers. The theory is founded on three major categories: attitude, engagement, and graduation. Attitude deals with linguistic resources associated with feelings and emotional responses, such as happiness, sadness, or fear. Engagement is concerned with the speaker or writer’s stance in respect of the propositions in the discourse, using modals, attribution, or hedging. Graduation relates to resources that scale other meanings through blurring or amplifying.

Appraisal theoretical principles, in particular, offer an understanding of the lexical markers and semantic functions within the discourse of conflict. In this regard, the framework is used to explore questions about the communicative and rhetorical nature of the discourse of land conflict in Uganda. Appraisal theory cuts across disciplines; it has been used before to analyze similar texts (White 1997; Thomson & White 2008; Thomson et al. 2008; Mugumya 2013).

The communicative intention of hard news texts is to convey information (news) in a clear and neutral manner, making use of attributions in order to avoid explicit value judgments and interpersonal meanings (White 1997, 2000). Nonetheless, there are subtle techniques in which journalistic stance is exhibited in a given news report. These techniques facilitate expressions of alignment or disalignment, and reveal that the author is aligned or disaligned with the stated position, thus bidding to align the reader with that value position (White 2006; Richardson 2007). This study seeks to establish whether techniques of conveying authorial stance similar to those that have been operating in the Anglo-American hard news reports exist equally in Runyankore-Rukiga hard news reporting.

Corpus selection and procedure

The corpus comprises a representative sample of 22 hard news reports (see Table 1). The selection of hard news reports is based on whether they carry news events the study seeks to examine, that is, evictions and violent clashes emanating from land conflict.

Table 1. List of analyzed hard-news reports

Headline	Newspaper and page number	Publication date
<i>Abakiga bairukire aha'Abatooro n'obuta</i>	Orumuri, p. 36	July 22–28, 2002
<i>Empungi zitematemire 4 Nakivale</i>	Orumuri, p. 3	September 16–22, 2002
<i>Batemagwire ishebo ahabw'ekibanja</i>	Entatsi, p. 7	September 19–25, 2002
<i>Murumuna wa Brig. Muhwezi aririze abantu Nyabushozi</i>	Orumuri p. 3	March 17–23, 2003,
<i>Abantu 20 bahutaziibwe amasasi ahabw'eitaka</i>	Orumuri, p. 15	January 26–28, 2004
<i>Aitsire omwihwa ahabw'ekibanja</i>	Entatsi, p. 3	March 24–30, 2004
<i>Abataka beihireyo amacumu, emihoro ahabw'oruguuto</i>	Entatsi, p. 7	May 26-June 1, 2004
<i>Mwenda bakwatiirwe eitaka ry'ekanisa</i>	Orumuri, p. 10	September 13–15, 2004
<i>Atemagwire ishe ahabw'ekibanja</i>	Orumuri, p. 3	September 23–26, 2004
<i>Twayenda tufe titurikuruga omu itaka rya Best Kemigisa</i>	Orumuri, p. 8	January 31-Feb 6, 2005
<i>'Omugabe' Barigye naarwanira eitaka</i>	Orumuri, p. 4	July 25–31, 2005
<i>Ekanisa ebingire abantu omu itaka, yaashenya amaju</i>	Orumuri, p. 4	October 17–23, 2005
<i>Oraatukwateho nitumwata obunyindo — Abafuruki</i>	Entatsi, p. 7	February 8–14, 2006
<i>Omuhabuzi wa Museveni ahonire emihoro n'amacumu</i>	Orumuri, p. 6	November 20–26, 2006
<i>Tubaire nitwenda kuraaha Byanyima — Abataka</i>	Entatsi, p. 2	Sept 30-Oct 6, 2008
<i>Ba-Mpagi naayenda kunyita — Nyamwandu</i>	Entatsi, p. 4	December 2–8, 2008
<i>RDC Mwesigye abingire amaka 300 omu bibanja</i>	Entatsi, p. 2	April 7–13, 2009
<i>Nitukuraaha Abataka bagambiire Byanyima</i>	Entatsi, p. 3	April 7–13, 2009
<i>Abataka kakye baraaha c/maani</i>	Entatsi, p. 3	October 27-Nov 2, 2009
<i>Obwinazi abakozi ba Bibangamba nibahiigirwa okutema orutookye rwa muriranwa</i>	Entatsi, p. 4	December 8–14, 2009
<i>Batemire 20 z'omugaiga Kubaherize baaza aha maju nago baasheenya</i>	Orumuri, p. 4	November 22–28, 2010
<i>Eshagama! Nituteekwa kugaruka omu itaka ryaitu</i>	Entatsi, p. 5	December 21–27, 2010

It should be noted that news recounts on land conflict are intimately linked. For example, a hard news report on eviction may recount some events involving violence, while a news report on land grabbing exemplifies events of eviction. The

guiding factor in the selection of a news text for inclusion in this category is not the definite taxonomy obtaining in the grand literature of land conflicts identified by Wehrmann (2008), but rather the immediate element behind the disruption of social equilibrium (White 1997, 1998). Focus was also placed on news reports that recount news events of a similar nature. The preferred reports were those that appeared on the front pages. However, unlike the English newspapers in Uganda, which carry their hard news reports, including news events on land conflict, on the front pages (Mugumya 2013), the Runyankore-Rukiga newspapers' stories on land conflict do not necessarily appear on the front pages.

The hard news reports selected for analysis are purposively derived from a diachronic corpus of news texts carried by *Orumuri* and *Entatsi* newspapers between 2001 and 2010. This is a period within which many media houses were established and freedom of expression was enhanced, but most importantly, it is a period that witnessed numerous land conflicts (Rugadya 2009).

