

UNIVERSIDAD DE BELGRANO

**THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF INSTITUTIONAL
IDENTITY AS PLACE**

*An Analysis of Appraisal in the Instagram Posts of Leading American and
British Universities*

Tutor: Alejandro Parini

Alumna:

María Beatriz Munch

Carrera: (1732) Maestría en Lengua Inglesa

Número de matrícula: 173200007

ID: 000-14-8784

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Munch', with a stylized, cursive script.

Firma de la alumna

*To my friend Ana Soledad Moldero,
who guided and inspired me all these years.*

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my tutor, Alejandro Parini, for his thorough guidance and generous support through this process. From the initial stages of my research proposal to the final submission of this thesis, his insightful comments and thought-provoking questions contributed to refining many aspects of my work. I would also like to thank him for the reading material he provided me with and for his invaluable patience and feedback all along the way.

Special thanks to friend Laura Santa Cruz, who attentively listened to my ideas and encouraged me all throughout this academic endeavour. I am particularly grateful to my friend Silvana Fernández for the time she devoted to reading my work and for being a source of encouragement throughout the entire process. I am most indebted to Dolores Aicega for her unwavering support when I needed it most and for the time she invested in assessing my analysis of the posts. Her insight has greatly enriched the quality of my work.

Also, I could not have undertaken this journey without my mother's, my father's and my brother's love and support. Thanks should also go to my friend Evangelina Livoti, who has been a constant source of positivity and optimism. I save my final, but very special thanks for my close friends who have also been part of this journey.

Contents

Acknowledgements	1
List of Tables and Figures	4
List of Abbreviations	5
Abstract	6
1. Introduction	8
1.1. Background to the Study	9
1.2. Purpose of the Study	11
1.3. Research Questions	11
1.4. Hypotheses	12
1.5. Objectives	12
1.5.1. General Objective	12
1.5.1. Specific Objectives	12
2. Literature Review	12
2.1. Identity	13
2.1.1. Identity Online	15
2.2. Self-Presentation	16
2.2.1. Self-Presentation Online	17
2.3. Instagram as a Communicative and a Discursive Space	18
2.4. The Notion of Place	20
2.5. Appraisal as an Evaluative Discourse Resource	21
3. Methodology and Data	24
3.1. Research Design	24
3.2. Corpus, Data Collection and Procedures	24
3.3. Data Analysis Procedures	26
3.4. Research Ethics and Accessibility of Internet Data	29
4. Findings and Analysis	30
4.1. The Landscape of Instagram and the Use Each University Makes of its IG Profile	30
4.2. Self-Presentation Through Aspects of Place by Each University	32
4.3. Attitude (Harvard)	38
4.3.1. Affect in Harvard's Posts	39
4.3.2. Judgement in Harvard's Posts	42
4.3.3. Appreciation in Harvard's Posts	44
4.4. Attitude (Stanford)	46
4.4.1. Affect in Stanford's Posts	47
4.4.2. Judgement in Stanford's Posts	49
4.4.3. Appreciation in Stanford's Posts	51

4.5. Attitude (MIT)	53
4.5.1. Affect in MIT's Posts	54
4.5.2. Judgement in MIT's Posts	57
4.5.3. Appreciation in MIT's Posts	59
4.6. Attitude (Cambridge)	61
4.6.1. Affect in Cambridge's Posts.....	62
4.6.2. Judgement in Cambridge's Posts	64
4.6.3. Appreciation in Cambridge's Posts.....	67
4.7. Attitude (Oxford)	70
4.7.1. Affect in Oxford's Posts	71
4.7.2. Judgement in Oxford's Posts.....	72
4.7.3. Appreciation in Oxford's Posts.....	74
5. Discussion of Findings	76
6. Conclusion.....	81
References	83
Appendix	89

List of Tables and Figures

Tables

Table 1. Number of Posts Made by Harvard, Stanford and MIT	25
Table 2. Number of Posts Made by Cambridge and Oxford.....	25
Table 3. Number of Instances of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation Found in Harvard University's Posts	39
Table 4. Number of Instances of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation Found in Stanford University's Posts	46
Table 5. Number of Instances of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation Found in MIT's Posts	54
Table 6. Number of instances of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation Found in Cambridge University's Posts	62
Table 7. Number of Instances of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation Found in Oxford University's Posts.....	70

Figures

Figure 1. Instagram's Discursive Spaces (Adapted from Parini, Galende and Vera, 2024)	19
Figure 2. Components of Attitude within the Appraisal Framework.....	21
Figure 3. Components of Affect within the Appraisal Framework.....	22
Figure 4. Components of Judgement within the Appraisal Framework	23
Figure 5. Components of Appreciation within the Appraisal System.....	23
Figure 6. Representative Example of the Analysis Conducted as to Aspects of Place Foregrounded	27
Figure 7. Attitude Abbreviations (Taken from Martin and White, 2005, p. 71)	28
Figure 8. Representative Example of Annotation Methodology Implemented for Posts With Several Instances of Evaluation Present	29
Figure 9. Harvard University's IG Bio.....	30
Figure 10. Stanford University's IG Bio	30
Figure 11. MIT's IG Bio	31
Figure 12. University of Cambridge's IG Bio.....	31
Figure 13. University of Oxford's IG Bio.....	31
Figure 14. Aspects of Place Foregrounded by Harvard University.....	32
Figure 15. Aspects of Place Foregrounded by Stanford University	33
Figure 16. Aspects of Place Foregrounded by MIT	34
Figure 17. Aspects of Place Foregrounded by the University of Cambridge.....	36
Figure 18. Aspects of Place Foregrounded by the University of Oxford	37

List of Abbreviations

Cambridge: University of Cambridge / Cambridge University

Harvard: Harvard University

IG: Instagram

MIT: Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Oxford: University of Oxford / Oxford University

SNSs: social network sites

Stanford: Stanford University

Abstract

It is well known that the emergence and consolidation of new digital technologies have significantly shaped the social practices we are immersed in. These new digital environments have not only reconfigured interaction patterns (Parini, 2023; Parini and Giammatteo, 2018), but have also allowed for new ways of constructing and negotiating identity online. Instagram is a clear example of this. This platform allows users to get in touch with their friends and family as well as to decide how they wish to present themselves to their followers and other Instagram users. Identity construction on Instagram, however, is not confined to the use individuals make of the platform, since it also encompasses companies and other institutions, which make use of social media to reach wider audiences. It is against this background that this study sets out to analyse how universities discursively construct their institutional identities through the posts they share on Instagram. Universities do not present themselves as mere physical spaces that generate knowledge or that students go to in order to access education. Rather, they choose to present themselves as experienced spaces (Parini and Yus, 2023). With a view to exploring this, posts were taken from the official Instagram accounts of five globally recognised universities, namely: Harvard University, Stanford University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of Cambridge and University of Oxford. To achieve this objective, this study draws upon the three-part definition of place proposed by Agnew (1987) to examine the aspects of place foregrounded through the posts and upon the attitude domain (affect, appreciation and judgement) in the Appraisal Theory (Martin and Rose, 2007; Martin and White, 2005) to explore the appraisal resources employed in the posts. The analysis conducted reflects that the universities analysed exhibit a certain degree of consistency in the way they present themselves, the aspects of place they highlight through their posts and the evaluative appraisal resources they incorporate in their post captions on constructing their institutional identities as places which offer a myriad of particular experiences.

Keywords: evaluation, Instagram, appraisal theory, the notion of place, universities

Resumen

Es bien sabido que el surgimiento y la consolidación de las nuevas tecnologías digitales han transformado significativamente las prácticas sociales en las que nos encontramos inmersos. De hecho, estos nuevos entornos no solamente han reconfigurado los patrones de interacción (Parini, 2023; Parini y Giammatteo, 2018), sino que además han dado origen a nuevas formas de construir y negociar la identidad en dichos espacios. Instagram es un claro ejemplo de ello. Esta plataforma no solamente les permite a los usuarios ponerse en contacto con sus amigos y familiares, sino también decidir cómo desean construir la identidad que van a proyectar a sus

seguidores y a otros usuarios del sitio. La construcción identitaria no se da solamente a nivel de usuarios particulares, sino que también incluye empresas y otras instituciones, muchas de las cuales hacen uso de las redes sociales para poder llegar a una audiencia más amplia. En este sentido, el presente estudio tiene por objetivo analizar de qué manera las universidades construyen discursivamente su identidad institucional a través de los posteos que comparten en sus cuentas de Instagram. Partimos de la premisa de que las universidades no se presentan solamente como meros espacios físicos que generan conocimiento o espacios a los cuales los estudiantes asisten para tener acceso a la educación. Por el contrario, las universidades se presentan como espacios sociales que proporcionan una experiencia particular (Parini y Yus, 2023). Con vistas a analizar la construcción identitaria de las universidades en tanto lugar que se experimenta, se tomaron posteos de las cuentas oficiales de *Instagram* de cinco universidades reconocidas a nivel mundial, a saber: *Harvard University*, *Stanford University*, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, *University of Cambridge* y *University of Oxford*. Para llevar a cabo este objetivo, el estudio retoma la noción de lugar propuesta por Agnew (1987) para explorar los aspectos del lugar que se resaltan en los posteos y la dimensión de actitud (afecto, juicio y apreciación) de la Teoría de la Valoración (Martin y Rose, 2007; Martin y White, 2005) para analizar los recursos lingüísticos evaluativos que se emplean. El análisis demostró que las universidades estudiadas presentan un cierto grado de coherencia en la forma en la que se presentan a sí mismas, los aspectos del lugar que destacan a través de sus posteos y los recursos evaluativos empleados al construir sus respectivas identidades institucionales como lugares que ofrecen experiencias de índole propia y singular.

1. Introduction

Nowadays, we have at our disposal numerous possibilities to connect, interact and socialise with other people irrespective of where they or we are. In this respect, as new digital technologies have emerged and consolidated, many of the social practices we are immersed in have been shaped. These new digital environments have, in fact, developed novel patterns of interaction (Parini, 2023; Parini and Giammatteo, 2018)¹ and, in these digital contexts, identity enactment seems to display features that differ from those negotiated in offline interaction. Analysing communication in computer-mediated contexts (Herring, 2001, 2013), in particular, on social network sites (Boyd and Ellison, 2007; Seargeant and Tagg, 2014) offers new insights into how users construct identities online.

Instagram (IG) is one example of these new digital environments. This photo-sharing site allows users not only to reach out to their friends and families, but also to explore, manage and negotiate how they decide to present themselves to their followers and to other IG users. By sharing their everyday life experiences, voicing their opinions, displaying their likes and dislikes, they are building and enacting both who they are and how they want to be perceived by others. Along these lines, new digital technologies offer new means and venues for identity construction and self-presentational work.

Identity has been part of the social sciences agenda for some seventy years now and has undergone paradigmatic shifts from its early treatments as a feature inherent to the self to more recent conceptualisations which recognise that identity is constructed in discourse (De Fina, 2010; De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006; Seargeant and Tagg, 2014; among others). Similarly, the presentation of the self is a concept that has featured in much of the research carried out ever since Goffman's (1959) influential work came out. As Shulman (2022) explains, these notions nowadays shed light on how individuals incorporate "new resources into their performances" to construct and enact their identities online (p. 27).

Just as individual Instagram users go through the process of carefully selecting what use they make of this visual platform and what they share, so do institutions. As Gilpin (2011) explains, as online communication expanded, practitioners have turned to social media as a means to broaden their connections, extending their reach to a larger number of new contacts. It is against this backdrop that we argue that universities have reshaped their communicative strategies to engage the new digital generations. In so doing, they turn to a frequently used marketing strategy: *selling experiences* (Sorescu, Frambach, Singh, Rangaswamy and Bridges, 2011). In the case of universities, these experiences are to be analysed by reference to the notion of *place* (Agnew, 1987; Parini and Yus, 2023).

In a recently published work in the field of sociolinguistics, Parini and Yus (2023) delve into the social construction of place within digital mobile technologies. The authors claim that

¹ This thesis follows APA 6th edition Style Guide and also the guidelines outlined in "*Pautas para presentación de tesis y tesinas*" drafted by *Universidad de Belgrano*.

place is not a mere physical location or position on Earth, but rather it is “a space that is socially constructed around human experience” (p. 9). This conceptualisation, together with the *aspects of place* proposed by Agnew (1987) –i.e. *location*, *locale* and *sense of place*– shed light on the kinds of experiences universities configure and share within the digital communication context of Instagram.

This sharing of experiences –as a communicative practice in itself– is championed (Kennedy, 2020) on Instagram. Even if the platform is primarily a picture-based social network and a mobile application, it should be noted that identity construction and enactment can also be achieved through the choice of words selected as part of the captions to the posts. As Vásquez (2014) observes, “words, language, and discourse (...) serve as key resources in the presentation of self online and in the construction of identities in social media” (p. 68). Indeed, through word choices individuals can discursively create particular identities or personas. Within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics, Martin and White (2005) and Martin and Rose (2007) provide an analytical framework to explore attitudinal meaning to map semantic domains, covering emotions (*affect*), ethics (*judgement*) and aesthetics (*appreciation*), as they operate in discourse.

This study is structured into six sections. The introduction offers an overview of the research conducted to date, so as to establish the necessary foundational background to this study, and also introduces the purpose, the hypotheses, the research questions and the objectives underpinning this thesis. Part II outlines the key concepts that support this investigation, namely: *identity* and *self-presentation*, *Instagram as a communicative and discursive space*, the notion of *place* and the *attitude* domain as developed by Appraisal Theory. Part III is devoted to the methodology and it gives a detailed account of the research design and methods. It also provides some insights into the corpus, data collection and procedures as well as into data analysis procedures and a note on online research ethics. Part IV constitutes the analytical core of the study. This section is subdivided in three subsections, beginning with an overview of the way in which each university presents itself on its Instagram account and exploring the *aspects of place* each institution foregrounds through their posts. The section finishes with an in-depth analysis of the linguistic appraisal resources used to negotiate emotions, judgements and valuations found in the corpus. Part V presents an interpretation of the results obtained. Finally, Part VI presents concluding remarks drawn from the findings, discusses some of the limitations to this study and highlights a range of possible directions with respect to future research that would be interesting to pursue.

1.1. Background to the Study

Previous research has been conducted on computer-mediated discourse, specifically the academic discourse from disciplines such as linguistics, psychology education, business and media studies in chat rooms, blogs, Facebook and Twitter (Koller, 2005; Lee, 2011; Zappavigna, 2011). Recently, however, there has been an increasing interest in addressing the role of

multimodality in a range of digital media platforms, among which is the video-sharing and photo-sharing platform, Instagram (see Thurlow, Dürscheid and Diémoz, 2020).

Serafinelli (2018), for her part, carries out a qualitative study on Instagram, focusing on photo-sharing practices online, users' social engagement and interaction, and Instagram's influence in the "formation and disclosure of the self" (p. 35). Yilmaz et al. (2021) also contribute to the field with an analysis of randomly selected IG posts and explores the theme of the photos shared and the visual posting rhythm.

Much of these studies' interest, however, lies in the private uses of Instagram. Some recent research has directed its attention to corporate profiles as a tool for corporate branding. For example, Pollach (2005) explores the discursive strategies employed by corporations to present themselves in the "About us" sections of their websites. In her work, the author identifies some of the persuasive strategies used to build a sense of credibility and she also analyses the extent to which the companies employ self-references and audience-addressed forms to establish and maintain a relationship with the public.

A limited body of research has recently combined developments in social media platforms with multimodality, language use and identity perspectives to investigate how companies shape their online brand identities through multimodal communication. One study that builds on this direction is Miri's (2016). Drawing on sociolinguistic, multimodal and ethnographic frameworks, the author conducts an analysis of the use that *Nike*, *Starbucks*, and *BMW* make of IG's modal affordances to build their corporate identity. In a similar vein, Portmann (2020), combining visual content analysis and social semiotics, presents an analysis of the corporate uses of Instagram by two major Swiss grocery chains.

Other studies have addressed corporate identity construction from a critical discourse analysis perspective. Cataldo (2020), for instance, explores the use *Nike* makes of narratives of personal empowerment on Instagram to shape the message of the brand. Further studies have also directed their attention to how institutional identities are constructed through discourse, one such work is Cheng and Shi's (2021). From a social constructionist perspective and a discourse-historical approach, the authors explore the shared and unique features found in themes, communication strategies and lexical patterns that Chinese and American banks turn to in the construction of their corporate identities.

Despite the ever-growing importance of marketization in higher education, research into promotional discourse and identity construction of academic institutions is scarce (Askehave, 2007; Osman, 2008; Hui, 2009; Xiong, 2012; Zollo, 2016). This may be attributed to the fact that, only until recently, the long-standing status of universities remained isolated from advertising or branding strategies (Zhang, 2017). In this respect, Shahnaz and Qadir (2020) claim that universities are adopting several branding strategies to distinguish themselves in a competitive environment. Drawing on notions from critical discourse analysis and multimodality, they examine the way in which Pakistani universities construct their identity and foster a sense of uniqueness through their logos, mottos and slogans.

What is more, new digital technologies play an important role in brand-building processes (Serafinelli, 2018). In this respect, the author posits that “Instagram is considered an ideal platform for social media marketing in particular for its capacity to enhance user engagement” (p. 106). From a marketing perspective, this means that the use of photographs can showcase a product and, in so doing, influence the mood of buyers (Barker, 2013). Moreover, nowadays businesses do not sell products or services exclusively via persuasive advertising (Scolari, 2008). Rather, they try to create symbolic universes where brands produce a specific discourse to communicate with the audience, for instance, by selling experiences (Sorescu, Frambach, Singh, Rangaswamy and Bridges, 2011) or telling stories.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

The body of research outlined so far reflects that research into the construction of institutional identity on Instagram from a sociolinguistic perspective is still to be further explored. In this context, this study seeks to gain a deeper understanding of how five renowned universities –Harvard University, Stanford University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), University of Cambridge and University of Oxford– construct and enact their institutional identities as *experienced spaces* through their Instagram posts. This study contends that the experiences universities configure are grounded on presenting themselves as *lived or experienced spaces* (Parini and Yus, 2023). In fact, the myriad of experiences conveyed through the Instagram posts include not only the typically academic-related experiences, such as teaching, learning and research, but also various sports, recreational and social events which could be interpreted as ways of enhancing the distinct experiences associated with each of these academic institutions. Drawing on the three-part definition of *place* introduced by Agnew (1987), this study sets out explore how the *aspects of place* –*location, locale* and *sense of place*– foregrounded through the posts contribute to the universities’ self-presentation as spaces to be experienced by the members of their communities. With this purpose in mind, this study also draws on the *attitude* domain of Appraisal Theory (Martin and Rose, 2007; Martin and White, 2005) with a view to examining the appraisal resources that the selected universities bring into play through the linguistic components shared in their posts as they present themselves and construct their institutional identities as *experienced spaces*.