The texts are analyzed for genre features and appraisal linguistic resources. For illustrative purposes, two texts are reproduced, one recounting eviction of residents and one recounting a news event in which a son kills his father because of a land dispute. Relevant examples from the analyzed news texts are provided to illustrate generic properties and the lexicogrammatical items reflecting appraisal resources.

The analysis was carried out manually using the analytical key below. The key provides textual indicators for lexicogrammatical and discoursal features that realize both the salient genre properties and appraisal resources. Since the translation of Runyankore-Rukiga news reports reflects the lexicogrammatical elements, clarifications on syntactical and English idiomatic translations are enclosed in square brackets. In order not to overcrowd the texts with textual markups, the categories of attitudinal values and their finer subcategories are indicated in the descriptive paragraphs where necessary, together with the resources of intersubjective stance (engagement). The analysis identifies the generic properties and move structure for each text, before examining the semantic and lexicogrammatical features (Thomson & White 2008).

Arial	—	generic moves
Bold	—	inscribed negative attitude
<u>Bold underlining</u>	—	invoked negative attitude
<i>Italics</i> ¹	—	inscribed positive attitude
<i><u>Italics underlined</u></i>	—	invoked positive attitude
Comic Sans MS	—	attributed material/intertextuality

1. Section titles, cited news headlines, names of newspapers and non-English words (especially Runyankore-Rukiga words and phrases) equally appear in bold and/or italic types but do not necessarily carry attitudinal values.

Courier New	—	authorial alignment (writer voice)
[af]	—	affect
[j]	—	judgment
[ap]	—	appreciation
[grad]	—	graduation
[M]	—	metaphor
[P]	—	proverb
[S]	—	slang

Recounting eviction: the nature of generic properties of Runyankore-Rukiga hard news reports

The selected news texts for elaboration in this section focus on news reports that recount eviction of residents from ‘their lands’. We present Text 1, from one of the independent newspapers, to illustrate the generic properties that characterize hard news reports in Runyankore-Rukiga. The news text recounts a news event in which a Resident District Commissioner (RDC) evicts 300 families from ‘their land’.²

Ugandan media practitioners have generally adopted the generic structure of the English-language news report but there are varying considerations worth exploring (Mugumya 2013). The generic analysis of hard news reports on eviction events is grounded in the non-progressive, orbital structure of a hard news report propounded by White (1997). White explicates that a hard news report exhibits a generic structure in which the body components of the report return to the nucleus/headline to elaborate, contextualize, explain, justify, and appraise elements of the nucleus. In other words, the satellites are dependent on the lead, thus allowing radical editability. Our analysis of Runyankore-Rukiga hard news reports demonstrates that a similar structure is associated with reports recounting aberrant damage.

The genre analysis of Text 1 demonstrates a short news report, comprising the headline, nucleus, and two satellites. At a glance, one would tend to think that it belongs to the news brief category, but it appeared as a full news article of its own.

Text 1

Headline

RDC Mwesigye abingire amaka 300 omu bibanja

“RDC Mwesigye drives away [evicts] [j] 300 families from the plots of land”

Lead — eviction of 300 families and mistreatment of residents

2. An RDC represents the President in the district and coordinates the administration of Government services and programs in the district.

RDC wa Kasese Capt. James Mwesigye orikumanywa nka Kyama obwahati abingire abantu barikurenga 300 omu kyaro kya Kanoni Shuura Kyembogo omuri Sembabule. Ahari abo ababingirwe omu mataka gaabo abu obwahati bateirwe en-koni, kandi n'abandi za singyengye zaabo zishazirwe atyo akaza omu mataka gaabo akaza kuriisamu.

¹⁴“The RDC of Kasese Capt. James Mwesigye known as [alias] *Kyama* has now sent [driven] away [j] more than 300 people in the village of Kanoni, Shuura, Kyembogo in Sembabule. Among those driven away from their land [j], some were beaten with sticks [j] while others, their barbed wires [fences] were cut. Then, he [Mwesigye] went and grazed on their land [j].”

Satellite 1 — effects, ill-treatment of residents, threats of retaliation, and alerting the police

Bagambiire entatsi ngu obwahati Mwesigye abaire omutuuzi mubi kandi naaba-bonabonesa abateera za kibooko nk'abareere obwo aine abaserikare abamukuumire. Bagizire ngu bariyo nibaza kumutwara owa purezidenti Museveni kuba niwe yaashoboorora enshonga zaabo ngu kandi nibahaya n'okubaasa kumutahirira eshaaha yoona. Abataka abo batwire enshonga aha pooriisi ya Ntutsi owa OC Station Michael P.K Mazuma.

⁶⁴“They told Entatsi that nowadays Mwesigye is a bad resident [j] and he harasses and canes [j] them like babies while soldiers are guarding him. They said they are going to take him to president Museveni so that he can explain [resolve] their problems and they are threatening to attack [j] him any time. Those residents took [reported] their matters [complaints] to Michael P.K Mazuma, the OC of Ntutsi Police Station.”

Satellite 2 — elaboration, identification of demonstrators and details of the case

Abantu aba abariyo nibeesharinga barimu Herbert Kamugisha, Goefrey Rwanshaija, William Tumwine, Edward Kobwiju, James Mwesigye, Isingoma Rwembundu, Ninsiima, George Koozi, Moses Karibaterana, Enock Kakyemba, Dan, hamwe nabandi. Kandi pooriisi ebeiguriireho omushango gw'okucondooza RDC Mwesigye namba SD ref 04/25/03/09.