1.3. Research Questions

This thesis seeks to address the following research questions:

- i. How do the universities under analysis construct and enact their identities as *experienced spaces* through their IG accounts? How are these representations realised in discourse?
- ii. Which *aspects of place* do these educational institutions bring to the fore through their IG posts? How do these self-presentations contribute to the construction of their identity online?

iii. Which instances of evaluative language can be found in the universities' posts and how do they contribute to the construction of an institutional persona? More specifically, what role does *attitude* play in these processes of identity construction online?

1.4. Hypotheses

This study is based on the following hypotheses:

1. Through the posts they share on their Instagram accounts, universities present themselves online as *lived spaces* which offer a myriad of particular experiences to the members of their communities.
2. By foregrounding different *aspects of place* in the construction of their identity as *experienced spaces*, universities build their institutional identity and position themselves within the academic community.
3. The use of *attitude* as an evaluative linguistic resource is central to the way in which the universities present themselves online through their Instagram posts.

1.5. Objectives

In line with the research questions and the hypotheses outlined above, this study attempts to address the following objectives:

1.5.1. General Objective

- To explore how five world-renowned universities discursively construct and enact their institutional identities as *experienced spaces* through the posts they share on Instagram.

1.5.1. Specific Objectives

- To explore the extent to which each of the universities foregrounds *location, locale* and *sense of place* through the posts they share on their IG accounts to construct and enact their institutional identity as *experienced spaces*.
- To examine the *attitude* appraisal resources incorporated in the captions to the posts by reference to the *aspects of place* brought to the fore as part of their self-presentation online.
- To identify the specific instances of *affect, judgement* and *appreciation* displayed in the universities' posts on presenting themselves online as *experienced spaces*.

2. Literature Review

This section provides a review of the key theoretical concepts underpinning this study and is divided into five subsections. The first part outlines the development of the notion of *identity* and how this concept has served as a source of inspiration to research studies in new digital environments. The second part turns to Goffman's (1959) notion of *self-presentation* and

examines how it has evolved to embrace online contexts. The third part characterises Instagram as a *communicative* and as a *discursive space* (Parini, Galende and Vera, 2024). The fourth part offers an overview of the notion of *place* (Agnew, 1987) in the understanding that universities build their institutional identity as *experienced spaces* (Parini and Yus, 2023). Finally, the fifth part presents the analytical framework for the analysis of evaluation. Following Appraisal Theory (Martin and Rose, 2007; Martin and White, 2005), this subsection presents the three semantic domains and delves into the system of *attitude* with its three semantic areas, i.e. *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation*.

2.1. Identity

Over the last seven decades, *identity* has been at the core of reflection in the field of social studies. Having been thoroughly explored, developed and refined, this notion is still regarded as a complex concept, often characterised as slippery, blurred and confusing (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006; De Fina, Schiffrrin and Bamberg, 2006). In this respect, Wetherell (2010, p. 3) explains that identity is best characterised as “an open problematic - a site gathering together a wide range of concerns, tropes, curiosities, patterns of thought, debates around certain binaries and particular kinds of conversations” and points out the intricacies surrounding this notion.

From a more essentialist perspective, the notion has been theorised as a taken-for-granted category and a characteristic inherent to the individual which is “absolute and knowable” (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p. 9). There has been, however, a shift towards research which conceptualises identity as a socially constructed notion and delves into the way in which people perform, ascribe to and even resist identity.

Along those lines, for instance, De Fina, Schiffrrin and Bamberg (2006) argue that identity is neither a given nor a product. Rather, it is seen as a process that (1) occurs in a specific context of interaction, (2) produces an array of identities rather than individual constructs, (3) does not stem from the individual, but is the result of social processes of negotiations and entextualisation and (4) involves discursive work. In the same vein, Benwell and Stokoe (2006) understand identity as a social product and subscribe to the idea that individuals do not exist in isolation and are therefore shaped by social influence. For them, the self is conceived by reference to “its membership of, or identification with a particular group or groups” (p. 24). De Fina (2010) adds a further aspect to the debate by describing identity as “highly negotiable in interaction, emergent and largely co-constructed” (p. 206) and therefore draws attention to the situated nature of the processes involved in identity construction.

Seargeant and Tagg (2014) argue that in contemporary sociolinguistics, identity is no longer understood as a fixed, predetermined property of the individual, but instead it is primarily conceptualised as “a set of resources which people draw upon in presenting and expressing themselves via interaction with others” (p. 5). Indeed, individuals engage in active and ongoing processes whereby they jointly construct and negotiate their identity and, in so doing, they tailor

the way in which they present themselves according to the specific context within which they operate.

These ways of conceptualising identity stem from the emergence of new approaches to discourse which place language and interaction at the core of identity work. Kleinke, Hernández and Bös's (2018) work provides insight into identity construction both in offline and online contexts. The authors draw on the idea that the advent of social media in a growingly globalised world has led to new modes of participation. They claim that this in turn has resulted in "new and more varied sites of online and offline identity construction, often with blurred boundaries" (p. 2). In this respect, it may be argued that the conceptualisation of identity as a uniform concept has long been contested. Nowadays, the notion is interpreted as a multi-dimensional dynamic process that takes place in the unfolding of discourse.

The body of literature outlined so far captures the complexity underlying the notion of identity. Over the last 30 years, research from a social constructionist perspective has focused on the connection between identity and social variables, such as gender, age and ethnic background (Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou, 2003; Edwards, 2009). Other studies have delved into one particular identity type, such as national and ethnic identity (De Fina, 2003; Joseph, 2004; Wodak et al, 2009). Other works have directed their attention to the conflict between individual and group identities (Edwards, 2009). Yet, research into the notion of institutional identity remains somewhat sparse. Previous works on corporate identity date back to the 1990s and have been primarily approached from management and marketing perspectives to examine strategic management (see Balmer and Gray, 1999).

Management scholars such as Albert and Whetten (1985) conceptualise organisational identity as the core of an organisation which shapes its choices and defines its integrity. Others, however, adopt a different view to the concept. Ashforth and Mael (1996, p. 21), for instance, characterise organisational identity as "unfolding and stylized narratives about the 'soul' or essence of the organization" in a process by which organisations enact their identities by means of the narratives they share about themselves. Christensen (2008) delineates the concept of corporate or organisational identity as "the way an organization is commonly represented" (p. 1016). These works on identity seem to be grounded on an essentialist and attribute-based orientation, suggesting that organisational identity is to be interpreted as revealing the true character of the organisation. More recent studies conducted in the field of education, such as Stensaker's (2015), have tried to offer a conceptual framework connecting organisational identity to current dynamics within the higher education sector.

As outlined so far, identity is central in the recognition of the self and of others and comprises distinctive ways whereby human beings come across each other. Roughly speaking, identity can be said to organise human understanding of the social processes and structures in the social world. Following a constructionist perspective, we claim that the identity of an institution is not static; much to the contrary, it emerges and is discursively constructed in the unfolding of communication.

2.1.1. Identity Online

With the advent of electronic media, innovative communication options have been made available which have, in turn, entirely reconfigured the ways in which human beings conduct their lives and display their identities. According to Seargeant and Tagg (2014), the sites and platforms on which these processes take place are various and widespread, within which are social network sites (SNSs) –i.e., internet-based sites whose aim is to build and maintain social networks through messages and media sharing. Online social media, Seargeant and Tagg claim, has profoundly shaped both the linguistic and communicative practices people take part in and the social networks they build. The authors further explain that, within the field of sociolinguistics, there are two key “social dynamics at the heart of social network site (SNS) use”, namely: identity construction and the building and maintenance of networked relationships (p. 5).

Moreover, social network sites operate in a context in which the notions of time and space have changed significantly. As to this, Vásquez (2022) argues that “one of the things that makes digital discourse so different from prior modes of communication is the potential for any internet user to connect instantly with a multitude of other individuals who are geographically dispersed around the world” (p. 6). This entails that distance is no longer a concern, nor is time, for today everyone has access to communications technology, provided they have a device that is connected to the internet.

Another aspect which is key to understanding identity construction online is that, as Yilmaz et al (2021) state, the different social network sites that exist nowadays enable users to construct multiple identities online. Similarly, Seargeant and Tagg (2014) note that the novel and distinctive nature which characterises online interaction is in line with the social constructionist view on identity. In this sense, they put forward the argument that

if identities are discursively (and semiotically) constructed and dialogically performed, then nowhere is more evident than on social media, where people have relative freedom to choose how they want to present themselves, have the opportunity to address new, diverse and potentially global audiences, and have at their disposal a novel set of resources for doing so. (p. 9)

Along similar lines, Lee (2014) and Jones et al (2015) attest to the idea that online identity is actively and repeatedly constructed and negotiated. Lee (2014) points out that instead of talking about identity in the singular form, a more accurate description of people’s experiences nowadays needs to embrace the notion of identities in the plural. Her claim is grounded on the assumption that, as is the case in offline interactions, in online interactions there are numerous aspects of a person’s identity which are brought to the fore or ignored. Jones et al (2015), for their part, posit that social media affordances should be construed as potential resources that users may turn to depending on their communicative purposes on specific contexts.

The use of social network sites to capture and preserve people’s daily experiences adds a further layer of meaning to the construction of online identity. Van Dijck (2007) introduces the

term *mediated memories* to account for this, which she defines as “the activities and objects we produce and appropriate by means of media technologies, for creating and recreating a sense of past, present and future of our selves in relation to others” (p. 77). On this note, Serafinelli (2018, p. 155) examines the way in which identity is constructed and enacted online by referring to the notion of “fragmented and episodic narratives of the self” within the context of photo-sharing practices online. This entails that by sharing photographs, specifically on Instagram, people disclose several aspects of their selves. As the author further explains, “the construction and disclosure of an online persona (...) is built on the cluster of personal visual memories” (p. 155); thus, drawing attention to the sense of continuity created by the chronological narration of people’s daily life experiences within these digital contexts.

2.2. Self-Presentation

Several studies adopting a social constructionist perspective to account for the notion of identity have drawn on Goffman’s (1959) work on identity performance. Goffman’s seminal work *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life* extensively describes and analyses how individuals present themselves within social interaction and the implications of such presentations using the metaphor of theatrical performance. In this dramaturgical approach, the author conceptualises interaction as *performance*, which he defines as “an activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence of the observers” (p. 22). This entails that self-presentation encompasses the enactment of one’s identity and that the individual develops their identity through ongoing interactions with others in specific bounded settings. As part of his characterisation, Goffman makes a clear distinction between the front region or *frontstage* and the back region or *backstage*, where frontstage is the place where performances take place and backstage is the place where performances are prepared for.

He also claims that every time an individual is in the presence of others, “there will always be some reason for him [them] to mobilize his [their] activity so that it will convey an impression to others which it is in his [their] interests to convey” (p. 3). There is in this way of understanding self-presentation a direct correlation with identity work for, ultimately, as Goffman puts it, to meet the audience’s expectations and the social norms, individuals monitor and tailor their behaviour and, in so doing, they present their idealised selves. This is what Goffman refers to as *impression management*, which entails “accentuating certain facts and concealing others” (p. 65). In this regard, the effort to keep control of the presentation of the self involves that certain aspects of the personality are exaggerated, while others are suppressed or simply hidden during the individual’s performance.

2.2.1. Self-Presentation Online

Another fundamental aspect which lies at the heart of the use of SNSs and which is closely linked to identity online is the presentation of the self within these new digital environments. Much of the research on self-presentation in SNSs is often theoretically grounded on Goffman's (1959) framework. Krämer and Hakerhamp (2011), for example, draw attention to the fact that the use people make of these sites is highly motivated by the possibility of self-presentation, while other scholars, such as Mehdizadeh (2010), place impression management among the main functions of these sites. Similarly, Solmaz (2021) argues that "the purposeful choices of language discourse in status updates and comment sections, shared photographs and links in SNSs also reflect the agency of the users" (p. 51). The author further explains that, since these visual and textual cues equate to the expressions *given* and *given off* in offline contexts, they can be construed as *performance*, in Goffman's terms.

Likewise, Herring and Kapidzic (2015), on exploring how teenagers present themselves through their profile photographs on a chat site, claim that self-presentation is believed to be driven by the individual's desire to make a favourable impression on others or an impression which is in line with the individual's ideals. This entails that self-presentation online is tightly connected with Goffman's conceptualisation of *impression management*, for users tend to use the resources available online to build this favourable image of themselves.

Roughly following Petroni (2019), one can argue that SNSs serve as a breeding ground for the construction of both personal and professional identity as well as for self-presentation and self-branding. To explain how individuals construct their identity within professional digital settings –more specifically on LinkedIn–, Petroni also draws upon Goffman's framework. Besides, the author adds to self-presentation and impression management the notion of reputation. As to this, Petroni points out that "building a reputation entails a constant process of image-making and impression management and, as such, can be continuously negotiated and adapted to the situation" (p. 258). This concept was historically associated with the clear display of "the inherent quality of a person's work or achievement" (p. 258). With the emergence of SNSs, the notion took a new ring to it and came to be associated with the ability of users to grab attention online; this involves the expression of opinions and values as well as the establishing of connections, among others (Rodden, 2006, as cited in Petroni, 2019).

Another study which takes Goffman's work as a starting point is Merunková and Šlerka's (2019). On analysing the ways in which university students form their identity and tailor the impressions they invoke in their audiences on Facebook, the authors posit that identity construction and identity performance are partially influenced by both the user interface and the functional elements that social networking sites offer. Moreover, they add that self-presentation online comprises a static presentation element composed of, in the case of Facebook, the profile photo, the cover photo, the "about" tab as well as the many lists which reflect user's likes, such as, a list of friends, of pages liked and of groups the user belongs to. According to these authors,

there is, however, another aspect that plays a key role in the presentation of the self online which is more dynamic in nature: the “publishing and sharing of text, visual and audiovisual content” on the profile (Merunková and Šlerka, 2019, p. 254). This entails that, like Goffman’s performers, SNSs’ users employ the affordances available on the sites to present themselves online and that, in so doing, they sustain a favourable image of themselves which tends to be idealised in several ways.

Similarly, Seibel (2019) claims that “the act of selecting which image to present and share on Instagram affords users the ability to intentionally curate how they want their subject to be perceived” (p. 9). As Vásquez (2022, p. 6) puts it, “online performances of identity involve not only language but also the use of technological specific semiotic resources” as well as the many affordances that the different social network sites make available to their users. In this regard, in a recent work, Shulman (2022) looks into the use companies make of SNSs on presenting themselves online. The author pinpoints that the promotion of certain products and techniques on the part of companies is premised on the individuals’ willingness to enhance their presentations of the self online.

2.3. Instagram as a Communicative and a Discursive Space

It has been quite some time since Instagram was first introduced. The site itself has even seen some changes over the course of these years: a site which initially started as a photo-posting app has now grown into a content-creation site as well as a valuable social media marketing tool. From the point of view of discourse, it should be noted that, as the site evolved, it has allowed for “assembling/organizing/designing a plurality of signs in different modes into a particular configuration to form a coherent arrangement” (Kress, 2010, p. 162). Along this line of reasoning, Stöckl (2020) points out that Instagram users are surrounded by multimodal texts in which image and text add up to the overall meaning “by forming a structural, discursive and rhetorical whole whose individual semantic contributions cohere and may be multiplied in the multimodal combination” (p. 190). Without being intricate, Instagram’s layout and landscape comprises several communicative spaces.

One of such spaces which fosters communication is the user’s profile. This section displays the number of posts users make, the number of followers they have and the number of IG accounts they follow. This profile may also include a picture and a 150-character description – referred to as the bio. Some IG accounts are also signalled as “verified” with a blue badge, which accounts for their authenticity. Introduced in 2016, Instagram stories constitute another affordance the platform offers, which allows users to share photos and videos. Stories differ from regular posts in two respects: they disappear from the user’s profile and feed after 24 hours and they do not show the number of likes, reactions or comments made to them. A further feature present is that of Highlights, introduced in 2017, which allows users to “show all sides of [their] personality by making highlights out of anything [they] shared to [their] story in the past” (Instagram Help Centre).

Another space within a user's account is the grid where posts are shared and stored. Among the types of posts this network offers are single-image posts, multiple-image posts, video posts –limited to two-minute clips–, IGTV videos posts –videos ranging from ten seconds to ten minutes– and, its latest addition, reels –fifteen-second multi-clip videos to which audio and creative effects can be added. Yet, there is more to posts than just the visual component because the site also allows users to add captions to their posts, incorporate hashtags and tag other users by means of the @ symbol. Besides, followers have the chance to like the post (by clicking on the heart), to share it (by means of a feature called Direct) and to comment on it.

In their analysis of the landscape of YouTube, Parini, Galende and Vera (2024) posit that this platform as a digital interaction space comprises an audiovisual discursive space (i.e. the video), a textual discursive space (i.e. the comments) and a pictorial discursive space (i.e. the likes). On a similar note, this study argues that Instagram as a digital interaction space fostering collaborative participation includes distinct discursive spaces, namely: the *visual discursive space* –i.e. single-image and multi-image posts and stories–, the *audiovisual discursive space* –i.e. videos shared both as posts or as stories–, the *textual discursive space* –i.e. post captions and comments to the posts and stories shared– and the *pictorial discursive space* –i.e. followers' likes and reactions to both posts and stories–, as displayed in Figure 1 below.

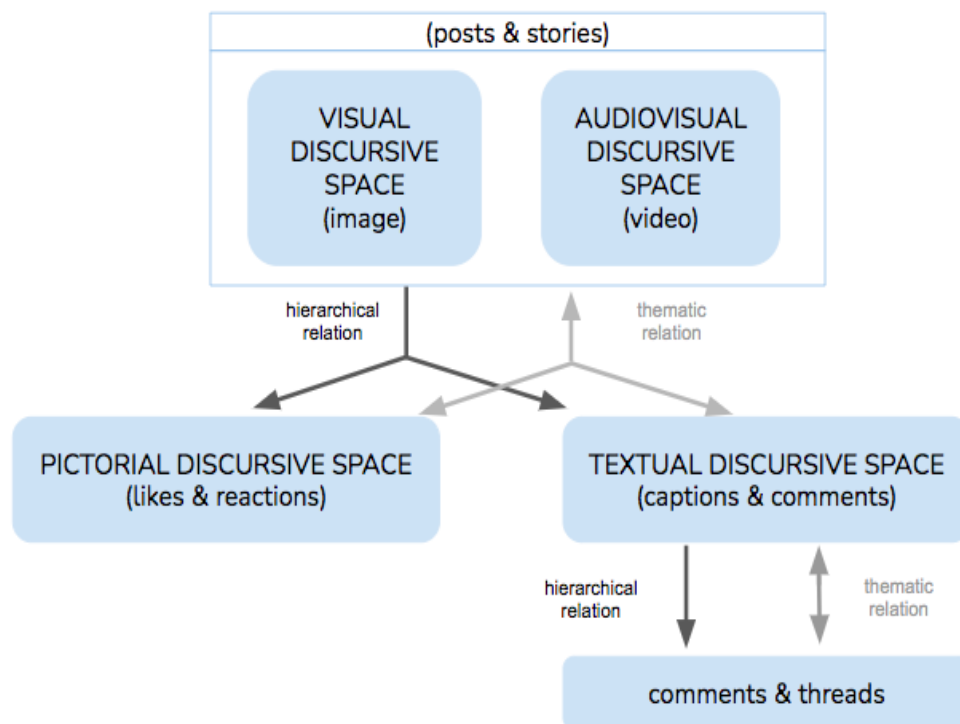


Figure 1. Instagram's Discursive Spaces (Adapted from Parini, Galende and Vera, 2024)

It is worth noting that these four discursive spaces, as shown in Figure 1, hold hierarchical relations. Both the *visual discursive space* and the *audiovisual discursive space* can be construed

as spaces that frame the communicative event. In this sense, they are compulsory in nature, for without them, there is no content shared on Instagram. This entails that both the *textual discursive space* and the *pictorial discursive space* are spaces that only come into existence once content (either visual or audiovisual in nature) is posted or shared; otherwise, there is nothing to describe, to comment on, to like or to react to. Thematically speaking, the relationship among these four discursive spaces is different, for they may directly or indirectly make reference to the same topic or not.

2.4. The Notion of Place

Place is one of the main concepts in the history and development of human geography. The continuing relevance of this notion reveals that it is key to “human existence or, indeed, existence itself” (Cresswell, 2011, p. 235). Political geographer Agnew (1987) introduces a three-part conceptualisation which has remained relevant over time. This notion is invested with the sense of meaningful location and comprises what the author calls three interrelated aspects of place: *location*, *locale* and *sense of place*.

Agnew and Duncan (2011) provide an exhaustive characterisation of these three aspects. The first of Agnew’s aspects of place –*location*– specifically refers to where something is located, either in a strict sense (by reference to some agreed measure such as longitude or latitude) or in a more flexible one. The second aspect –*locale*– includes the material setting or context for social and cultural life and is to be construed as the material world in which things happen during a person’s life. The third aspect –*sense of place*– concerns the way in which places are attributed meaning and, as Cresswell puts it, places are deemed as “mediated and shared” (p. 236). Ultimately, this is so because individuals attach meaning to a place based on their personal experiences there.

As Bou-Franch (2023) explains, over the past twenty years, research in sociolinguistics and discourse studies has shifted its attention towards the relationship between language use and place. Georgakopoulou (2015), for instance, conceptualises place “as an experienced, lived and practised social arena by social actors” (p. 65). Moreover, in an era characterised by connectivity and mobility which champions sharing as a social practice, placemaking is enriched by the technological and social affordances made available by digital platforms.

Similarly, in a recent work on the discursive construction of place, Parini and Yus (2023) delve into the social construction of place within digital mobile technologies. More specifically, they argue that these platforms contribute to the creation and maintenance of a sense of community around the notion of place, understood as both a collective and individual experience that is shared. In this respect, they bring into play Agnew’s *location*, *locale* and *sense of place* and provide their conceptualisations of these three aspects as “the objective coordinates on Earth’s surface”, “the material for social relations” and “the subjective and emotional attachment people have to a place”, respectively (p. 10). With a clear focus on the construction of place within new digital environments, these authors observe that “place is experienced and construed as

meaningful location by means of people's interactions –both fleeting and lasting– over digital media” (p. 2). This suggests that place is not a mere physical location or position, but rather it is “a space that is socially constructed around human experience”, or as they note, “place is then lived and experienced” (p. 9).

2.5. Appraisal as an Evaluative Discourse Resource

The appraisal framework initially originated in the context of educational linguistics and genre-based literacy programs carried out by the School of Sydney back in the 1980s. This framework, developed by Martin and White (2005) and Martin and Rose (2007), draws upon the concept of stance and offers techniques to analyse how individuals use language to evaluate, take stance, create identities or personas and position themselves and others. Martin and White (2005) put forward this framework to map different semantic domains as they operate in discourse. The appraisal framework organises evaluation in three main intertwined semantic domains, namely: *attitude*, *engagement* and *graduation*.

Broadly speaking, *attitude* is associated with the semantic resources used in constructing emotional responses as grouped in three semantic areas: emotions, ethics and aesthetics. *Engagement* is the domain that is concerned with identifying attitudes and exploring how textual voices interplay in discourse by positioning themselves differently in relation to assessments. Within this dimension, the authors propose different resources whereby additional voices are introduced (projection, modality and concession). Finally, the third domain, *graduation*, is related to the means by which feelings can be raised or lowered in discourse (force) and to the means by which the boundaries of meanings can be sharpened or softened (focus). Of the three appraisal systems briefly outlined so far, *attitude* will be now explored in depth, thus excluding both *engagement* and *graduation* from the scope of this analysis.

Martin and White (2005) argue that it is possible to group the types of values we draw on when evaluating into three major categories: *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation*, each of which can be either positive or negative (see Figure 2 below).

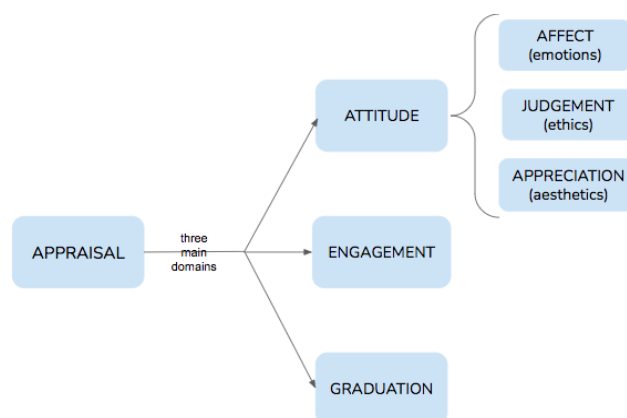


Figure 2. Components of Attitude within the Appraisal Framework

Affect covers the expression of positive or negative emotional responses or feelings to interacting subjects or third parties. Martin and White (2005, p. 49) explain that such emotions can be organised into three main sets relating with *un/happiness* –feelings pertaining to what they call “affairs of the heart”, such as “sadness, anger, happiness and love”–, *in/security* –feelings related to “ecosocial well-being”, such as “anxiety, fear, confidence and trust”– and *dis/satisfaction* –feelings concerned with “the pursuit of goals”, such as, “ennui, displeasure, curiosity and respect”. They also claim that such feelings can be represented as a “surge of emotion” which involves a paralinguistic or extralinguistic manifestation or as an “emotive state of ongoing mental process” which is internally experienced. What is more, such feelings can also be represented as “responding to some specific emotional stimulus” or as a “general ongoing mood”. Besides, *affect* can be further divided in terms of whether the emotional response is to do with the here-and-now (*realis*) or with a possible future state (*irrealis*) (see Figure 3).

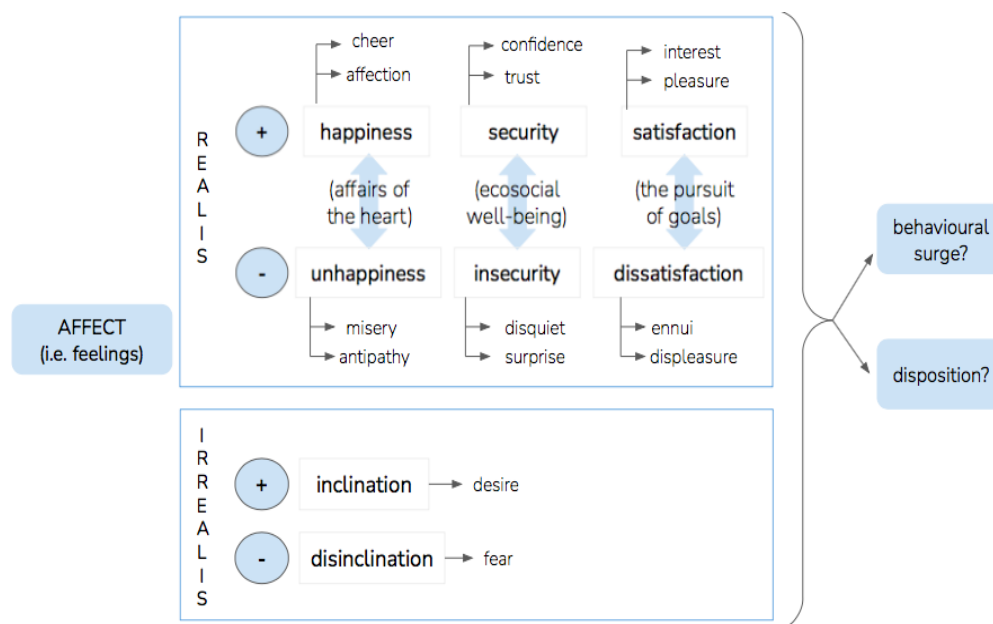


Figure 3. Components of Affect within the Appraisal Framework

The second domain of attitude introduced above is *judgement*. This semantic dimension can be interpreted as “attitudes to people and the way they behave” (Martin and White, 2005, p. 52). This consists of the expression of approval or disapproval as to the moral or ethical acceptability of people’s social conduct or behaviour. Within this category, as the authors suggest, assessments can be further subdivided into *social esteem* and *social sanction*. Judgements of *social esteem* involve evaluating the social acceptability of human behaviour, by admiring or criticising people’s actions. This first type of judgements comprises *normality* –how usual someone’s behaviour is–, *capacity* –how capable they are– and *tenacity* –how resolute they are. Judgments of *social sanction*, on the other hand, are concerned with assessments by reference to some system of social norms or morality, by praising or condemning people’s

behaviour. This second type is to do with *veracity* –how truthful someone is– and *propriety* –how ethical someone is (see Figure 4).

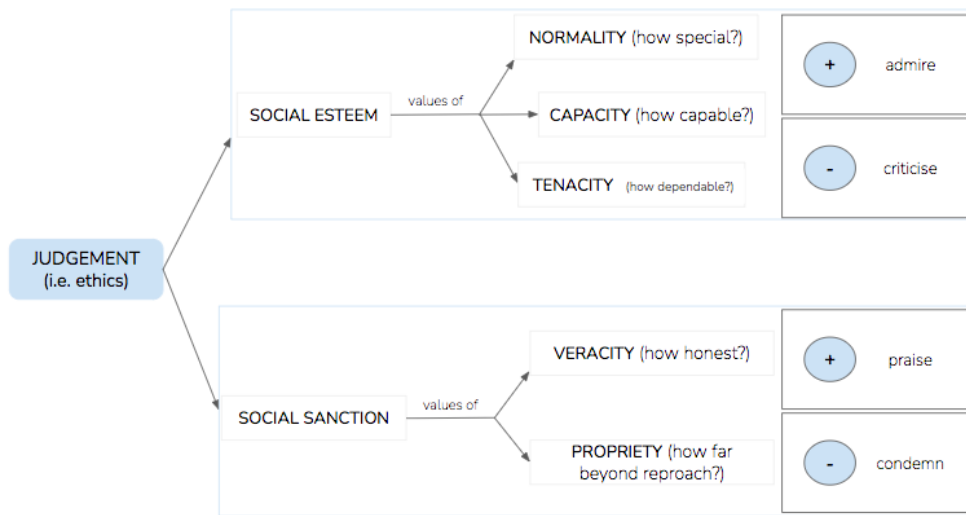


Figure 4. *Components of Judgement within the Appraisal Framework*

Finally, the last domain within *attitude* is *appreciation*, which includes assessments as to the aesthetic or ethical quality of things. Specifically, this domain of meanings is concerned with “the products of human endeavour such as artefacts, buildings, texts and works of art, and also of natural phenomena and states of affairs” (White, 2011, p. 25). It is subdivided into our *reaction* to things –i.e. the way in which they *impact* on us and their *quality*–, their *composition* –i.e. their *balance* and their *complexity*– and their *value* –i.e. assessment of their social significance (see Figure 5 below). Like *affect* and *judgement*, assessments of *appreciation* can be positive and negative in nature.

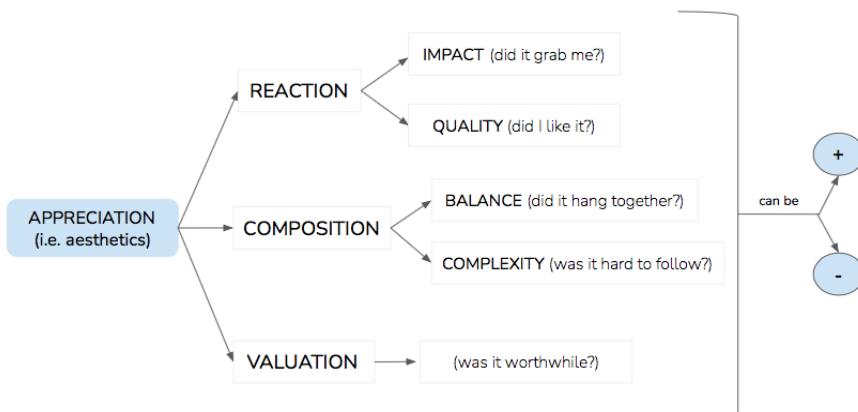


Figure 5. *Components of Appreciation within the Appraisal System*

All three domains of appraisal outlined so far can be either *inscribed*, that is, explicitly expressed in the text, or *invoked*, that is, implicitly hinted at by reference to, for instance, metaphorical language which evokes a particular attitude.

3. Methodology and Data

This section presents the methodology adopted in research design and in data collection and describes the corpus gathered. It also outlines the procedures followed to identify the way in which Harvard University, Stanford University, MIT, University of Cambridge and University of Oxford discursively construct and enact their identities as *experienced spaces* through their posts on their Instagram accounts. Besides, given the nature of the digital space from which the data has been collected, reference is made to the selected approach to research ethics.

3.1. Research Design

The aim of this study is to explore the manner in which the above-mentioned academic institutions discursively present themselves as *experienced spaces* through the evaluative linguistic resources employed in the posts on their Instagram accounts. More specifically, the focus is to examine instances of *attitude* as appraisal resources which contribute to the construction of an institutional persona online. This research is a case study and, to achieve its objective, it adopts a qualitative approach to content analysis which stems from the observation of the data collected. We understand that an analytical design of this kind can afford some finely tuned insights that often prove informative and, hence, relevant.

By analysing the linguistic component of the posts and identifying instances of *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation*, this research aims to gain insight into the use each university makes of such resources and to evaluate the extent to which a distinctive set of *aspects of place* contributes to their self-presentation online as *experienced spaces*. In so doing, the analysis provides valuable information to the existing body of knowledge in the field of digital discourse analysis.

3.2. Corpus, Data Collection and Procedures

To analyse the discursive construction of institutional identity on Instagram, posts from the Instagram accounts of five renowned universities were selected. The five academic institutions were Harvard University, Stanford University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of Cambridge and University of Oxford. These have been selected in the understanding that (1) they are five leading universities in the world², (2) they are, though to varying degrees, active users of Instagram, and (3) they are institutions which aim to engage international students

² <https://cwur.org/2022-23.php>

and share a symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) reflected in the social and academic standing they hold in the global community.

The data surveyed consists of 630 posts in total –145 of which belong to Harvard; 76 to Stanford; 129 to MIT; 113 to Cambridge and 168 to Oxford. For all five universities, the criteria underlying data collection was the same: the second academic term of 2022. In the case of the universities from the US, this term runs from August to December; while, in the case of those from the UK, the term begins in October and runs until December when all academic activities wrap up for Christmas. Given that the application process starts before the term itself, July was also considered for the former and so was September for the latter, since during those months the universities are open to application. The time frame selection criteria adopted seeks to guarantee discernible common ground among universities belonging to different countries and cultures. Tables 1 and 2 below show the exact number of posts each university made during the period of time selected.

	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total no. of posts
Harvard	20	27	21	27	28	22	145
Stanford	6	6	17	18	13	16	76
MIT	19	18	21	25	24	22	129

Table 1. *Number of Posts Made by Harvard, Stanford and MIT*

	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total no. of posts
University of Cambridge	27	36	29	21	113
University of Oxford	23	45	45	55	168

Table 2. *Number of Posts Made by Cambridge and Oxford*

The first step in the data retrieval process was to access the official Instagram accounts of the five universities and take screenshots of their Instagram bios. These screenshots were recorded in a Microsoft Word document and have been incorporated as part of the analysis (Section 4.1).