¹¹⁴“The people who are demonstrating [j] include Herbert Kamugisha, Goefrey Rwanshaija, William Tumwine, Edward Kobwiju, James Mwesigye, Isingoma Rwembundu, Ninsiima, George Koozi, Moses Karibaterana, Enock Kakyemba, Dan, and others. And the police opened for them a case of investigating RDC Mwesigye, file number SD ref 04/25/03/09.”

Satellite 3 — elaboration, further details of mistreatment and threats of retaliation

Amakuru agandi nigagira ngu abakozi be abarumu Robert hamwe na Ndisize baka-teera Tumusiime Junior bamuhendagura embaju n'ebindi bicweka nangwa yaahika n'aha kitanda kuraguza. Bagizire ngu purezidenti Museveni yaaba atateireho

obwire akaija akataaha omu nshonga zaabo ngu nibabaasa kuba baija kukora akabi kahango akarikubaasa kusheesha eshagama.

¹⁴“Other news says [reports indicate] that his workers, including Robert and Ndisize, **beat** Tumusiime Junior and **broke [j] his ribs and other parts** [compound fractures]; **he was even hospitalised** [af]. They said that **if president Museveni does not find time** [make arrangements] **to come and enter** [look] **into their matters, they could come and do a big danger which can shed blood** [cause bloodshed] [j/af].” (*Entatsi*, April 7–13, 2009, p. 2)

The first significant comparative difference from the Anglo-American nucleus is the detailed and longer lead (45 words) with which the report opens. Training literature on news writing in English recommends that an introductory paragraph (lead/intro) should not exceed 30 words (Mencher 2008; Sissons 2007). Although the lead comprises extra information, it captures all the elements of the headline. Generally, the news report unravels in a discontinuous manner, with each of the satellites returning to the nucleus to elaborate an element. A couple of sampled news texts exhibited similar generic properties to the Anglo-American hard news reports.

Further analysis of other news reports involving eviction of residents from their land revealed remarkable differences. The generic analysis demonstrates several reports whose opening sentences entail a biblical saying rather than a summary of the news event. Example 1 recounts an event in which a local Pentecostal church evicted residents from “church land.” The news writer invokes a biblical reference and a metaphor to pronounce the disruption of social order. Even with this peculiar lead, the writer is able to capture the gist of the whole news event, thus maintaining the relationship between the lead and headline.

(1) Headline

Ekanisa ebingire abantu omu itaka, yaashenya amaju

“A church **evicted** people from land, **pulled down** houses”

Lead

Ebya kaishari n’ebya kaishari, kwonka eby’ekanisa mubyesaasire; ekanisa ya Maliba Archdeaconary ekozire eki enkoko ehora abaana yaatuntumura abo boona abatuura aha itaka ryayo, amaju yaagasheenya, enduuru yaaborooga!

“What is for Caesar is Caesar’s; but [therefore] you should not interfere in church matters. Maliba Archdeaconry Church did what a **hen does to the chicks**; **it threw out** [evicted] all those who had lived on its land, **pulled down houses and the alarm cried** [was raised vehemently]!” (*Orumuri*, October 17–23, 2005, p. 4)

Recounting eviction: the nature of Appraisal resources in Runyankore-Rukiga hard news reports

The appraisal exploration across the news discourse on evictions in the Runyankore-Rukiga newspapers gives evidence of a high concentration of interpersonal meanings in the lead. The news report presents overt negative judgment of the RDC's cruel and insensitive behavior: "[some] **were beaten with sticks [j]** and others, **their barbed wires [fences] were cut and he went and grazed on their land**" (lines 4–5).

The report exemplifies a Runyankore-Rukiga graduation feature, which is significant to the Appraisal theoretical framework. The Runyankore-Rukiga negative proposition "...*abakozi be abarumu Robert hamwe na Ndisize bakateera Tumusiime Junior bamuhendagura embaju n'ebindi bicweka*," rendered as "...his workers, including Robert and Ndisize, **beat Tumusiime Junior and broke [j] his ribs and other parts** [fractured his ribs]" in lines 15, includes a verbal phrase, *bamuhendagura embaju*, "they fractured his ribs."

In Runyankore-Rukiga, the verb *kuhenda* means "to break"; however, *kuhendagura*, which the reporter employs, consists of the verbal extension *-gura* added to the verb stem *kuhenda*. It indicates intensity in the action, carrying a negative connotation. Thus, *kuhendagura* means "to break into pieces", and in this context "*bakateera Tumusiime Junior bamuhendagura embaju*" is construed as "they beat Tumusiime and shattered his ribs." Other examples from Runyankore-Rukiga that function in this manner include *kutema-gura*, "to cut into pieces"; *kwata-gura*, "to pour something repeatedly" (for example, *kwata-gura amaizi*, "to pour water in a wasteful manner"); and *kushiisha-gura*, "to spoil excessively." All these belong to the category of intensification and realize heightened negative actions.

We also observe that the following negative inscriptions in lines 9 and 18–19, "**they are threatening to attack [j] him any time**" and "**they could come and do a big danger which can shed blood** [cause bloodshed]", arguably realize hypothetical affect (Bednarek 2008) at the same time. Further instances of hypothetical affect are encountered in a number of other news events on eviction, for example, "*Abataka abafereirwe ebintu byabo ngu bamazire emyaka 50 aha itaka eryo ngu nibaza kwihwaho rufu yonka*," "The inhabitants who lost their property are said to have lived on that land for 50 years and [say] that they are going to **be taken away by death only**" (Orumuri, October 17–23, 2005, p. 4). This could be construed as a threatening techniques that the poor residents use to protect themselves from powerful landlords, and to appeal for government intervention because of the imminent danger.