Before proceeding with the data sampling procedures, it is worth noting that, due to length constraints, a decision has been made as to which of all four discursive spaces described in Section 2.3 are to be delved into. Given that the purpose of this study is to explore how the universities discursively construct and enact their institutional identities online as *experienced*

spaces, this research primarily focuses on the *textual discursive* space. This means that at the core of the analysis lie the linguistic instantiations of *attitude* as an appraisal resource.

The second step in the data sampling procedure was to extract the linguistic component from the *textual discursive* space, more precisely, from the captions to the posts and also the linguistic component present in the *visual* and *audiovisual* discursive spaces, that is, any spoken or written text present in the single-image, multi-image and video posts shared. This entails that the emojis and hashtags present in the post captions have been ruled out since, being not strictly linguistic resources, their treatment exceeds the scope of this study. As to the data collecting technique, it involved copying and pasting the linguistic component present in the captions of both image and video posts as well as transcribing all instances of written text present in the images posted and of spoken text in the videos posted. Since the interaction between participants also exceeds the scope of this study, the comments made in response to the posts and their threads have been disregarded.

The information gathered was then organised into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet stored in a cloud-based storage location (Google Drive). Within that Excel file, a tab was created for each university to record the posts in chronological order of appearance. Each of the posts was assigned a code comprising “name of university-number”. Apart from recording the linguistic material for each post, the date on which the content was posted and the link to the post have also been included in the Microsoft Excel file. Due to the extensive nature of the data collected, a link to the spreadsheet has been included in the Appendix section.

Before proceeding, a brief note on the annotation methodology implemented for an accurate identification of the posts is in order now. The coding system adopted in the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet has been shortened by resorting to the initial letter of the university’s name: H is used for Harvard’s posts, S is used for Stanford’s posts, M is used for MIT’s posts, C is used for Cambridge’s posts and O is used for Oxford’s posts. This letter is then followed by the number the post was assigned.

3.3. Data Analysis Procedures

Once the data had been captured, an analysis of the content was conducted. After this, a central aspect of the construction of identity emerged: the five academic institutions present themselves as *experienced spaces*. This led to the second step in the on-the-ground analysis carried out, that is, classifying the content shared by reference to the three aspects of place proposed by Agnew (1987). To do so, the three-part definition of *place* –comprising *location*, *locale* and *sense of place*– was adapted to capture a more accurate description of the kind of institutions under analysis, as follows:

- *Location* includes the objective coordinates of the university on the Earth’s surface; i.e., the actual location of the university.
- *Locale* comprises the material setting for social relations. In the case of universities, this means a setting for social interaction involving academic events (such as teaching,

learning, carrying out research or innovation projects, among others) and social events (mainly sport-related events or any other kind of event which entails socialising).

- *Sense of place* encompasses the subjective and emotional attachment the university intends to project on the posts.

At this point, it is worth noting that the aspect *sense of place* in the corpus was built around a range and variety of emotions and feelings the participants attached to different qualities related to the universities. This is why the posts foregrounding *sense of place* were further analysed by reference to the following:

- *The university as a Site*. This subcategory concerns the perception of the aesthetic and architectural value of the university, but also its history and significance.
- *The university as its Members*. The subcategory includes references to the university's students, professors, researchers, authorities and pets as well as people (for instance, public figures) who are somehow affiliated to the university.
- *The university as a Community*. This subcategory comprises references which bring to the fore the sense of community by empathising with matters that locally or globally affect those who belong to the community. It also includes university-related references which somehow strengthen the bonds of the community.

As seen in Figure 6 below, different colours have been used in the Excel file to identify the categories *location*, *locale* and *sense of place*. When it came to establishing the nuances of meaning herein proposed for *sense of place*, these have been indicated by stating those meanings in brackets in the following fashion: *sense of place (site)*, *sense of place (members)* and *sense of place (community)*, respectively. The figure that follows provides a graphic representation of the analysis conducted as to the aspect of place foregrounded in the posts.

Code	DATE	Link to image / video	POST	CONTENT
			Caption	
Harvard-1	July 1, 2022	https://www.instagram.com/p/CfeW4UROlvq/	Enjoying the summer weather at the Science Center Plaza 🌞 #HarvardInSummer Photo: Jon Chase/Harvard Staff Photographer	SENSE OF PLACE (SITE)
Harvard-2	July 3, 2022	https://www.instagram.com/p/CfjKORLsoR/	A quiet day on campus 🌞 #HarvardInSummer Photo: @stephanie_blair_mitchell/Harvard Staff Photographer	SENSE OF PLACE (SITE)
Harvard-3	July 5, 2022	https://www.instagram.com/p/CfpHYUfsFdH/	Summer views of Memorial Church #HarvardInSummer Photo: @Rosie_Lincoln/Harvard Staff Photographer	SENSE OF PLACE (SITE)
Harvard-4	July 7, 2022	https://www.instagram.com/p/CfT9GdeunEC/	Harvard undergraduate Emma Choi is the host of the new NPR comedy podcast "Everyone & Their Mom," which launched in February and is produced by the same team behind "Wait, Wait, Don't Tell Me." So far, the podcast has included a critique of Emma's grandmother's kimchi recipe with celebrity chef Roy Choi, an interview about Harry Potter fan fiction with Pixar executive and "Turning Red" director Domee Shi, and grilling advice from chef and author Samin Nosrat. "I think in comedy, especially, a lot of people are funny, and a lot of people are hard-working, but not a lot of people are nice," Emma said. "Just being a nice person and saying yes to things will get you to open doors that you didn't know were there. Comedy should be fun, and if stops being fun, then I can ask: 'Why am I doing this?'" Read more about Emma at the link in our bio. Photo: @stephanie_blair_mitchell/Harvard Staff Photographer	SENSE OF PLACE (MEMBERS)

Figure 6. Representative Example of the Analysis Conducted as to Aspects of Place Foregrounded

On applying the *aspects of place* mentioned above, we encountered some challenges. As stated above, this study does not delve into the *visual discursive* dimension, for a multimodal analysis exceeds its scope. However, in those cases in which the *textual discursive* space, in particular, the caption, is not detailed enough to decide which *aspect of place* is foregrounded, the *visual* and *audiovisual discursive* spaces (i.e. the image or the video posted) were taken into consideration. Broadly speaking, the posts which posed some challenges as to the *aspect of place* brought to the fore were those in which the linguistic material displayed was merely descriptive and lacked evaluation.

After analysing the *aspects of place*, we proceeded to the analysis of evaluation. The first step was to detect whether the posts contained any instances of appraisal resources. Once this decision was made, only those posts comprising expressions of *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation* were copied into a new Microsoft Excel spreadsheet named “Appraisal Analysis” (see Appendix section). Out of the initial 630 posts gathered, 388 included instances of appraisal resources, as follows: 89 of Harvard’s posts, 55 of Stanford’s, 91 of MIT’s, 88 of Cambridge’s and 65 of Oxford’s.

The analysis was carried out following the three key dimensions of *attitude* (*affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation*) (Martin and Rose, 2007; Martin and White, 2005) described in depth in Section 2.4. Within *affect*, feelings were classified as *positive* or *negative* and organised around three main sets of emotions –*happiness*, *security* and *satisfaction*. Those instances which express the emotional response by reference to a possible future state (i.e. *irrealis affect*) were explored and analysed as expressions of *desire*. Within *judgement*, assessments were analysed following the distinction between *social esteem* (*normality*, *capacity* and *tenacity*) and *social sanction* (*veracity* and *propriety*). As to *appreciation*, instances of *reaction to things*, *composition* and *valuation* were examined. For the analysis of occurrences of the three *attitude* domains, the *positive* or *negative* nature of the evaluation was considered. So was the specific shade of meaning conveyed for each of the dimensions. The analysis of the appraisal resources found in the posts has been registered under the columns “Type of Attitude” and “Subtype” of the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, respectively, following abbreviations proposed by Martin and White (2005):

(+) Positive attitude	norm	Judgement: normality
	cap	Judgement: capacity
(-) Negative attitude	ten	Judgement: tenacity
	ver	Judgement: veracity
des Affect: desire	prop	Judgement: propriety
hap Affect: happiness	reac	Appreciation: reaction
sec Affect: security	comp	Appreciation: composition
sat Affect: satisfaction	val	Appreciation: valuation

Figure 7. Attitude Abbreviations (Taken from Martin and White, 2005, p. 71)

As will be seen in the Analysis, some posts evidence the presence of more than one single instance of evaluative linguistic resources. When that was the case, this has been indicated in square brackets [] and each instance has been numbered within the same post in order of appearance. Figure 8 below provides a graphic representation of the annotation methodology implemented for those cases in which there were several instances of evaluation within the same post:

APPRAISER COMMENT #	APPRAISING ITEM	CONTENT	EVALUATION	TYPE OF ATTITUDE	SUBTYPE
Harvard-29	Kerry Thompson, a Harvard alum, uses dance and the arts to promote the inclusion of people with disabilities. #Harvard #HarvardInSummer Video transcript: [salsa music] My name is Kerry Thompson. My sign name is this, a letter K on the side of the lips. I'm the executive director for Silent Rhythms and I'm also the inclusion and accessibility development manager for Disability Rights Fund. Silent Rhythms originally started as a dance class for people who are deaf. [29.1] I wanted to share with my friends who are deaf how to dance salsa, the cha-cha, merengue. Silent Rhythms was also about using the arts to [29.2] promote inclusion of people with disabilities like myself, in society. [29.3] The arts has the power to spark dialogue, to create awareness. Every person with a disability is different from another person who has the same disability. I'm always adjusting and that's what I always believe is important in my approach. [29.4] Be inclusive, [29.5] be evolving, learn, and just [29.6] keep supporting everyone. [People are clapping! I love it. I love it.]	SENSE OF PLACE (MEMBERS)	YES	[29.1] AFFECT	(+) des
				[29.2] APPRECIATION	(+) val
				[29.3] APPRECIATION	(+) val
				[29.4] JUDGEMENT	(+) prop
				[29.5] JUDGEMENT	(+) ten
				[29.6] JUDGEMENT	(+) prop

Figure 8. *Representative Example of Annotation Methodology Implemented for Posts With Several Instances of Evaluation Present*

3.4. Research Ethics and Accessibility of Internet Data

Before proceeding to the Analysis, a brief note on the ethical issue concerning data collection of naturally occurring discourse in context is now in order. Research ethics discourages intrusion of privacy, unauthorised appropriation of identifiable private information or surreptitious observation or recording of behaviour. As for internet ethics, the boundaries between the public and the private are blurred (see Basset and O'Riordan, 2002; Benwell and Stokoe, 2006; Kozinets, 2010; Landert and Jucker, 2011; Seargeant and Tagg, 2014). The contents circulating on the Internet include those resulting from creative, publishing or broadcasting processes, but they are also the outcome of the interactive participation of individual users. The content is miscellaneous, unstable and, therefore, less likely to be subject to regulations (Seargeant and Tagg, 2014, p. 4).

Tagg and Spilioti (2022) delve into the ethical issues arising when conducting research in digital spaces and explain that “media platforms are generally perceived as public” (p. 92). Besides, the authors address the issue of obtaining informed consent when gathering naturally occurring data in digital spaces and argue that whether or not consent is asked for depends on the researcher’s “awareness and assessment of the particular context”, but that such decision is “guided by the principles of doing no harm and protecting participants” (p. 96). On this note, permission to use the Instagram posts was not requested in the understanding that the posts were intended to be public, for they can easily be recoverable from the universities’ official Instagram accounts. The fact that the accounts are official and public sites with unrestricted access renders the information shared completely free and open. A further argument is that the purpose of this study is observational; that is, it seeks to identify linguistic data that support

sociolinguistic assumptions on social practices online. By no means, do we intend to judge the academic institutions' beliefs or ideologies.

4. Findings and Analysis

This section constitutes the analytical core of the study and is divided into four subsections. Section 4.1 looks at the use each of the universities selected makes of their Instagram bio. Section 4.2 explores the *aspects of place* each university highlights through their posts with a view to uncovering how they enact their identity online as *experienced spaces*. Finally, Section 4.3 presents a detailed analysis of the appraisal resources illustrative of *attitude, judgement and appreciation* found in the corpus. A brief note on the illustrations included in Section 4.3 is in order now. The posts quoted serve as representative examples of the numerous instances found in the corpus. In those posts, the occurrences of attitude analysed are underlined for ease of identification.

4.1. The Landscape of Instagram and the Use Each University Makes of its IG Profile

Examining the way in which each of the universities presents itself on the Instagram bio serves as background for the subsequent analysis of the content shared through the posts. As already introduced, the Instagram bio provides followers with a myriad of information comprising, among other things, a 150-character self-presentation, contact information details, hashtags, emojis and a website URLs. Figures 9 to 13 show the information the five universities include in their bios:

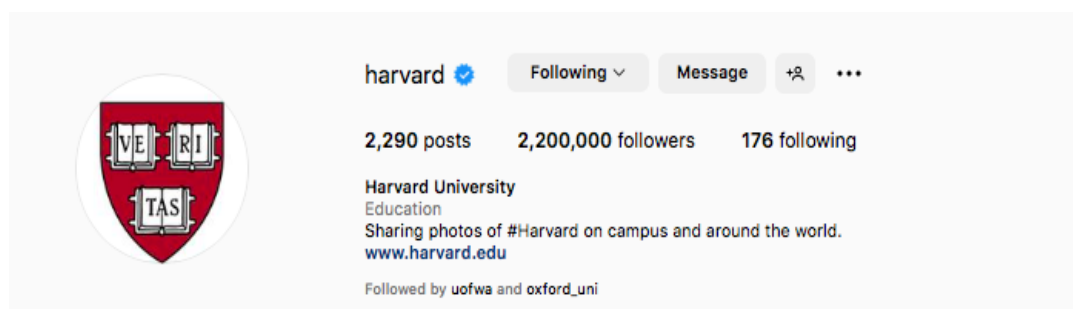


Figure 9. Harvard University's IG Bio

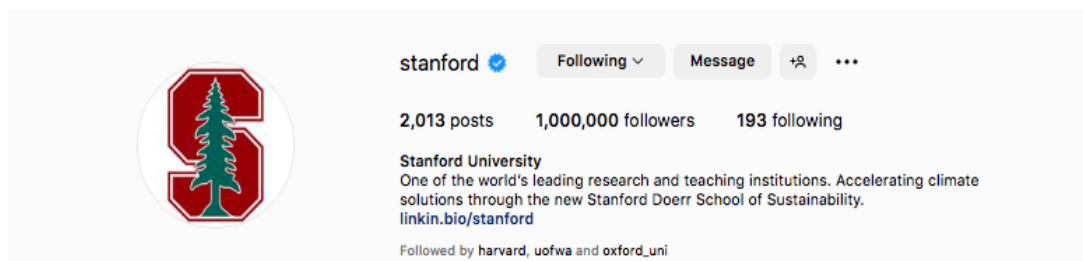


Figure 10. Stanford University's IG Bio



Figure 11. MIT's IG Bio



Figure 12. University of Cambridge's IG Bio



Figure 13. University of Oxford's IG Bio

The analysis of the text that composes the bio revealed some distinctive features as to the universities' self-presentation. Harvard University's description highlights the sharing of photographs featuring both the domestic element, i.e. campus, and the international dimension, conveyed by the expression "around the world". Stanford University, for its part, defines itself as "one of the world's leading research and teaching institutions", while also making reference to its commitment to the environment by "accelerating climate solutions". The Massachusetts Institute of Technology also foregrounds its international relevance as "a world leader in research, education and innovation". It is interesting to observe the degree of similarity between Cambridge and Oxford: neither of them chooses to define itself along those lines. Instead, both universities opt for welcoming their followers to their Instagram accounts in their profile descriptions.

Cambridge and Oxford, together with MIT, draw their attention to the official status of their Instagram account by explicitly saying so. This does not entail that Harvard and Stanford's accounts are not official. In fact, though they both bear the “verified badge” next to their names, which confirms their “authenticity”, this is not an aspect their bios seem to emphasise. Moreover, there are some differences in the kind of interaction among their followers that each university encourages. Harvard University and the University of Cambridge invite them to share their experiences by reference to certain hashtags. The University of Oxford also allows for some degree of participation by inviting its followers to “tap below” to explore or get access to the content it offers on the university’s “latest news”, “research” and “vaccine updates”.

4.2. Self-Presentation Through Aspects of Place by Each University

There is more to the way in which these academic institutions present themselves than the information included in the bio. Indeed, when it comes to presenting themselves as *experienced spaces*, the universities bring to the fore distinct *aspects of place* through their posts. As detailed in Section 3.4, the analysis presented here engages the three key *aspects of place* (Agnew, 1987; Parini and Yus, 2023), namely: *location* –the objective coordinates of the university on Earth–, *locale* –the university as the material setting for social relations– and *sense of place* – the subjective and emotional attachment to the university. For the purposes of this study, within *sense of place* three nuances of meaning have been singled out: the subjective attachment to the perception of the aesthetic and architectural value, the significance or the history of the university (*the university as a site*), the subjective attachment to the people who make up the university (*the university as its members*) and the subjective attachment to matters which affect the community or whose ultimate aim is to strengthen its bonds (*the university as a community*).

Figure 14 below summarises the aspects of place foregrounded by Harvard University through its posts:

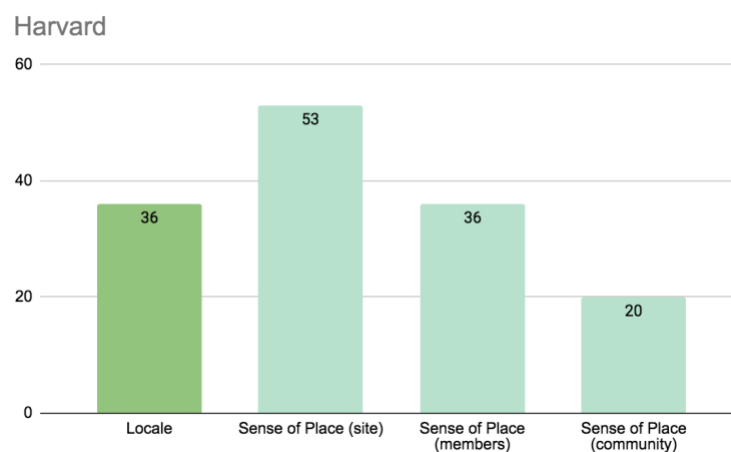


Figure 14. *Aspects of Place Foregrounded by Harvard University*

In broad terms, the most salient aspect foregrounded in Harvard's posts is *sense of place*. In particular, this university mostly builds subjective attachment around *the university as a site* by making reference to, for instance, the beauty of the university's premises and its campus or to the endless possibilities the institution offers. However, emotional attachment is also constructed around the notion of *the university as its members*. These posts shed light on Harvard's academic community, comprising undergraduate and graduate students, professors, authorities and two pets, Remy –the cat– and Sasha –the dog. In this respect, references to undergraduate students reflect diversity in backgrounds –Mexico, Cambridge, Canada, Scotland, Zimbabwe, to name a few– and also the different concentrations (i.e. majors) available. References to the faculty members serve as a way to divulge and highlight professors' qualifications and expertise, while those to authorities also point to their academic interests and accomplishments.