Invocation via metaphors, proverbs, anecdotes, and non-core lexis

Although Text 1 does not exhibit attitudinal meanings, which are flagged via metaphors, proverbs, anecdotes, or use of non-core lexis, several other news texts that were examined give evidence of these. The news reporters invoke metaphors or proverbs particularly to heighten the negative behavior of news actors. In Example 1 above, the biblical reference in line 1 of the Lead appears to justify the church's action, and thus reveals authorial stance. The use of the conjunction *kwonka*, which serves a function similar to the English dialogic contraction (disclaim), supplants the antecedent proposition, that is, that God's affairs should be separated from Caesar's business matters. The negative invocation in Example 1 above, "*eki enkoko ekora abaana*," "**what a hen does to its chicks**," derives from the reporter's analogy between Maliba Archdeaconry Church, and a hen and its chicks. In a traditional free-range system of poultry keeping, a hen loves and stays near its chicks, and protects them from predators; however, at some point, it disowns them (chases them away) by pecking at them. This is intended to make them independent so that they can fend for themselves. However, subsequent propositions imply that the church that has been nurturing its "chicks" has turned around and disowned them by pulling down their houses, which is contrary to the meaning that the analogy customarily realizes.

In the same example, the reporter employs a metaphor, *enduuru yaaborooga*, loosely translated as "**the alarm cried**," which flags affect (insecurity). *Okuteera enduuru* is a Runyankore-Rukiga expression that signifies "to sound an alarm" in circumstances of danger or to announce a rare occurrence such as death. Among the Banyankore and Bakiga, when an alarm is raised, it means there is danger.³ Thus, the act of *okuteera enduuru* flags affectual behaviour evoking emotional feelings of insecurity in the emoter [1st af] (Bednarek 2008). However, in this case, it is used metaphorically. *Enduuru yaaborooga* basically means "the alarm was raised vehemently." A similar expression, *enduuru yashekyerera*, "an ear-splitting alarm," has been invoked in other hard news reports. The expression is context dependent and may evoke excitement or insecurity (see Mugumya 2013 for a detailed explanation on alarm sounding). The predicates *-yashekyerera* and *-yaaborooga* "are realisations of graduation (force) thus intensifying meaning through the process of a metaphor" (Mugumya 2013:97; Martin & White 2005). While alarm sounding activates insecurity, at times it invokes positive assessment of social responsibility. For instance, in Example 2 below, the underlined proposition, *arahukire kuteera enduuru*, "**quickly made an alarm**" not only conveys third party affect, but equally

3. Banyankore and Bakiga are people who inhabit the southwestern parts of Uganda and speak Runyankore-Rukiga.

invokes social responsibility: the woman made an alarm to alert the residents of the social disorder, thus the token mark-up.

- (2) *Omukazi omwe orahukire kumanya ekyabaho ngu arahukire kuteera enduuru nikwo abataka kwija bakashanga akatima nikakiteera batyo bakamwirukangiza Itojo omu irwariro.*

“One woman who quickly got to know what had happened quickly made an alarm [af] and that’s when the residents came and found *the small heart still beating* [he was still alive] [M, af]; they *rushed him to Itojo Hospital*” [j] (*Entatsi*, September 19–25, 2002, p. 7).

Other instances of metaphors include propositions that realize ‘invoked affect’ of third party. Examples include *bateire ebyara omu nyindo*, “They put fingers in the nose,” which means that they were baffled, and *babaire nibacwera esaano*, “they were spitting flour,” implying that they were enraged. The news writers flag affect values of third party via metaphors with the intention of heightening the negative evaluation. Notice that the reporter’s use of metaphors conceals his stance, thus achieving objectivity of some sort.

The use of non-core lexis is also exemplified in news reports on eviction. Such instances activate graduation. In Example 1, the sentence “*ekanisa ya Maliba Archdeaconary ekozire eki enkoko ekora abaana yaatuntuumura abo boona abatutura aha itaka ryayo*” contains the expression *yaatuntuumura*. Another expression, *ekabacucuura*, which has similar meaning, is found in the same news report (see Example 3).

- (3) *Ahu orikushomera ebi, abantu 400 tibaine buzo bwanyima y’ekanisa kureeta pooriisi 999 kadenge, ekabacucuura omu itaka n’amaju ekatsiga yaagashenya*
“By the time you are reading this, 400 people do not have places of abode after the church brought the patrol police of 999 and **evicted** [ejected] **them** from the land and left houses pulled down” (*Orumuri*, October 17–23, 2005, p. 4).

The expressions *yaatuntuumura* and *ekabacucuura* are derived from the verbs *okutuntumuka* and *okucucuura* respectively. *Okutuntumuka* literally means “to flee” while *okucucuura* means “to run fast”; however, both implicitly collocate with the dust that is left behind after the action (of fleeing or running away). The adjacent proposition, *yaagashenya*, entails “pulling down of houses,” which naturally leaves dust behind. These two expressions belong to the non-core lexis; they are not in common use. Although the Runyankore-Rukiga substitute would be *okubinga*, “to chase away” or “to evict,” the writer prefers *okutuntumuka* and *okucucuura*, which upscale the intensity of the negative value of the act of dislodging the residents.

Recounting violent clashes: the nature of generic properties of Runyankore-Rukiga hard news reports

The news reports in this section recount news events involving violent clashes emanating from land disputes. They range from destruction of property, such as buildings, cattle, or banana plantations, to physical fights and killing people. Text 2, which is taken from a government-leaning newspaper, recounts a news event in which a young man injured another man, and hacked his father to death because of land conflict. More examples are drawn from other texts to enhance illustration with regard to the generic properties and appraisal resources.