Besides, emotional attachment stands as good evidence of the role it plays in buttressing the notion of *the university as a community*. Among the most relevant instances are those posts whereby Harvard aims at interacting with its followers and those by means of which the university expresses its concerns about matters affecting the entire community. One such example is the issue of diversity in the admission process which reached the US Supreme Court in 2022.

Locale also plays a significant role in Harvard's self-presentation. In this respect, the university is portrayed as the setting for academic-related events, such as Orientation day, and social events, for instance, eating ice cream or visiting the art museums in summer and taking part in festive decoration contests. The institution also presents itself as the material setting for outreach-related activities, as illustrated by the references to Harvard students helping out on Global Day of Service or offering tours of Harvard art museums at weekends.

As Figure 15 below shows, Stanford University also features *sense of place* as the most prominent aspect highlighted in its posts:

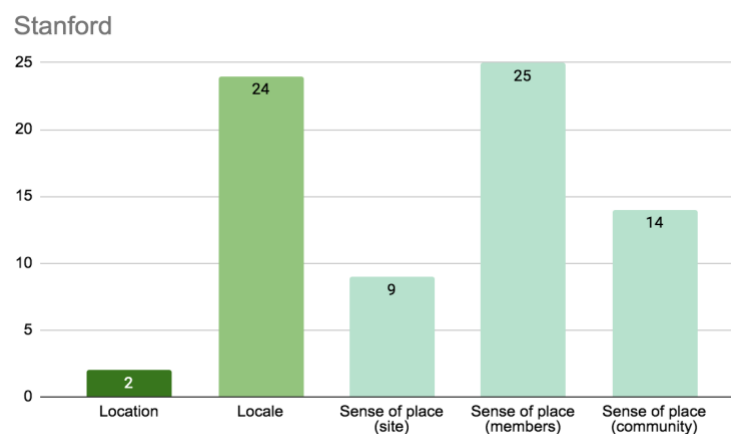


Figure 15. *Aspects of Place Foregrounded by Stanford University*

This university mainly builds subjective attachment by reference to *the university as its members*. References to the undergraduate students admitted include not only students coming

from Germany, New Zealand or India, among other countries, but also students from ethnic minorities within the USA, such as the Choctaw and Chickasaw from Oklahoma. References to faculty members reinforce the notion of academic merit and, also, serve to expressly manifest professors' interest in protecting the environment.

Subjective attachment is also conveyed by reference to *the university as a community*. As to this, the most relevant examples concern posts empathising with people affected by the 1890 earthquakes that struck Stanford Graduate School of Business and with those members of the community deeply affected by the war in Ukraine. Besides, there are some other posts paying tribute to Stanford volunteers who fought in the Spanish-American War of 1898 or paying their last respects to Queen Elizabeth II. Moreover, Stanford's subjective attachment to *the university as a site* concerns, among others, the natural treasures on the premises and the mysterious items scattered on the grounds.

Locale is a salient aspect of place foregrounded through Stanford's posts, as well. This university introduces academic-related events closely linked to research, as is the opening of Stanford Doerr School of Sustainability, and some other events alluding to the first steps in students' experience, for example, the White Coat Ceremony and New Student Orientation. Besides, the university also presents itself as the material setting for sport-related events, as are the cases with their 125th big game and their 16th annual Cardinal walk celebrating inclusion and the community's well-being, to name a few. Finally, among Stanford's posts a few instances of *location* were found. One such example is a post whereby a 2025 class member makes a bike tour around campus to share information about the actual location of all Stanford's facilities, how to access them and what to find there.

Of all three *aspects of place*, the most frequent category in MIT's posts, as can be seen in Figure 16, is *sense of place*:

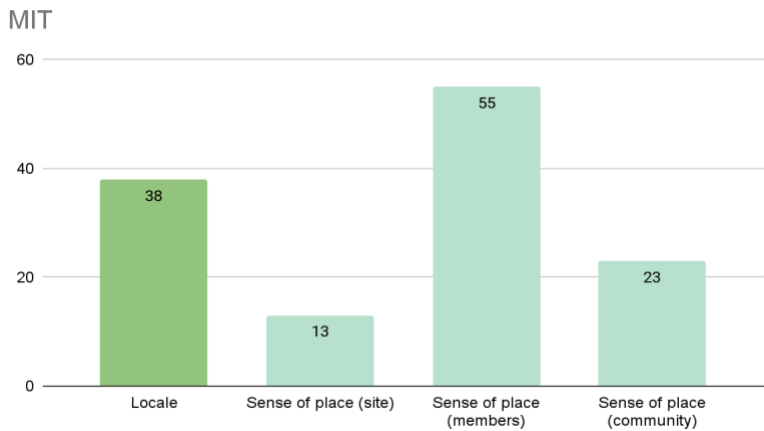


Figure 16. *Aspects of Place Foregrounded by MIT*

Subjective attachment is also, for the most part, built around *the university as its members*. Apart from references to undergraduate and graduate students, MIT introduces some

high school students who are doing an internship at MIT and others who are participating in summer internships abroad, for instance, in India and Kenya. Besides, the posts explicitly mention the various academic institutions MIT exchange students come from: ETH Zurich, Imperial College London, Oxford University, Sciences Po, UTokyo, and TokyoTech. References to graduate students doing a PhD at MIT shed light on the wide range of programmes to choose from. Moreover, references to MIT's professors hint at their academic recognition and prestige, as is the case with one faculty member awarded a share of the Nobel Prize in economic sciences. Another aspect worth mentioning is that some posts introduce female researchers' scientific breakthroughs in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics. The university's authorities and their long-standing careers are also referred to. Moreover, MIT's encompassing and diverse community includes among its members Marco Polo –a Golden Pyrenees puppy–, a robot dog and a cartoon.

Subjective attachment is built around *the university as a community*. As to this, while some posts foster the bonds of the community by welcoming newcomers or thanking all staff and faculty members for the work done as the academic year begins, other posts stand in solidarity with the victims of the War in Ukraine. What is more, there are some other posts which raise awareness on the fact that taking part in the American elections is an expression of commitment to the country and to the world.

Emotional attachment to the university is conveyed by reference to *the university as a site*. In this respect, not only is the aesthetic value of the university brought to the fore, but its history is also highlighted. For instance, there is a reference to the apple tree located in MIT's President's Garden, which is said to be a direct descendant of the actual tree that inspired Newton to formulate his theory.

Finally, *locale* also adds to MIT's self-presentation online. The university is presented as the setting for academic-related activities, such as an event in which MIT students formed moving companies to transport packages across Charles River. Besides, MIT posts also depict research-related activities as pleasurable experiences, as is the case with a plane competition or MIT's testing of autonomous boats. Some other posts portray the university as the material setting for a myriad of social events connected with sports, such as rowing or dance competitions, to name a few. It should also be noted that within *locale* some of the posts stress the research conducted at the university.

The University of Cambridge for the most part foregrounds, as displayed in Figure 17 below, *sense of place* in its posts:

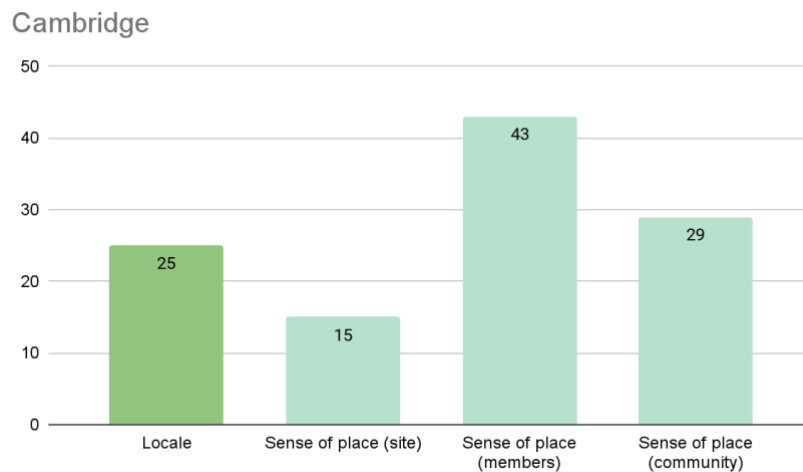


Figure 17. *Aspects of Place Foregrounded by University of Cambridge*

Emotional attachment is primarily conveyed by reference to *the university as its members*, encompassing undergraduate and graduate students, professors and authorities. References to both graduate and undergraduate are taken as an opportunity to introduce many of the thirty-one colleges which make up the University of Cambridge. Another facet underscored in the posts are the societies students can join as well as some of the clubs they can participate in. Moreover, posts referring to Cambridge's professors reinforce the institution's academic excellence and offer an insight into both professors and researchers' area of expertise.

Cambridge's posts exhibit a feature which is worth noting: the same members authoring a variety of different posts. That is, as the posts progress, Instagram followers learn about a different aspect of the people involved in the posts. This strategy seems to create a sense of familiarity between Cambridge University and its followers. One such example is that of a student who is studying Linguistics at John's College and another who is studying Medicine at Catz College. They are first mentioned in posts related with the activities done during Freshers' Week and, later on, the same students provide further details on the undergraduate application process and on the admission interviews.

As for subjective attachment, it can also be noted that some of Cambridge's posts foreground *the university as a community*. On the one hand, there are posts which, for instance, pay tribute to the life and service of Queen Elizabeth II and others which allude to the COP27 climate summit. On the other hand, there are some instances whose ultimate purpose is to make the bonds of the community stronger. Examples of the latter are those posts welcoming Cambridge students and staff back to university on the first day of the academic year and those celebrating the achievements of black individuals and communities during Black History Month. What is more, there are some posts which clearly show the university's concern about the wellbeing of the members of its community. Such examples include the posts whereby the

university's counselling service invites students to seek support when facing personal, relational or academic issues.

Moreover, emotional attachment to the university is also found in connection to *the university as a site*. In this respect, for instance, Cambridge's beauty is highlighted in autumn and in winter. The imposing character of the institution is also foregrounded when, for instance, some iconic features of the premises are mentioned.

Finally, *locale* is also to be considered when analysing Cambridge's self-presentation online. As to this, there are academic-related instances which provide an insight into both undergraduate Open Days and postgraduate Open Days. Some other posts working along the same line have to do, for example, with the annual event celebrating Women in aerospace. What is more, Cambridge University is also portrayed as the material setting for sport events or music festivals. Within this aspect of place, the university's posts also include the kind of research being conducted at Cambridge University.

As seen in Figure 18, Oxford's self-presentation online is for the most part constructed around *sense of place*:

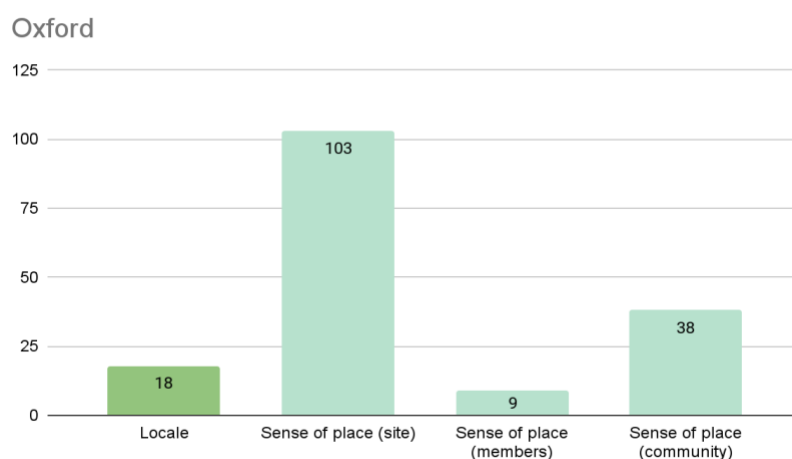


Figure 18. *Aspects of Place Foregrounded by University of Oxford*

Subjective attachment by reference to *the university as a site* seems to be of utmost importance. The university's beauty is displayed at dawn, at dusk and on sunny, cloudy, rainy and even stormy days. What is more, the institution's aesthetic nature is an aspect which stands out as seasons go by. This is not the only aspect highlighted, though, for some posts show a clear focus on the history of Oxford University. Examples of this are the references to the Bodleian Libraries, one of the largest library services in Europe, which opened its doors to scholars in 1602, or to a 221-year-old tree at Magdalen. There is another shade of meaning foregrounded as to the site itself: academic recognition. A clear example of this is the top position Oxford holds as a higher education institution in Britain.

Subjective attachment to the university is also built around *the university as a community*. On the one hand, there are posts about Remembrance Day, commemorating those armed forces members who died in the line of duty. On the other hand, there are posts which aim at strengthening the bonds among its members by, for instance, wishing the Jewish community in Oxford and around the world a happy Yom Kippur. Besides, this sense of community is also constructed by a series of posts called “Our Oxford Word of the Week”, by means of which a member of the Oxford English Faculty shares a word on the IG account. Some further posts seek to engage future members of the community. Examples of the latter are challenges or quizzes which include course-specific questions asked to those applying to undergraduate courses and some others, more general in nature, which invite for students’ opinion on tweeting or on the advantages of binge-watching.

Even if subjective attachment to Oxford is not primarily built around *the university as its members*, there are some instances which are worth exploring. Among these posts, there are some featuring former students going back to the premises to get married, professors who seek to find the world’s largest and most mysterious flowers and a rapper and music producer who partnered with the university to help the Black student community at Oxford. Besides, there seems to be a clear interest in mentioning the Experimental Psychology Department and the Department of Psychology. These references foreground researchers who are concerned about Oxford’s students’ wellbeing, for they touch upon topics such as the importance of smiling or they provide some advice about how to deal with depression. The authorities and their achievements are also referred to, as is the case with Oxford’s Vice-Chancellor, who received her Damehood for her services to Higher Education.

Locale is also present among Oxford’s posts. The examples analysed emphasise the University as the material setting for academic events, as is the case with the Freshers’ Fair, an event welcoming Freshers and providing them with an array of activities to enjoy or Matriculation Day. There are also some other posts which bring to the fore the multicultural nature of social life at the university, such as the celebration of Diwali or of Christmas at Oxford or –as the University itself calls it– Oxmas.

4.3. Attitude (Harvard)

This section opens with some general comments on the results obtained on applying Appraisal Theory to Harvard’s posts. From the 145 posts originally collected, 89 were singled out as they bore traces of evaluation. In these posts, 168 concrete evaluative occurrences were detected. The fine-grained analysis of the linguistic instantiations of evaluation revealed the following instances of *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation* and their respective types:

Subsystem of attitude	No. of occurrences	No. of occurrences per type	
AFFECT	85	(+) des	24
		(+) hap	47
		(+) sec	6
		(+) sat	8
JUDGEMENT	33	(+) norm	1
		(+) cap	24
		(+) ten	2
		(+) prop	6
APPRECIATION	50	(+) reac	19
		(+) comp	6
		(+) val	25

Table 3. Number of Instances of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation Found in Harvard University's Posts

As outlined in Table 3, among the total number of evaluative instantiations found in Harvard's posts, *affect* shows the highest range of occurrence. In addition, a high percentage of Harvard's postings shows evaluation in terms of *appreciation*. Lastly, instances of *judgement* were also identified. It is also worth noting that all appraisal resources found are instances of *positive attitude*. In the following subsections, an analysis of the three subsystems of *attitude* –*affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation*– will be provided. Such instantiations will be explored and exemplified by reference to the *aspects of place*.

4.3.1. Affect in Harvard's Posts

On presenting itself as an *experienced space*, Harvard University mainly builds emotional attachment in terms of *affect* around the notion of *the university as its members*. Through a set of posts whereby Harvard shares first-year students' introductions to the IG community, for instance, students express their expectations as to their future educational experience, which are linguistically realised by *irrealis affect*, more specifically *desire*. In some cases, this *desire* is to do with a new phase in the students' lives, but in some others the feeling is expressed by alluding to the possible experiences Harvard has in store for them, as is exemplified by the phrases in [H-88.3] and [H-88.4] below:

[H-88] First-year student Austin Wang describes himself as [88.1] *adventurous, ambitious, and authentic*. Austin comes to Harvard from Waterloo, Canada, and [88.2] *is loving campus life so far*. [88.3] *"I look forward to stepping out of my comfort zone with clubs and activities and such, even if they might be unknown and unfamiliar to me, thus the adventurous and perhaps ambitious part.* [88.4] *But I also hope to further discover and develop myself as a person and to stay authentic in my interactions and discussions!"*
 We asked a group of first-year students what three words they would use to describe how they see themselves today.
 #Harvard
 Photo: @stephanie_blair_mitchell/Harvard Staff Photographer

Desire, however, is not the only feeling evident in Harvard's posts. Within the same set of posts there are some instances of inscribed positive *affect* which have to do with *happiness*, in particular, *affection*. One such example is [H-88.2] above. By saying "Austin (...) is loving campus life so far", the caption refers to how much the Canadian first-year student is enjoying his experience there. What is more, subjective attachment to Harvard is also built around the feeling of *security*. This feeling is expressed both in terms of *confidence* and *trust*. Two occurrences of that are [H-42], a post which gives voice to Maggie (Harvard's dog), and [H-63], a post featuring an artist and member of the Mashpee Wampanoag tribe:

[H-42] Maggie *knows where she wants to apply* 🐕
 #InternationalDogDay #Harvard
 Photo: @Rosie_Lincoln/Harvard Staff Photographers

[H-63] "Earth Bound," a [63.1] *new original piece by artist and Mashpee Wampanoag tribal member Ramona Peters, will have a permanent home on display in Harvard Divinity School's Swartz Hall. The new artwork is an ahkuhq or cooking vessel and offers a "living Indigenous presence at HDS."* "The installation will [63.2] *invite all of us who pass by to pause and reflect on our relationship with the local Indigenous people and culture, as well as our responsibilities for the land,*" said Maisie Luo, an artist who served on the committee to commission the work. "We can reimagine a community and culture at [63.3] *Harvard where the learning and dialogues of our histories and diverse stories are ongoing.*"
 Ramona, whose Indigenous name is Nosapocket, says her respect for Indigenous spirituality and spiritual practices *made her [63.4] feel the Divinity School could be an appropriate home for her work. "In a school that is dedicated to the study of religion, I thought, sure, include us as well,"* she said.
 #Harvard #WeAreHarvardDivinity
 Photo by Anthony Trujillo

While the former voices Harvard's dog's full *confidence* as to which academic institution to apply to, the latter gives voice to the Mashpee Wampanoag artist who expresses her feelings of *security* towards one of Harvard's twelve graduate schools, Divinity School. This portrays the school as the appropriate home to exhibit her art piece and, in so doing, evokes a feeling of *trust*. A further feeling identified within this aspect of place is *satisfaction*. The following posts illustrate occurrences of both *interest* and *pleasure* found in the corpus:

[H-48] *When Emily Romero Gonzalez was named Harvard's sixth Presidential City of Boston Fellow in August 2021, she didn't realize her time would include a mayoral transition, evolving COVID-19 challenges, and a public health and housing crisis. Emily joined the city of Boston under Acting Mayor Kim Janey and continued to work into current Mayor Michelle Wu's administration, wrapping up her fellowship this month.*

"My interest in this fellowship stemmed from my background and experiences growing up as an undocumented young person in the United States, and now as a DACA recipient," she shared. "The challenges that my parents faced, dictated by federal government policies, shaped who I am and my desire to serve immigrant communities."

The Presidential City of Boston Fellowship, which was launched in 2016, funds a recent Harvard College graduate to work as a public service fellow in the Boston mayor's office.

Read more about Emily's fellowship from the link in our bio.

#Harvard

Photo: @Rosie_Lincoln/Harvard Staff Photographer

[H-100] First-Generation Visibility Week aims to empower and celebrate first-generation students on Harvard's campus. [100.1] Harvard students Cindy Phan and Emily Ramirez, co-chairs of the FYRE pre-orientation program, assist with providing first-generation, low-income, and underrepresented first-year students with the resources and community to feel supported, celebrated, and ready to take ownership of their Harvard experience.

[100.2] "It is such a gift to witness the way upperclassmen students welcome their first-year first-generation, low-income (FGLI) siblings to Harvard." [100.3] Being FGLI means being embraced in a community that uplifts one another."

#Harvard #CelebrateFirstGen

Photo by Hugo Cardona

Post [H-48] presents an instance of *satisfaction*, more specifically *interest*. There, a Harvard graduate expresses her sense of curiosity in being part of the Presidential City of Boston Fellowship programme the university offers. This feeling is inspired by the fact that she feels that such a programme embraces her background and past experiences. Similarly, the expression in [H-100.2] conveys *satisfaction* and the feeling evoked is *pleasure*. A post about the First-Generation Visibility Week voices how pleased and proud the co-chairs of the program feel about watching Harvard upper class students give their welcome to their so-called "first-generation low-income siblings".

Some instances of *affect* are also present in posts highlighting *sense of place* by reference to *the university as a site*. Some of these posts include instances of *happiness* as they refer to the joy people experience on campus, while some others allude to the feeling of *security*. The following post stands as an illustration of the latter since one may argue that to be able to relax at a place, one must feel somehow safe or at least at ease there:

[H-6] Relaxing in the Yard 

#HarvardInSummer

Photo: Jon Chase/Harvard Staff Photographer

Further instances of *affect* are also present in posts foregrounding *sense of place* by reference to *the university as a community*. As to this, the university evokes *satisfaction*, for instance, as it congratulates its new members on having been admitted to the institution. Feelings of *happiness* also feature within this aspect of place. The post that follows, for example, conveys *cheer* in that Harvard expresses how happy they are to welcome the new members of the community to campus:

[H-41] [41.1] We're excited to officially welcome the Class of 2026 to campus  Video transcript: Enjoy your [41.2] new home!

Similarly, within this aspect of place, there are also some instances of *irrealis affect*, specifically of *desire*, which aim at strengthening the bonds of the community. One such instance is the following:

[H-47] Today was the first day of classes for undergraduates. Have a great semester everyone!
#Harvard
Photos: @stephanie_blair_mitchell/Harvard Staff Photographer

Last but not least, *affect* also features in posts bringing *locale* to the fore. As to this, the most salient feeling evoked, as exemplified below, is *happiness*:

[H-23] First-year medical and dental students celebrate receiving their white coats at orientation 🎓
#Harvard
Photo: @Rosie_Lincoln/Harvard Staff Photographer

This post conveys the feeling of *cheer* associated with Harvard as the material setting for social relations. This, in turn, offers a glimpse of the celebratory mood students may experience, for instance, during the white coats ceremony, a rite of passage for medical and dental students.

4.3.2. Judgement in Harvard's Posts

As introduced in Table 3 above, *judgement* is the least frequent appraisal resource that Harvard turns to on its self-presentation. This domain seems to be largely confined to posts foregrounding *sense of place* by reference to *the university as its members*. In these posts, the university judges the behaviour of some members of its community in a positive light, in terms of *social esteem* –i.e. social acceptability of behaviour. The post that follows exemplifies that:

[H-77] Today, [77.1] Professor Melanie Matchett Wood was named one of 25 recipients of the 2022 MacArthur Fellowship, also known as the “genius” awards. MacArthur Fellowships are awarded each year to [77.2] “talented individuals who have shown extraordinary originality and dedication in their creative pursuits and a marked capacity for self-direction.”
[77.3] “It was a big shock,” Melanie said. “Only a handful of mathematicians ever get this. It was certainly not something on my radar.”
Professor Wood is being recognized for addressing foundational questions in number theory, which examines the properties and relationships of numbers. Her work centers on using ideas that come from seemingly unrelated branches of mathematics — like topology — to illuminate prime numbers and factorization.
As to how she will use the stipend that comes along with the award, she has begun brainstorming. “Part of the way that I’m able to make progress on questions I study in number theory, even though they’re quite difficult, is that I’m bringing in ideas from other parts of mathematics,” she said. “I’m thinking that a good use of the fellowship would be to provide opportunities so that mathematicians from these different areas can come together and really engage with one another.”
Photo: @stephanie_blair_mitchell/Harvard Staff Photographer

Here, *judgement* is conveyed by alluding to a professor who was one of the 25 recipients of the 2022 MacArthur Fellowship. The reference to awards given to “*talented individuals who have shown extraordinary originality and dedication in their creative pursuits and a marked capacity for self-direction*” in [H-77.3] is an instance of evoked *judgement* assessing, in this case,

the professor in terms of her *capacity*. Instances of *judgement* are also present in the set of posts in which first-year students introduce themselves to the Harvard community. For instance:

[H-107] *"Everyone has always told me that I'm super bubbly, and I'm pretty easy to talk to," says Dara Omoloja, a first-year student who will concentrate in cognitive neuroscience and evolutionary psychology with a secondary in global health policy. Dara describes herself as [107.1] friendly, excitable, and ambitious. [107.2] "I am most looking forward to the immense personal discovery that everyone mentions when thinking about college. [107.3] I am always aiming to develop myself into the best version I can be." We asked a group of first-year students what three words they would use to describe how they see themselves today.
#Harvard
Photo: @stephanie_blair_mitchell/Harvard Staff Photographer*

The expression underlined in [H-107.3] can also be interpreted as *judgement* in terms of *social esteem*, but here the meaning expressed is that of *tenacity*. It is also interesting to note that some instances of *judgement* in terms of *social sanction* –i.e. assessments on ethics and moral behaviour– are also included in Harvard's posts. For example, the following post assesses Harvard's students' behaviour in terms of *propriety*, for it illustrates the extent to which the co-chairs of the FYRE pre-orientation program help those first-generation, low-income and underrepresented first-year students become part of the Harvard community.

[H-100] *First-Generation Visibility Week aims to empower and celebrate first-generation students on Harvard's campus.
[100.1] Harvard students Cindy Phan and Emily Ramirez, co-chairs of the FYRE pre-orientation program, assist with providing first-generation, low-income, and underrepresented first-year students with the resources and community to feel supported, celebrated, and ready to take ownership of their Harvard experience.
[100.2] "It is such a gift to witness the way upperclassmen students welcome their first-year first-generation, low-income (FGLI) siblings to Harvard. [100.3] Being FGLI means being embraced in a community that uplifts one another."
#Harvard #CelebrateFirstGen
Photo by Hugo Cardona*

Likewise, *judgement* in terms of *social sanction* was found in some of the posts which bring to the fore *sense of place* by reference to *the university as a community*. For instance, the behaviour of Harvard's students is assessed in terms of *propriety*, as illustrated by the cooperative behaviour of Harvard's students in the following post:

[H-60] *Students helped members of the community register to vote today!
#Harvard #VoterRegistrationDay #HarvardVotesChallenge
Photos: Harvard College and @stephanie_blair_mitchell/Harvard Staff Photographer*

Judgement is also a resource used in posts emphasising *locale*. In this respect, behaviour is assessed both in terms of *social esteem* and *social sanction*. The former is conveyed in posts alluding to sports-related events, such as the Game (i.e. the annual football event in which the Harvard University football team and the Yale University football team compete). For the most part, references of this kind praise Harvard's team *capacity*. *Social sanction* is also conveyed by

reference to the behaviour of students with respect to extra-curricular activities, as illustrated by the post that follows:

[H-65] *Did you know that on Saturdays and Sundays students lead tours at the Harvard Art Museums?*
#Harvard #HarvardArtMuseums

Through the instance of *judgement* in terms of *social sanction (propriety)* included in the post, the university makes reference to the tours Harvard students lead during the weekends and hints at the students' generosity.

4.3.3. Appreciation in Harvard's Posts

Another appraisal resource noted in Harvard's posts was the consistent use of positive *appreciation*. Evaluation of the aesthetic or ethical value of things is mostly found in posts which build *sense of place* by reference to *the university as its members*. Most of the posts which fall within this category highlight Harvard's school uniqueness and value. There is a post, for instance, in which an undergraduate student from Texas comments on her experience at Harvard and through inscribed positive *appreciation (reaction)* describes the university as a "supportive community":

[H-30] *Ana Barba, an undergraduate from Mission, Texas, is [30.1] excited for her upcoming sophomore year. A new member of Leverett House, she plans to focus her studies on sociology. This summer she stayed in Boston and interned for the Harvard College Office of Admissions and Financial Aid. "[30.2] My favorite thing about Harvard is that it's given me [30.3] a supportive community where I've been able to explore who I am, what I am passionate about, and who I hope to become," she said.*

Get to know some of our new and returning students as we prepare to [30.4] welcome our community back to campus this fall.
#Harvard #HarvardCollege

Moreover, *positive appreciation* is also conveyed in terms of *valuation* to present the university as the place where students can find the learning and dialogues of the histories and stories of the local indigenous people of the United States, as illustrated in the post that follows:

[H-63] *"Earth Bound," a [63.1] new original piece by artist and Mashpee Wampanoag tribal member Ramona Peters, will have a permanent home on display in Harvard Divinity School's Swartz Hall. The new artwork is an ahkuhq or cooking vessel and offers a "living Indigenous presence at HDS."*
"The installation will [63.2] invite all of us who pass by to pause and reflect on our relationship with the local Indigenous people and culture, as well as our responsibilities for the land," said Maisie Luo, an artist who served on the committee to commission the work. "We can reimagine a community and culture at [63.3] Harvard where the learning and dialogues of our histories and diverse stories are ongoing."
Ramona, whose Indigenous name is Nosapocket, says her respect for Indigenous spirituality and spiritual practices made her [63.4] feel the Divinity School could be an appropriate home for her work. "In a school that is dedicated to the study of religion, I thought, sure, include us as well," she said.
#Harvard #WeAreHarvardDivinity
Photo by Anthony Trujillo

This attitude domain is also employed in posts foregrounding *sense of place* in connection to *the university as a site*. For the most part, the resource is used to assess the many things one can come across on campus and to highlight that Harvard campus is a place that visitors must explore. The following post serves as an instance of inscribed positive *appreciation* in terms of *reaction* as found in the corpus:

[H-123] *You never know what you'll stumble upon here on campus.*

#Harvard

Photo: Kris Snibbe/Harvard Staff Photographer

As already mentioned, some occurrences of *appreciation* were also detected in posts bringing to the fore *sense of place* by reference to *the university as a community*. Within a set of posts which express Harvard's concern about the issue of diversity in the admission process, occurrences of *appreciation* in terms of *composition* were found:

[H-95] *Video transcript: Affirmative action coalition speaks [Boy] This case will create a cyclical effect in which access will be denied not just for like a small amount of black students at elite institutions, but for the whole black, brown, indigenous, latinx, Asian community all across the country because so many of the next influential leaders etcetera are here networking and communicating with each other and those networks will be denied to so many people of color. [Girl] Harvard, as we know it, is a place where very diverse people come together, learn from each other and where they get the opportunity to transform their lives.*

This post, made by the end of October 2022, voices Harvard University's concern as to a Supreme Court ruling against race-based affirmative action in college admission. As seen in the transcription, the girl in [H-95] comments on diversity by stating that Harvard "is a place where very diverse people come together", clearly emphasising that the university embraces diversity. These diverse campuses are also assessed as something positive in the following post:

[H-87] *Video transcript: Access to higher education for millions of young people is under attack. For more than 40 years, the U.S. Supreme Court has recognized that colleges and universities can pursue a student body that is diverse in many ways, including race. Studies show [87.2] diverse campuses help students learn and prepare them for a diverse society and workforce. A case against Harvard's admission process is now going to the U.S. Supreme Court, where it could threaten access to higher education for millions of young people. We must protect [87.3] the ability that colleges and universities have to build diverse educational communities.*

This post from the same series evaluates diversity as positive *appreciation*. In fact, it presents diverse campuses as enriching contexts in which "students learn and prepare" themselves for their lives as conveyed in [H-87.2]. This is an instance of inscribed positive *appreciation* which highlights *valuation*. Similarly, the expression in [H-87.3] also evokes positive *appreciation* in terms of *valuation* by bringing to the fore Harvard's ability to build such "diverse educational communities".

Last but not least, *appreciation* is also present in the posts whereby Harvard University portrays *locale*. The following post about the annual sport event in which both Harvard and Yale take part serves as an instance of *appreciation* found in the corpus:

[H-108] Video transcript: This Saturday, Harvard and Yale will meet on this field for [108.1] one of our most cherished national traditions. This year, in the spirit of friendly rivalry and sportsmanship, I am challenging Yale College's Dean Lewis to celebrate both of our teams. So here's what's gonna happen. Whichever team emerges victorious on Saturday, the opposing team's dean will share a photo on social wearing their opponent's hat. [108.2] Our team is working hard to bring home a Harvard victory. Go Crimson!

Through this post, the event is described as "one of our most cherished national traditions" in [H-108.1], thus illustrating inscribed positive *appreciation* in terms of *valuation*. What is interesting to note here is that this post reflects how much Harvard values sports-related events.

4.4. Attitude (Stanford)

This section begins with some general observations about the results obtained after conducting the analysis of the concrete instantiations of evaluation. Out of the 76 posts originally gathered, 55 were identified as including appraisal resources. In those, 165 evaluative occurrences were distinguished. The thorough analysis of attitude conducted showed the following instances of *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation* and their respective types:

Subsystem of attitude	No. of occurrences	No. of occurrences per type	
AFFECT	69	(+) des	9
		(+) hap	45
		(-) hap	1
		(+) sec	2
		(-) sec	1
		(+) sat	11
JUDGEMENT	21	(+) cap	16
		(+) ten	2
		(+) prop	3
APPRECIATION	75	(+) reac	3
		(+) comp	4
		(+) val	68

Table 4. Number of Instances of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation Found in Stanford University's Posts

Table 4 reflects that *appreciation* is the most salient appraisal resource found in Stanford's posts. A large number of the posts also exhibit evaluation in terms of *affect*. *Judgement* is the subsystem of attitude which has the lowest range of occurrences. Moreover, most instances are positive in nature, though some instances of *negative attitude* have been detected in

Stanford's posts. A detailed analysis of *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation* will be offered in the following subsections. Appraisal resources will be examined and illustrated by reference to the *aspect of place*.

4.4.1. Affect in Stanford's Posts

In terms of *affect*, Stanford's self-presentation as an *experienced space* is mostly seen in posts foregrounding *sense of place* by reference to *the university as its members*. Among the myriad of feelings evoked is *desire*. Through a collection of posts shared between October and November 2022, the university introduces Stanford's freshmen's experiences and voices their expectations and desires, as illustrated below:

[S-49] "Before I came to campus in the fall, I attended @stanford_ssea, which is a 4-week, fully funded summer program. Together with the @lelandscholars, which is more humanities-based, we were around 90 students. [49.1] We all come from around similar backgrounds, and everyone was close—since we weren't a large group, we were able to get to know each other. [49.2] We were able to find community. Every time I see someone from SSEA, I'll say hi. [49.3] We're all friends now.

At Stanford, [49.4] I'm really looking forward to seeing people who look like me and who are interested in the same field. When I see an engineer who's like me, who maybe grew up in the same area, who was able to accomplish things, that means I could do that too."