The opening of the news report in Text 2 contains the crisis point as well as describing the place and time of the news event, and the personal attributes of news actors. Genre analysis demonstrates that the news report comprises segments that unfold in a progressive sequence. In the first satellite, the reporter reaches back to the lead to bring into context events leading to the current disaster. In Satellite 2, the reporter returns to elaborate how the victim met his death. In the subsequent satellites (3 and 4), the reporter goes back in time to locate events leading up to the current crisis point. Satellite 5 consists of an elaboration of the status quo of the post-killing event.

Text 2

Headline

Atemagwire ishe ahabw'ekibanja

"He **hacked his father** [j] because of land"

Lead

Omutsigazi empwa bwooba Francis Tugumisirize ow'abaingi barikumanya nka Kyobwoojo 28 owa Kabonero, Nkongooro, Nyabihoko, Ntungamo omu kiro kya 18.8.2004 atemire ishe Geofrey Byabashaija 54 omutwe yaafa.

¹"A fearless [j] young man, Francis Tugumisirize, who is popularly known as Kyobwoojo, 28, from Kabonero, Nkongooro, Nyabihoko, Ntungamo **cut the head of his father** [j] Geofrey Byabashaija, 54, during the night of 18 August 2004, and he died [af]."

Satellite 1 — contextualization, immediate events leading up to the killing
Ngu atakatemire ishe abandize kutahirira munyaanya Loyce Kyarisiima aha kaduuka aku arikukoreramu yagyezaho kuba niwe yatema kwonka y'amutsiga. Ngu Kyarisiima amwogire omu byaara yahunzira owa Boaz Atwijukire. Ngu Tugumisirize amukuratiire owa Atwijukire reero kwashohore kubuuzza eki arikufa nawe y'amuteera emihoro y'emikono kakyee agiragaze.

⁵"[Reports indicate] That before he cut his father, he first **attacked his sister** [j], Loyce Kyarisiima, at a small shop where she works; he tried to **cut her** [j] instead, but she ran away. That Kyarisiima slipped through his fingers and took refuge

at Boaz Atwijukire [’s home]. That Tugumisirize followed her up to Atwijukire’s home; when he came out to ask him what he wants from her, he **cut his arms and almost felled them off** [j].”

Satellite 2 — elaboration, details of how the father was killed

Ngu aho niho Atwijukire atereire enduuru [af] eimukize Byabashaija akaija kureeba ekyaba owa Atwijukire. Ngu ashangire Tugumisirize akwaise omuhoro weena ari nk’enyamaishwa. Ngu kwamwecuririne ati obwiira niwe naaba ninyenda wayeretsire reeka nkwoyekye. Ngu aho niho eterireyo omuhoro akamutema omutwe akagushatura atyo akaha ensi ebigyere. Ngu ahu abantu baizire bashangire akatima ka Byabashaija nikakiteera bamutwara omwirwariro Itojo ahu afereire.

¹¹“That’s when Atwijukire **made an alarm** [af] that woke up Byabashaija, who came to see what had happened. That he found Tugumisirize holding a machete, **being** [looking] **like an animal** [af/ap]. That when he saw him, he said to himself that all along you are the one I wanted and since you have brought yourself, let me show you. At that moment, he **let go the machete, and cut the head splitting it** [j] and **he gave the earth the feet** [took off] [M, af]. That by the time people came; they found Byabashaija’s *small heart still beating* [af] and *took him to Itojo hospital* [j] where he died.”

Satellite 3 — contextualization, describing prior events

Nikigambwa ngu okwitwa kw’omushaija ogu kubaasa kuba kukomokire aha nshonga z’ebibanja n’ebindi bintu by’omuka. Ngu omushaija ogu akataana na nyina Tugumisirize orikweetwa Juliet Tafiire emyaaka y’enyimaho. Ngu akaija arikwenda omubagano ogwe gwabura. Ngu Tugumisirize atweire n’ayetomboitwa ngu ishe akaha Kyarisiima empiiha z’okukozesa we bazimwimire. Ngu Kyarisiima nazaarwa omukazi ondijo ti wa nyina Tugumisirize.

¹⁹“It is said that the killing of this man could have originated from issues of land and other domestic affairs. That this man **separated** from the mother of Tugumisirize, known as Juliet Tafiire, some years ago. That he came asking for his share but it was not there. That Tugumisirize has been **complaining** [af] that his father gave money to Kyarisiima to use and they **refused him the money** [j]. That Kyarisiima belongs to a different woman, not of Tugumisirize’s mother.”

Satellite 4 — contextualization, additional details of prior events

Ngu kwonka akafeerwa iba nikwo kugaruka aha mahega nikwo ishe kumuha obusente akapanga akaduuka. Abataka bagizire Tafiire nyina wa Tugumisirize abaire amazire obwiire buraingwa atarikwiya omu kyaaro ekyo. Ngu kwonka omu mwabazyo ogu bakamureeba ari aha bodaboda eyamuhikize haihi n’aha kwa owabaire ari iba. Ngu abaasa kuba abaire ari omu rukwe rw’okwiita omushaija ogu.

²⁵“But that **she lost her husband** [af] and **returned to the fireplace** [returned home] [M, j], then her father gave her *little* [some] *money* [ap] and *she started a small shop* [j]. The residents said that Tafiire, Tugumisirize’s mother, had spent a long time without coming to that village. However, that very evening, they saw

her on a passenger motorbike which took her to a location near to her former husband's home. That **she might have been involved in a plot to kill this man** [j]."

Satellite 5 — elaboration, the post-killing status quo

Ngu abantu bashangire muka Tugumisirize n'abaana be batari mu nju. Pooriisi ya Rwashamaire eriyoo neecondooza.