-Luis Sanchez, #Stanford2026 (Lynwood, CA)

 Andrew @brodhead

In this post, the expression in [S-49.4] exemplifies *irrealis affect (desire)* and suggests that his desire is two-fold: on the one hand, it is academically-related, for he is looking forward to meeting "*people...who are interested in the same field*" and, on the other hand, it is more personal, as his choice of words "*people who look like me*" hints at his willingness to belong somewhere. The feeling of *happiness* is also very recurrent. One such case is found in a post about a Stanford student who took a gap decade before resuming her studies:

[S-52] An epic "gap decade" 

Anna Mattinger spent 10 years traveling the world, living in the wilderness, training under a Shaolin monk, and creating pyrotechnics at Burning Man before enrolling at Stanford this fall.

"[52.1] I'm happy that I waited to go back to school because now it feels right," she said. "I have a purpose and [52.2] I actually want to be here."

Read the full story at the link in our bio.

 Andrew @brodhead

The first instance underlined in [S-52.1] reflects how fond the student is of the decision she made. In the second case, by stating "*I actually want to be here*" in [S-52.2], the student voices how much she adores her experience at Stanford. Moreover, two further feelings add up to Stanford's self-presentation: *security* and *satisfaction*. The former, for instance, is alluded to in posts where freshers express that the moment they set foot in Stanford they knew this is where they were supposed to be. The latter is linguistically realised to convey *pleasure*, as illustrated by a post whereby a photographer commissioned to record significant events that took place at

Stanford during 2022 expresses how impressed he felt by what was going on at the New Stanford Doerr School of Sustainability:

[S-71] March 8, 2022: John Kerry, U.S. special presidential envoy for climate, tours Prof. Yi Cui's lab during a visit to campus to learn about the launch of the new @stanford.doerr School of Sustainability. "Sometimes I'm so visually attached to an assignment that I'm not able to hear exactly what's going on. But there are moments when I can't unhear things because it's such baffling information. Like in this lab, hearing that lithium batteries can be the size of a small hard drive and power an electric vehicle—that's information I've never heard before, and I was blown away. It seemed like John Kerry was blown away too. He went around afterward, talking with students in the lab, asking what they were working on, and thanking them for their contributions." -Andrew @brodhead #YearInPhotos | #Stanford

Besides, Stanford also incorporates *affect* in posts which bring to the fore *sense of place* by reference to *the university as a community*. Among the most salient feelings inspired are *desire* and *happiness*. In the post that follows, for instance, the words in [S-27.1] and [S-27.2] are two separate instances of *happiness*, which convey *affection*, for they embrace new and old students and explicitly express that Stanford is the place they belong:

[S-27] Dear Stanford students,
[27.1] Welcome—and welcome back—to Stanford! Here are some mental health and well-being tips to help you flourish during your time on the Farm.
Keep in mind that a life well-lived is about more than productivity and performance. Take good care, be kind to yourself, look out for one another, and most of all, enjoy your time on campus. [27.2] You belong here!
p.s. Tap through our "Mental Health" Stories highlight to hear student leaders answer mental-health and well-being questions submitted via Instagram.

Affect also features in posts foregrounding *locale*. As to this, the feeling of *happiness* is evident in many of Stanford's ceremonies to express, for instance, the joy felt as a new academic year begins. Through a post about the inaugural event of the new School of Sustainability, the university adds to the celebratory tone by evoking two other feelings:

[S-15] Video transcript: [Stephan Graham – Former Dean of Stanford Earth] *The reason we're here today is because all of use truly believe in the mission of the School, which is to create a future in which humans and nature thrive together in concert. And now [15.3] I have the very great pleasure to introduce the inaugural Dean of the Stanford Doerr School of Sustainability, Arun Majumdar. [Arun Majumdar] We do not inherit this planet from our ancestors. We borrow it from our children. We are all stacking arms together today to collectively dedicate ourselves to the most meaningful cause — one that is larger than all of us. And with that [15.4] I hope all of you will raise your new ceramic coffee cups, in joining me in celebrating the opening of Stanford Doerr School of Sustainability. Thank you.*

Here, the words in [S-15.3] are an instance of *satisfaction*, more specifically, *pleasure*, since the former Dean of Stanford Earth expresses the great pleasure he takes in introducing the new Dean of Stanford School of Sustainability. On the other hand, the words in [S-15.4] can be interpreted as an instance of *irrealis affect*, *desire*, by means of which the university's authority expresses his wish to be joined in the celebration.

4.4.2. Judgement in Stanford's Posts

As introduced in Table 4 above, evaluation in terms of *judgement* is the least frequent appraisal resource that Stanford University incorporates in its posts. Most of the occurrences are present in posts highlighting *sense of place* by reference to *the university as its members* and comprise *social esteem* –i.e. social acceptability of behaviour–, as illustrated below:

[S-41] "I grew up in Auckland, New Zealand, so that's a bit far away. Just a little island at the bottom of the world, always left off world maps. I'm coming to Stanford in hopes of doing bioengineering because my dream is to develop personalized medicine for cancer patients. I haven't figured out which type of cancer I'll do yet, but we'll see about that later.
I always wanted to come to America because I'm studying STEM. America is where it's at. And so [41.1] at Stanford in particular, I like how it feels like the school wants us to go out there and try new things. If you have new ideas, just go for it. Create, be adventurous, be risk takers. I feel like [41.2] the East Coast is a lot more traditional, conservative. You know, this is college, you're young and full of life and energy. We should be going to [41.3] a place that encourages us to use all this energy and just go out there, explore, do new things.
It's really cool to come to this place and discover that the [41.4] people here are amazing and super smart, but they're all just normal kids. Let's say, personally, I don't think I'm incredibly intelligent, the next Albert Einstein or something. I just think I got pretty far because I worked hard and I got lucky. [41.5] It's nice making friends here and realizing, yeah, there are the same type of people [as I am] at Stanford. Not everyone's a genius and you don't have to be, you know?"
-Artemis Xu, #Stanford2026 (Auckland, New Zealand), along with Vania Chow, a fellow Frosh
 Andrew @brodhead

In this post, a freshman from Auckland studying STEM at Stanford comments on what he has learnt about people at Stanford so far. His reference to "people" as "amazing and super smart" can be interpreted as an instance of *judgement* in terms of *social esteem*, more specifically as a remark on their *capacity*. Besides, the reference to them as being "all just normal kids" also illustrates *social esteem*, but this is an instance of *normality*. Within this aspect of place, there are also assessments of *judgement* in terms of *social sanction*, i.e. evaluations on ethics and moral behaviour, as exemplified in the post that follows:

[S-44] "I always dreamed of being in [44.1] an environment like this. Now that I'm actually here, it's so surreal. I think the one emotion that I can associate with it is just [44.2] gratitude. [44.3] It's being so grateful that I have this privilege, this opportunity to be surrounded by so many different people. I've never considered myself a cutthroat, competitive person. So [44.4] when I came here, it was very clear to me that this was where I needed to go. [44.5] Everyone is working together and everyone is helping each other out.
That [44.6] sense of community that Stanford emphasizes—it's real. I see it. And [44.7] I really, really appreciate it."
-Jayne Abraham, #Stanford2026 (Bettendorf, Iowa), along with Maya Martinez-Krams, a fellow Frosh
 Andrew @brodhead

Here, the student reflects upon her experience at Stanford. The expression in [S-44.5] to describe the people she has encountered is an instance of *judgement* in terms of *social sanction*. This can be interpreted as assessing behaviour in terms of *propriety* for she emphasises people's generosity.

Behaviour is also evaluated, though to a lesser extent, in posts which foreground *the university as a site*. Most of the instances found in this respect concern assessment of people in

terms of their *capacity* as they praise the job they did on the premises, for instance, in the gardens or in an art installation. Moreover, instances of *judgement* are also included in posts conveying *sense of place* by reference to *the university as a community*. One such example is a post shared as new and returning students and faculty members start the academic year:

[S-21] Video transcript:

Take time to [21.2] explore campus, go to different libraries and find places that bring you joy. Be bold! Open yourself up to [21.3] new adventures. Don't be so focused on getting to your after-stanford step that you forget to enjoy the now. Go to office hours! Be present. Don't try to do it all, be very intentional. Enjoy this. [21.4] You are surrounded by greatness. [21.5] And you too are great. This time will shape you. Remember, [21.6] you earned it and [21.7] you belong! Take the Caltrain (with friends!) more to explore the area! Relationships, be it with friends or professors or mentors, matter THE MOST!! Make the most of each day and your four years on campus. It goes by too quickly. Embrace the interactions with everyone you meet! Get out of your comfort zone, try new things & don't be afraid to ask for help! Make it a point to make friends across campus & visit all the frosh dorms at least once! Say yes to as much as possible! [21.8] Campus life is full of adventure if you allow it to be.

This video post presents anonymous answers from Stanford's students to the question "What would you tell your past self before setting foot on campus?" Among the responses shared, there are some which contain instances of *judgement* in terms of *social esteem*. For example, the expression in [S-21.4] can be interpreted as an instance of *invoked capacity*, for such a comment might refer to the members of the Stanford community. The choice of words in [S-21.5] also conveys *capacity*, but it does so overtly. Another answer which is worth mentioning is "you earned it" in [S-21.6]. This also lexicalises *judgement* in terms of *social esteem*, but the meaning conveyed here is that of *tenacity*, for it focuses on students' perseverance and their achievements.

Finally, evaluation of behaviour is also present in posts foregrounding *locale*. The following post illustrates one of the instantiations of *judgement* in terms of *social esteem* found in the corpus:

[S-13] Video transcript: The Stanford Doerr School of Sustainability drives education, fundamental research and global solutions through a deep understanding of earth, climate and society. We study planets, our own and others more distant. And we work to understand and adapt our changing climate. We learn what helps ecosystems thrive underwater and on land. We explore what motivates human behaviours, how to nurture sustainable societies and ways of producing abundant, renewable energy. We work with partners around the world to deliver solutions at a global scale. And we prepare students to tackle sustainability challenges facing us now and in the future. [13.3] Together, we can strive for a better and more just planet for everyone, everywhere. Stanford | Doerr School of Sustainability Features Faculty: Arun Maiumdar, Dean Wendy Mao, Professor of Geological Sciences Sonia Tikko, Assistant Professor of Geophysics Noah Diffenbaugh, Professor of Earth System Science Fiorenza Micheli, Professor of Oceans Scott Fendorf, Professor of Earth System Science Nicole Ardoin, Associate Professor, Social Sciences Division Marshall Burke, Associate Professor of Earth System Science Yi Cui, Director Precourt Institute for Energy Chris Field, Director, Stanford Woods Institute for the Environment Lynn Hildeman, Professor of Civil and Environmental Engineering Rodolfo Dirzo, Professor of Biology, Earth System Science

This post, made in celebration of the Stanford Doerr School of Sustainability on 1st September 2022, reflects a caring attitude on the part of the academic institution regarding the protection of the environment. In this sense, the words in [S-13.3] can be interpreted as an instance of positive *judgement* in terms of *social sanction*, more specifically of *propriety*.

4.4.3. Appreciation in Stanford's Posts

Appreciation is the domain which has the highest range of occurrence in the posts shared by Stanford University. Evaluations of the aesthetic or ethical value of things is primarily present in posts foregrounding *sense of place* by reference to *the university as its members*, as illustrated below:

[S-28] Video transcript: [Sydney Kaminski, '25] *I think the first time I stepped on Campus, [28.3] I just remember being so overwhelmed by how big the campus was. [Steven Li, '24] There was a huge mix of excitement of exploring new things and meeting new people from so many different backgrounds, but also lots of nerves about imposter syndrome, about being able to fit in. Am I going to socially find my group? [Mona Hicks, senior associate vice provost and dean of students] The only path that students are supposed to take is their own. It's easy to be distracted by all the stuff that's going on around you. I ask everyone to take a deep breath and figure out what their goals are, their hopes are, and their dreams are for themselves and walk that path. [Cheryl Brown, assistant vice provost for residential education] [28.4] One of the things that I think is really cool about Stanford is that people both are very seriously academically but then also really want to have fun and be light-hearted. I would say over your time [28.5] at Stanford, you will learn more about each other and from each other, but then really kind of find people who you have a lot of shared interests, experiences, values with, and then you will deepen those relationships. [Hunter Hollenbeck, '24] [28.6] Everyone has their own special thing and it might not just be one thing that make you unique. It might be two, three or four. And it's okay if you aren't the best in the world at only one thing. It's okay if you are exceptional at many. [Leslie Anasu Espinoza Campomanes, '23] [28.7] Stanford is a place to make your dreams come true. [28.8] Stanford is a place to thrive, to rediscover yourself and where you are at. [28.9] Stanford is a place to keep dreaming big and making it big and Stanford is a place for community, family. [Shashank Joshi, MD, assistant vice provost for academic well-being and professor (teaching) of psychiatry and behavioral sciences] *I think it's also okay to just be okay with failure. Putting yourself and your mental health first is also just a really, really important thing. [Samuel Santos, associate vice provost for inclusion, community, and integrative learning] You wanna get things just right, but what you learn over time is there's such a thing as it's good enough, it's good enough to move on to the next thing so that you can cultivate other aspects of flourishing, or your wellbeing. [Another man] [28.10] You belong here at Stanford University. [28.11] There's a place for everyone. Keep an open mind, find a point of engagement and really have fun. [Leslie Anasu Espinoza Campomanes, '23] [28.12] Welcome to Stanford. [28.13] This is just the beginning of your incredible path and [28.14] I'm so excited to see you thriving.**

This post gives a warm welcome to the new members of the Stanford community. As seen in one of the student's choice of words, the academic institution is described as “a *place where dreams come true*” in [S-28.7], as a “*place to thrive*” in [S-28.8], as a “*place to keep dreaming big and making it big*” and as “*place for community, family*” in [S-28.9]. All these attributes are instances of inscribed positive *appreciation* in terms of *valuation*. Within this same aspect of place, other instances of *appreciation* are employed. At times, the members of the university appraise their experience by reference to their *reactions*. Some other times the university is evaluated by reference to the diversity it embraces, as exemplified below:

[S-49] “*Before I came to campus in the fall, I attended @stanford_ssea, which is a 4-week, fully funded summer program. Together with the @lelandscholars, which is more humanities-based, we were around 90 students. [49.1] We all come from around similar backgrounds, and everyone was close—since we weren't a large group, we were able to get to know each other. [49.2] We were able to find community. Every time I see someone from SSEA, I'll say hi. [49.3] We're all friends now. At Stanford, [49.4] I'm really looking forward to seeing people who look like me and who are interested in the same field. When I see an engineer who's like me, who maybe grew up in the same area, who was able to accomplish things, that means I could do that too.*”

-Luis Sanchez, #Stanford2026 (Lynwood, CA)
📷: Andrew @brodhead

This post is about a Stanford student who comments on a previous experience he had at the institution while doing a four-week summer programme. Here, the student body who attended the programme is characterised by coming “from similar backgrounds” and being “close”, as expressed in [S-49.1]. This is an instance of *appreciation* in terms of *composition*.

Moreover, *appreciation* is also present in those posts whereby Stanford builds subjective attachment by reference to *the university as a community*. In some of these posts, the university is assessed by reference to its aesthetics. One such instance is the following post in which positive *appreciation* is materialised as *valuation* when referring to campus and campus life as “full of adventure” in [S-21.2], [S-21.3] and [S-21.8]:

[S-21] Video transcript: Take time to [21.2] explore campus, go to different libraries and find places that bring you joy. Be bold! Open yourself up to [21.3] new adventures. Don't be so focused on getting to your after-stanford step that you forget to enjoy the now. Go to office hours! Be present. Don't try to do it all, be very intentional. Enjoy this. [21.4] You are surrounded by greatness. [21.5] And you too are great. This time will shape you. Remember, [21.6] you earned it and [21.7] you belong! Take the Caltrain (with friends!) more to explore the area! Relationships, be it with friends or professors or mentors, matter THE MOST!! Make the most of each day and your four years on campus. It goes by too quickly. Embrace the interactions with everyone you meet! Get out of your comfort zone, try new things & don't be afraid to ask for help! Make it a point to make friends across campus & visit all the frosh dorms at least once! Say yes to as much as possible! [21.8] Campus life is full of adventure if you allow it to be.

As to those posts which bring to the fore *sense of place* by reference to *the university as a site*, it is worth noting that positive *appreciation* is linguistically instantiated by alluding to the different items one may stumble upon on exploring campus. The post that follows serves as an example of that:

[S-74] March 8, 2022: The Littlefield Center, home to Stanford Continuing Studies and @stanfordlive. “I drove by this spot all the time and it was just this twiggy rock garden with trees that were never in bloom. One day I looked over, and it was in full bloom. Depending on the season, there's a completely different expression. Certain places light up in one month and then they're different in another. [74.1] All these natural little treasures pop up all the time, even in winter. [74.2] That's the beauty of Stanford's campus. [74.3] The gardeners have done a fantastic job of creating so many spaces for reflection and socializing.” -Andrew @brodhead
#YearInPhotos | #Stanford

In this particular case, the various facilities available in Stanford's premises are described as “natural little treasures”, words which convey inscribed positive *appreciation* in terms of *valuation*. This is later reinforced within the same post in [S-74.2] by means of inscribed positive *appreciation*, but this time, in terms of *reaction*.

Moreover, instances of *appreciation* were identified posts foregrounding *locale*. Here again, the most frequent type of *appreciation* found is *valuation*. One such example is the inauguration of the Stanford Doerr School of Sustainability, which is presented as a major

milestone within the university's mission or when referring to the exceptional research conducted at Stanford.