³¹"That people did not find the wife of Tugumisirize and her children in the house. Rwashamaire Police is investigating." (*Orumuri*, September 23–26, 2004, p. 3)

The events are reported in chronological order: after presenting the point of social disruption, the reporter reverts to a point that marks the beginning of disaster, that is, line 5: "...before he cut his father, he *first* attacked his sister" (emphasis ours). The recount then progressively moves up to the peak point element flagged in the lead. These two satellites (1 and 2) hold together and therefore cannot be separated without damaging their internal unity. Satellites 3 and 4 function in a similar manner. For instance, lines 25–28 elaborate further an element of Satellite 3, thus structurally and semantically linking it to the previous segment. The use of the anaphoric references "she" and "her" to refer to the news actor in the antecedent satellite bonds the satellites together. Shuffling the satellites to achieve radical editability (White 1997) is rather difficult. For example, Satellite 4 would affect the functionality of the report if it appeared before its antecedent satellites, and so would Satellite 2. A survey of similar reports, especially those that recount news events in which death (of people or animals) is involved, reveals a linear unfolding of events, and thus constrains radical editability (see also Kitley 2008).

A comparative similarity with news recounts on eviction lies in the opening sentences. Compared to news reports on eviction, the leads of news reports recounting violent clashes contained more openings that give evidence of proverbs or anecdotes. Examples 4, 5, 6 and 7 below illustrate leads that exhibit such aspects.

- (4) *Murumuna wa Brig. Muhwezi aririze abantu Nyabushozi*
Reero ngu akateire efuuha tikahwa bunuuki! Nimwijuka eki omugyenzi
Jerome Bwende yaakozire aba Rushoga obu yaababuza eiguru obutembero,
abaingi akabafurura bakamuhunga?

"The brother of Brig. Muhwezi made people of Nyabushozi cry

"Whatever strikes a **foul-smelling plant is going to stink!** [Any bad example brings evil effects]. Do you remember what the late Jerome Bwende did to those [Christians] of Rushoga when **he made it difficult for them to see the way to heaven** [distressed them], **displaced many** while others ran away from him?" (*Orumuri*, March 17–23, 2003, p. 3)

- (5) *Tubaire nitwenda kuraaha Byanyima — Abataka*
Abataka b'egomborora ya Ngarama omu ishaza rya Bukanga, babaire
nibacwisa ebiti amaino ijo Orwakataano beekoreire ebiti n'ebihuuzo obu

babaire bari ahari Ngarama bagumize ngu kuri baabona MP Byanyima babaire nibaija kumuraaha nari baguhumuza.

“We wanted to **castrate** Byanyima — Residents

“Residents of Ngarama sub-county in Bukanga county were **breaking sticks with teeth** [hopping mad] the other day on Friday, carrying on their heads [carrying/holding] **sticks and threshing sticks** when they were at Ngarama saying that if they had found MP Byanyima they were going to **castrate** him or they would **make it** [his heart] **rest** [kill him].” (*Entatsi*, 30 September — 6 October 2008)

- (6) *Omwinginya Barigye kuhamba amataka g'abantu 1000 Ibanda Mbweni eki nikitangaaza kandi n'eky'obusaasi kureeba Omwinginya w'Obugabe bwa Ankole, John Barigye ayehaireyo kuhamba amataka g'abaturagye b'omu disitirikiti ya Ibanda barengire 1000.*

“Prince Barigye to **grab land of 1000 people** in Ibanda

“Now, this is **incredible** and **pitiful** to see [find] a Prince of Ankole Kingdom, John Barigye, has devoted himself to **grab more than 1000 people's lands** in Ibanda district.” (*Entatsi*, May 25–30, 2010, p. 4)

- (7) *Omuhabuzi wa Museveni ahonire emihoro n'amacumu Bantu mwe abantu ka n'empwa bwoba!!*

“Museveni's adviser survived machetes and spears

“You people, people are fearless!!” (*Orumuri*, November 20–26, 2006, p. 6)

In most cases, the headline is at variance with the opening sentence (lead) and the body components of the news report. For example, the headlines of Examples 4 and 7 are at variance with their opening sentences. However, in other cases, the writer is able to capture the watershed point in a sensational opening whose elements are referred to in subsequent satellites, as well as luring the reader to go on rather than abandoning the story for another one. In instances where the opening is anecdotal, proverbial or exhibits the news writer's attitude, the lead would be anchored in the subsequent satellite (Example 4, repeated and expanded here as 8).

- (8) *Murumuna wa Brig. Muhwezi aririze abantu Nyabushozi Reero ngu akateire efuuha tikhwa bunuuki! Nimwijuka eki omugyenzi Jerome Bwende yaakozire aba Rushoga obu yaababuza eiguru obutembero, abaingi akabafurura bakamuhunga?*

“The brother of Brig. Muhwezi made people of Nyabushozi cry

“Whatever strikes a **foul-smelling plant is going to stink!** [Any bad example brings evil effects]. Do you remember what the late Jerome Bwende did to the people of Rushoga when he distressed them and many of them were compelled to migrate and ran away from him?”

Hagukireyo ondiiho mukama orikwetwa Wycliffe Katuguugu, murumuna wa Brig. Jim Muhwezi; yaayakiira abantu b'omugongo gw'Akanaara yabakomera omu maka, emihanda yoonna yaagitaho abaserikare b'embundu kuremeseza kimwe abarikutaahamu n'abarikushohora.

"Another king called Wycliffe Katuguugu, the brother to Brig. Jim Muhwezi, emerged. He has closed all the foot paths, locked people in their homes, deployed armed soldiers along these paths to completely obstruct those who are entering or going out of their homes." (*Orumuri*, 17–23 March 2003, p. 3)

Recounting violent clashes: the nature of Appraisal resources in Runyankore-Rukiga news reports

Text 2 exemplifies appraisal devices similar to those displayed in Text 1. The negative inscriptions, "*Atemagwire ishe*," "**hacked his father**"; "*atemire ishe Geoffrey Byabashaija 54 omutwe*," "**cut the head of his father**, Godfrey Byabashaija, 54"; "*y'amuteera emihoro y'emikono kakye agiragaze*," "**he cut his arms and almost felled them off**"; and "*eterireyo omuhoro akamutema omutwe akagushatura*," "**he let go the machete, cut the head splitting it**" (see the headline and lines 3–4 and 15 respectively), implicitly exhibit the anguish of the news actor.

The headline exhibits a verb that sharpens the degree of intensity of the action of cutting, *atemagwire ishe*, "**hacked his father**." Note that the subsequent component, *atemire ishe*, "he cut his father" does not carry a similar degree of intensity. In another news report of similar nature, the same verb is used in the headline: "*Batemagwire ishebo ahabw'ekibanja*," "**They hacked their father** because of land" (*Entatsi*, 19–25 September 2002, p. 7).

In Runyankore-Rukiga, *batemagwire* and *batematemire* are derived from the verb *kutema*, "to cut"; however, *kutemagura* entails the verbal extension *-gura*, which indicates intensity, while in *kutematema* there is reduplication of the stem (see discussion under Text 1). Although both actuate negative meanings, *batemagwire*, "they **cut into pieces**" basically translates as "they hacked him" while *batematemire* means that "they cut him several times." The news reporter's choice of *batemagwire* over *batematemire* is telling, the magnitude of the harm inflicted on the news actor notwithstanding.

The report also demonstrates tokens of judgment: in line 1; while the expression *Omutsigazi empwa bwooba*, "a fearless young man" inscribes a positive value of bravery, it provokes sarcasm (however brave one is, one does not unleash his bravery on one's own father). The young man's social esteem of tenacity, however, appears to be eroded by the proposition "when he **let go the machete, cut the head splitting it** [j] and **he gave the earth the feet** [took off] [M, af]" in line 16.

To “[give] the earth the feet” inscribes the fear that gripped the young man, who ran away from the scene of the crime having realized the gravity of his dreadful actions. In line 25, the expression “*nikwo kugaruka aha mahega*,” “and **returned to the fireplace**” provokes negative values of social esteem on the part of the news actor. The expression *kugwa/kugaruka aha mahega*, “to remain on/return to the fireplace” connotes negatively in the family institution. Among the Banyankore and Bakiga culture, a girl is expected to get married and leave her father’s homestead. Whoever does not get married is construed as badly behaved or erratic, and whoever ‘divorces’ is equally construed as ‘a failure’, one who cannot manage family affairs. However, in this case, returning to the father’s home after the death of her husband suggests her inability to endure widowhood at her late husband’s home.

Lastly, like the previous reports in this category, this news report exemplifies instances of non-authorial affect projected via behavioral description. Thus, “... *atereire enduuru*,” “**made an alarm**” invokes insecurity on the part of the woman who sounded the alarm to seek rescue; “*akwaise omuhoro weena ari nk’enyamaishwa*,” “holding a machete, **being [looking] like an animal**” demonstrates anger; “*atyo akaha ensi ebigyere*,” “and **he gave the earth the feet** [took off]” realises fear (see explanation above); and “*akatima ka Byabashaija nikakiteera*,” “Byabashaija’s *small heart was still beating*” inscribes hope, that the man “was still alive.”

Appraisal analysis also demonstrates the reports that comprise instances of emotion portraying (White 1998; Bednarek 2008, 2010) presented as descriptions of human behavior, which trigger feelings of sympathy and pity from the reader. Other news reports of similar nature exhibited metaphors, for example, in the following sentence, the underlined propositions activate anger:

- (9) *Abataka b’egomborora ya Ngarama omu ishaza rya Bukanga, babaire nibacwisa ebiti amaino ijo Orwakataano beekoreire ebiti n’ebihuuzo obu babaire bari ahari Ngarama...* “The residents of Ngarama sub-county in Bukanga county were **breaking sticks with teeth** [af, M] [hopping mad/enraged] the other day on Friday, **carrying sticks and threshing sticks** [af] while at Ngarama...” (*Entatsi*, 30 September — 6 October 2008, p. 2).

Another instance of emotion portraying is exhibited in Example 10. The token in the locution “*batweire empiiha ze 700,000...ezibaire zibiikirwe omu kanyungu*,” “they took his money, 700,000, ...**which was kept in a small pot**” realises the destituteness of the old man. Thus, the purpose of the reporter’s use of these locutions appears to lie in seeking to align with the reader’s feelings of mercy and pity for the sufferer and condemning the conduct of the two brothers. While the verb describes the emotion of the experiencer (human pain), it simultaneously invokes the emotions of the reader (see Ungerer 1997: 309, 323 on “invoked emotions”).

- (10) *Abasigazi abo nibagambwa kuba hoona batweire empiiha ze 700,000 ezi muzeeyi ogwo atakire, ezibaire zibiikirwe omu kanyungu.*
 “Those young men are said to have even taken his money 700,000= which the old man confessed while crying for mercy, which was kept in a small pot.” (*Entatsi*, 19–25 September 2002, p. 7)

Authorial positioning in Runyankore-Rukiga news reporting

Media discourse has indicated that hard news reporting is often objective and refrains from communicating the journalist’s viewpoint (Thomson et al. 2008). Explicit use of evaluative meanings is confined to an external voice (White 1997, 1998, 2006; Martin & White 2005). However, White (2006) and Richardson (2007) argue that instances of authorial endorsement are commonplace in hard news reporting. They have also explicated expressions of alignment or disalignment, which reveal that the author is aligned or disaligned with the stated position, thus bidding for the reader to align with that value position.

Hard news reporting in Runyankore-Rukiga exhibits extensive instances of authorial alignment. Arguably, in Text 2, the writer relies on an unidentified external source (Stenvall 2008) to recount the news events. Close examination of other news reports narrating land disputes reveals frequent use of the following words to refer to an external voice: *ngu*, “that”; *agatungirwe*, “news received”; *nikigambwa*, “it said/reported that”; and *abataka bagizire ngu*, “the residents said that”; these words deliberately do not specify the source.

- (11) *Aha 16/12 zireeta Yohabu ngu naaza kweshemeza owa Kwesiga, oriya asyorayo omuhoro akamwirusyamu atakamazire emirimo ye. Ngu Kwesiga atemire Yohabu eminwa yoona yagicwa yafeerwa kurya enyama ya nohiri.*
 “On December 16, Yohabu came to ease himself at Kwesiga’s [answer nature’s call] in Kwesiga’s latrine, the latter grabbed a machete and ran after Yohabu before he finished his jobs [before he finished easing himself]. That Kwesiga chopped off Johabu’s lips and he missed eating meat at Christmas (*Orumuri*, 30 December — 5 January 2003, p. 14).

While the use of grim humor and proverbs might be construed as bringing a sense of humor to hard news as in Example 11 above, at the same time, it serves as a strategy to convey the inscribed attitude of a news writer. In Example 1, the writer invokes the metaphor “*eki enkoko ekora abaana*,” “what a hen does to the chicks” to condemn the hypocritical action of the church. In Example 4, the news writer’s assessment is equally embedded in the proverb, which implies that a precedent of forceful eviction of residents set by “the late Jerome Bwende” is now repeating

itself. This example also comprises a rather explicit evaluation couched in a metaphor, “*yaababuza eiguru obutembero*,” “**he made it difficult for them to see the way to heaven** [distressed them].” We also encounter another explicit assessment of propriety in Example 6. The use of the phrases “*eki nikitangaaza kandi n’eky’obusaasi*,” “this is **incredible and pitiful**” and *ayehaireyo kuhamba amataka g’abaturagye*, “devoted himself to **grab more than 1000 people’s lands**” beckons the reader to perceive the news actor, the Prince of nkore Kingdom John Barigye, as an insensitive and greedy leader who does not care about his subjects. In another opening (see Example 12 below), the news reporter overtly predicts a crisis that is likely to erupt as a result of land conflict. Although multimodality is beyond the scope of this article, highlighting the word “*Eshagama!*” “Blood!” on the front page, using unusual font size and with an exclamation mark, seeks to emphasize the gravity of the likely event.

(12) *Eshagama! Nituteekwa kugaruka omu Itaka ryaitu — Abasirasmu*

“**Blood!** We must return to our land — Moslems”

Ekirukuza kubaruka omuri Sheema n’ekindi gavumenti yaaba etarahukire kuyamba abantu mu bibanja by’abasiraamu abaitsirwe omuri Kiziba.

“What will **erupt** in Sheema is **worrying** if government does not quickly help [come to the rescue of] people who occupied the plots of Moslems that were killed in Kiziba” (*Entatsi*, 21–27 December 2010, p. 5).

Although instances of reference to specific external voices occur in the news corpus on land conflict, they are limited. These examples, therefore, indicate that Runyankore-Rukiga news reporters invoke anecdotes, metaphors, or proverbs to evaluate different news actors and events, thus endorsing the attitudinal value expressed by the locution.

Conclusion

The article has explored the nature of generic properties and appraisal resources invoked by news reporters when communicating the news discourse on land conflict, focusing on hard news reports of eviction and violent clashes. Although genre analysis demonstrates that hard news reporting in Runyankore-Rukiga resembles English-language hard news reporting, Runyankore-Rukiga hard news reporting on land conflict exhibits distinct features. This article demonstrates that Runyankore-Rukiga hard news reports from the analyzed corpus exemplify anecdotes, proverbs, or sayings in the lead. These openings do not necessarily capture the gist of the entire report, but rather seek out the reader’s attention to urge them to read on and discover in detail what is prompted by the value-laden opening.

The analysis also reveals the linear unfolding of news events in a hard news report, a feature that constrains radical editability.

It is clear that news reporters in Runyankore-Rukiga do not necessarily observe the Anglo-American prototype satellite structure. This discursive practice gives evidence that orbital structure of hard news reporting does not necessarily apply to other languages and cultures; thus, news construction is not a homogeneous practice. The study therefore confirms that, despite the unique overlaps that identify them as such, genres often display subtle traces of modifications and generic bending as they cross languages, disciplines, and cultures (Fairclough 2003; Bhatia 2004, 2008).

The study extends appraisal theoretic principles to Runyankore-Rukiga and explicates how the lexicogrammatical properties of evaluative language function in this language cluster. The appraisal exploration demonstrates that not only do the news reporters invoke metaphors, proverbs, and anecdotes to enhance the flow of a report; they also employ them to covertly express attitudinal values of the news event or news actor, up-scale attitudinal values, and convey their stance towards a given position, thus revealing their alignment with the value position.

This study paves the way for further investigation of news reporting discourse in Runyankore-Rukiga and other Bantu languages to explore news construction in these languages and cultures. It is equally important to extend the study to these languages and cultures using other kinds of news corpuses in order to ground the theory of appraisal and establish the nature of lexicogrammatical properties that operate there.

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