Last but not least, there are some instances of positive *appreciation* which are worth mentioning in posts bringing *location* to the fore. One such example is the one that follows:

[S-64] Video transcript: Hi, my name is Vanessa Onuoha. I'm a member of the class of 2025 and today I'm taking you on a tour of campus. By bike, of course. To my left, you'll see Hoover Tower, where there's actually an observation deck at the top, where you can see one of [64.1] the best views of campus. We're approaching a roundabout, which there are many of on Stanford's campus. But you have to remember, go through them just like you would if you were driving a car. Stick to the right and yield to the people already in the roundabout. It's easy. Noe, we're here at [64.2] Green Library, one of Stanford's largest and most famous libraries. Next, we're headed to Main Quad, which I'm sure you'll recognize as [64.3] it is Stanford's most iconic location. [64.4] Main Quad is such a beautiful area. [64.5] It feels like you are in a postcard when you're here. [64.6] It's also one of Stanford's most popular areas. Next, we're going to head all the way through Main Quad to the Engineering Quad, right this way. As you exit Main Quad, you immediately enter into the Engineering Quad. It's like [64.7] Main Quad's more modern cousin, where you'll find some really cool sculptures and lots of interesting STEM classes. Here we are at Arrillaga Dining Hall. This is [64.8] Stanford's biggest dining hall. You'll find many undergrads eating breakfast, lunch and dinner. Next, we're headed to Meyer Green. Now, we're here at Meyer Green, which is [64.9] another beautiful spot on campus, really at the heart of campus. Now, I'm going to head on into Tresidder and get some lunch. At Tresidder, you'll find all kinds of restaurants. There's Panda Express, a Subway, a Starbucks, to name few. Thank you, guys so much for joining me today on this bike tour of campus. Have a great day.

In this post, a Stanford student shares with members of the IG community a tour of Stanford's premises. The building and its many facilities are assessed in terms of their beauty. For instance, Main Quad is described as a "beautiful area" in [S-64.3] and Meyer Green is characterised as "another beautiful spot on campus" in [S-64.9]. These are instances of inscribed *appreciation* in terms of *reaction*. What is more, the description of Green Library as one of the "largest and most famous libraries" in [S-64.2] also illustrates inscribed *appreciation*, but the meaning conveyed is *valuation*.

4.5. Attitude (MIT)

Prior to engaging in the meticulous analysis of the linguistic instantiations of evaluation found in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's posts, some preliminary comments as to the results obtained are in order. Out of the 129 posts originally collected, evaluative linguistic resources were detected in 91 posts. In those, 218 evaluative occurrences were singled out. On applying the subsystem of attitude to MIT's posts, the analysis indicated the following instances of *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation* and their respective types:

Subsystem of attitude	No. of occurrences	No. of occurrences per type	
AFFECT	79	(+) des	21
		(+) hap	29

		(-) hap	1
		(+) sec	3
		(-) sec	1
		(+) sat	24
JUDGEMENT	51	(+) norm	8
		(+) cap	26
		(+) ten	7
		(+) prop	10
APPRECIATION	88	(+) reac	10
		(+) comp	15
		(-) comp	1
		(+) val	60
		(-) val	2

Table 5. Number of Instances of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation Found in MIT's Posts

As shown in the preceding table, *appreciation* has the highest range of occurrence among the total number of linguistic instantiations identified in MIT's posts. Moreover, a considerable portion of the posts expresses evaluation in terms of *affect*. *Judgement* is also detected among the appraisal resources used by this university. Most of the instances of appraisal resources identified in the corpus convey *positive attitude*, even though few instances of *negative attitude* have been detected. The subsequent sections will present the analysis of the three subsystems of attitude –*affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation*. Each dimension will be examined and illustrated by reference to the *aspects of place*.

4.5.1. Affect in MIT's Posts

As introduced above in Table 5, *affect* is one of the attitude domains which MIT opts for on presenting itself online. In this respect, numerous feelings are alluded to in MIT's posts highlighting *sense of place* by reference to *the university as its members*, among which are *happiness*, *desire*, *security* and *satisfaction*. The feeling of *happiness*, for instance, features in posts where the university gives a warm welcome to former members of MIT or expresses they joy it feels on embarking on new journeys together, thus building on a celebratory and positive

tone. *Desire* is, for example, present in a collection of posts which allow MIT's Instagram followers to meet MIT alumni, as seen in the following post:

[M-107] Austen Roberson, an MIT senior in aerospace engineering, wants to work on [107.1] fast-paced technologies that move society forward in a positive way. [107.2] "All I can hope for is that I'm making an impact, and that I'm making a difference in people's lives," he says. Learn about Austen's MIT journey, see the link in our profile.
#robotics #robots #engineer #AerospaceEngineering @nsbe @mitaeroastro

The choice of words in [M-107.2], an instance of *irrealis affect*, more specifically of *desire*, explicitly signposts the MIT senior's *desire* to actually change people's lives. Those words channel the student's wish to make a contribution to the community or even to the entire world. Within this same aspect of place, other positive feelings are evoked, such as *security* and *satisfaction*. As to the former, it is interesting to note that, for instance, some of MIT's undergraduates express how overwhelmed they felt at the very beginning. This could be interpreted as a strategic use of negative *affect* (*security*) for later within the same post the same students explicitly state that this is the place they belong to and that that feeling of insecurity disappeared. As for *satisfaction*, this feeling is alluded to in terms of *pleasure*, when the university conveys how proud it is of its students' achievements, and in terms of *interest*, as exemplified by a post in which a senior student expresses how absorbed she felt while working in MIT's makerspaces and seeing all the types of things being created around her:

[M-72] Working in MIT's makerspaces and an independent theater in China has inspired senior Susan Su to seek out new experiences and perspectives. "I see all these things being created all around me, and that influenced me to be a more creative person," she says. Read about her journey, see the link in our profile.
#arts #MakerSpace #theatre #creativity #MITStudent #China #theatre @mitprojectmanus @artsatmit

This attitude domain is also incorporated in posts foregrounding *sense of place* by reference to *the university as a community*. In this respect, the most recurrent feelings are *desire*, *happiness*, *security* and *satisfaction*. For example, the following post includes an instance of *irrealis affect*, in particular, *desire*, for in [M-58.2] the Director of the new MIT Museum expresses their willingness to make people feel they belong to the new museum:

[M-58] The new @mitmuseum opens this weekend! [58.1] The 56,000-square-foot space features scientific marvels, a monstrous "mermaid," and a message for the general public. [58.2] "We want people to feel that this is their museum," says director John Durant. Reposted from @bostonglobelife
Click the link in bio @bostonglobelife to read the full story about the new MIT Museum.   

What is more, there are some posts whereby MIT expresses *happiness*. This feeling is normally evoked to convey *affection* on the part of MIT. One such instance is the one that follows whereby the university gives its warm welcome to the new members of the community and expresses how much they love meeting them and their families:

[M-36] [36.1] Welcome to MIT! #Classof2026 [36.2] We love meeting you and your families! 🤗
 Reposted from @omp.mit
 #stopandsayhi #oneMIT #MIT2026 @mitstudents

Last but not least, emotional attachment to MIT is also built around the feelings of *security* and *satisfaction*, as seen in [M-37], a post shared as the President of MIT welcomed the Class of 2026:

[M-37] [37.1] *This year's first-years at MIT comprise 1,139 students, who have come from 50 states, 65 countries, and more than 900 high schools. "You are here because [37.2] you belong here," said President L. Rafael Reif at Monday's Convocation ceremony. "[37.3] All of us are dedicated to your success, and [37.4] we believe in you."*
Read more from President Reif and faculty members as they welcomed the Class of 2026 to MIT, see link in profile.
 Photos: Gretchen Ertl
 #community #welcome #MIT2026 @mitfirstyear @mitstudents

The President's words in [M-37.3] convey the involvement of the authorities and staff with their students' success. The expression in [M-37.4] alludes to the feeling of *security*, more specifically of *trust*. Once again, the feelings evoked are empowering messages to the members of the community so as to strengthen the bonds of the community.

Affect is similarly identified in posts regarding *locale*. The following posts serve as instances of *happiness*, *desire* and *satisfaction* found in the corpus:

[M-76] *On her first day as MIT's president-elect, Sally Kornbluth [76.1] was welcomed by faculty, staff, and students at several events, including a morning press conference, a gathering at Gray House, and a community welcoming celebration. [76.2] She expressed excitement to be joining the [76.3] "world capital of intellectual fun."*
See the link in our profile for the News Story.
 Photos: M. Scott Brauer

[MIT-78] [78.1] *Congrats to our boats this weekend. [78.2] Our 1V captured 🏆 in the collegiate 8, 2V with 16th, and 3v took 25th in club 8. Great racing all around! [78.3] See you next week in Saratoga, NY*
 Reposted from @mitmensrowing

[M-9] [9.1] *We have made it to that part of the live edge coffee table class where pretty much everyone is focusing on chisel work. [9.2] Nice job so far* Ishita, Curtis, Vayd and Daniel.
 Reposted from @mit_hobbyshop

In the first post included above, [M-76], there are two instances of *happiness*, each conveying different meanings. The reference to all members of MIT welcoming the President-elect on her first day in [M-76.1] evokes the feeling of *affection*. The second instance underlined, [M-76.2], clearly conveys the feeling of *cheer*, for it is the President-elect's excitement that is being referred to. As for the second post included, it could be argued that the choice of words in [M-78.3] expresses the university's *desire* to see the MIT men's rowing team competing in Saratoga. The third post quoted, [M-9], includes two instances of *satisfaction*, more specifically of *pleasure*. "We have made it" refers to the pride members of MIT Hobby Shop take on the progress they have made so far.

4.5.2. Judgement in MIT's Posts

As already introduced, *judgement* is the domain which MIT uses the least in its self-presentation online. Where present, evaluation of behaviour is mostly seen in posts bringing to the fore *sense of place* by reference to *the university as its members*. In this respect, some of the posts include assessments of the acceptability of people's behaviour (i.e. *social esteem*), as illustrated below:

[M-68] [68.1] "There are so few Natives who are aerospace engineers" shares Aaron Ashley '16, who reinvigorated the American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES) at MIT to build community connection. Now, as president of the new Indigenous Alumni of MIT, [68.2] he's hoping to keep that work going.
Read more at link in bio @mitalumni
Repost from @mitalumni

Here, the comment in [M-68.1] about the representation of Indigenous peoples at MIT can be interpreted as an instance of positive *judgement* in terms of *social esteem*. The meaning conveyed is that of *normality*, for his comment answers the question "how special?" and makes their uniqueness stand out. There are some other posts which also convey *social esteem*, but the assessments are to do with a sense of admiration towards MIT's members' *capacity*. For instance:

[M-75] Video transcript: On October 20, 2022 MIT announced that Sally Kornbluth has been selected as MIT's 18th president. Kornbluth has served on the Duke faculty since 1994 and as provost since 2014. [75.1] Kornbluth will be the second woman to hold the position of president at MIT. [75.2] "My greatest joy as a leader has always been in facilitating and amplifying the work of others. [75.3] I am eager to meet all [75.4] the brilliant, entrepreneurial people of MIT, and to champion their research, teaching, and learning." – Sally A. Kornbluth.

In this post, in which the appointment of the new President of MIT is announced, the newly-elected authority makes reference to the people that carry out research, teach and study at MIT. She chooses to evaluate them in terms of *social esteem (capacity)* since she describes them as "brilliant" and "entrepreneurial" in [M-75.4]. Positive *judgement* is also used when pointing out the university's members' *tenacity*. One such instance is found in a post about an MIT researcher working on molecule design:

[M-20] For Danna Freedman, an impasse is an invitation: [20.1] She embraces the challenges of her work to design molecules for quantum information science. She says [20.2] she loves "the thing I am struggling to understand and improve at a particular moment in time."

The choice of words in [M-20.1] answers the question "how dependable?" and reinforces the researcher's perseverance. What is more, among the posts which bring to the fore *sense of place* by reference to *the university as its members*, there are some instances of *judgement* in terms of *social sanction*, which, as exemplified in the following post, clearly add up to MIT's self-presentation:

[M-61] The last time Rochell Crowder held an office job, he said, it was 1983 and computers were not yet central to everyday life.

But recently, after almost four decades of odd jobs and crimes that landed him in and out of jail, the 57-year-old completed a computer science course taught by PhD candidates from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

He stared at the certificate in his hands.

[61.1] “This,” he said, smiling, “is a step in the right direction.”

Crowder, who pleaded guilty to armed robbery in 2020, was one of 16 men who enrolled in the course while detained at the D.C. jail, as part of a new 12-week program from the Educational Justice Institute at MIT. The program, called Brave Behind Bars, brought computer science education to the facility — adding to the suite of educational services that experts hope [61.2] will better prepare detainees for reentry. The course, taught twice a week over Zoom, also was offered to women incarcerated in Maine.

Reposted from @washingtonpost

This post refers to a member of a new twelve-week programme called Brave Behind Bars from the Educational Justice Institute at MIT. The student, who has been in and out of jail several times all throughout his life, explicitly states that “this is a step in the right direction” in [M-61.1], thus assessing his own behaviour by reference to social norms and morality. His remark can be interpreted as an instance of *propriety*. This post not only portrays the student in a positive light, but also the university itself, for it suggests that, through the programme, this academic institution gives offenders the chance to reintegrate into society.

Moreover, some instances of *judgement* were also found in posts conveying *sense of place* by reference to *the university as a community*. One such example seems to employ humour to highlight a sense of understanding among the members of the MIT community:

[M-104] Video transcript: [104.2] How to make a Thanksgiving Turkey – The MIT way Paper, bird base, tail, wattle, feet. MIT Alumni

The video transcript of post [M-104] evokes *judgement* in terms of *social esteem*, in particular *normality*. This is done by alluding to making a turkey for Thanksgiving “the MIT way”, thus implying that all members of the MIT community share such knowledge. Besides, assessment of *judgement* in terms of *social sanction* were also identified for this aspect of place, as seen below:

[M-40] Every fall, [40.1] some 7,000 students arrive on campus, where [40.2] staff and faculty have made ready 6,210 dorm rooms, 30 residence halls, 13,828 offices, 5,488 labs, and 119 academic buildings. [40.3] Thank you, MIT employees!

How does MIT prepare for a new academic year? Let us count the ways. Watch a video, see the link in our profile.

#ThisISMIT #ThankYou #grateful #LaborDay2022 #LaborDay

To celebrate Labour Day, MIT shared a post describing in great detail the number of rooms, halls, offices, labs and academic buildings staff and faculty members have made ready for the newcomers. This detailed description can be interpreted as an instance of invoked *judgement* of the staff's and faculty's behaviour in terms of *social sanction*. Specifically, it might be construed as expressing *propriety*, for it is their generosity and caring nature the one that is highlighted.

Finally, MIT also uses evaluation of behaviour in posts foregrounding *locale*. The following post illustrates one of the most recurrent instantiations of *judgement* found in the corpus:

[M-78] [78.1] *Congrats to our boats this weekend.* [78.2] *Our 1V captured  in the collegiate 8, 2V with 16th, and 3v took 25th in club 8. Great racing all around!* [78.3] *See you next week in Saratoga, NY*
Reposted from @mitmensrowing

This post overtly assesses the behaviour of MIT men's rowing team in terms of *social esteem*, in particular their *capacity*, for it lists their achievements so far.

4.5.3. Appreciation in MIT's Posts

Appreciation is the attitude domain which exhibits the highest range of occurrences in MIT's posts. On presenting itself online, the university uses this appraisal resource in posts foregrounding *sense of place* by reference to *the university as its members*. One such example is the following:

[M-46] *Professor Betar Gallant utilizes electrochemical reactions to develop* [46.1] *new sustainable technologies, including systems that capture carbon dioxide emissions and produce higher-energy rechargeable Lithium-ion batteries for electric vehicles.*
 [46.2] *A lasting — and valuable — legacy, see link in our profile for the news story and full video.*
Reposted from @mitmeche
Video transcript: I see electrochemistry as almost the creation of new tools. By taking what is otherwise a chemical reaction, and by transforming it into an electrochemical reaction, we can open up [46.3] *totally new transformation pathways!*

This post about the development of some new sustainable technologies a professor is working on assesses the professor's work as "valuable legacy" in [M-46.2]. This is restated by reference to the myriad of possibilities such development may open up in [M-46.3]. These are two instances of inscribed positive *appreciation* in terms of *valuation*. What is more, within this aspect of place, there are also some posts which express positive *appreciation* in terms of *reaction*. For the most part, assessments of that type are included within the series of posts whereby MIT students answer some personal questions. Students' answers incorporate *reaction* when alluding to the most memorable experiences they have had at MIT so far.

This attitude domain also features in posts foregrounding *sense of place* by reference to *the university as a community*. Among them, there are posts in which MIT uses *appreciation* in terms of *composition* to shed light on how diverse MIT's community is. The example that follows illustrates that:

[M-37] [37.1] *This year's first-years at MIT comprise 1,139 students, who have come from 50 states, 65 countries, and more than 900 high schools.* "You are here because [37.2] *you belong here,*" said President L. Rafael Reif at Monday's Convocation ceremony. "[37.3] *All of us are dedicated to your success, and* [37.4] *we believe in you.*"
Read more from President Reif and faculty members as they welcomed the Class of 2026 to MIT, see link in profile.
Photos: Gretchen Ertl
#community #welcome #MIT2026 @mitfirstyear @mitsstudents

Here, the President of MIT describes what MIT's student body consists of. The details provided as to the number of first-year students and the precision as to the number of states, countries and high schools they come from account for diversity in the student body at MIT.

Furthermore, instances of *appreciation* are identified in posts building the subjective attachment to the university by reference to *the university as a site*. The most prominent value assessed is *valuation*, as seen in the post that follows:

[M-127] *Isaac Newton was born Christmas Day, 1642. The apple tree in MIT's President's Garden is a direct descendant of the actual tree believed to have inspired Newton's theory of gravity.*
Image: Jenny Baek '25/ @jenny_baek02

This post makes reference to an apple tree which is planted in MIT's President's Garden. This tree is described as "a direct descendant of the actual tree believed to have inspired Newton's theory of gravity". Such characterisation can be interpreted as an instance of evoked positive *appreciation* in terms of *valuation*, for it is the exceptional nature of a tree that is part of MIT that is highlighted.

Lastly, evaluations of *appreciation* have also been found in posts which bring *locale* to the fore. For instance:

[M-76] *On her first day as MIT's president-elect, Sally Kornbluth [76.1] was welcomed by faculty, staff, and students at several events, including a morning press conference, a gathering at Gray House, and a community welcoming celebration. [76.2] She expressed excitement to be joining the [76.3] "world capital of intellectual fun."*
See the link in our profile for the News Story.
Photos: M. Scott Brauer

Through this post, made on occasion of the celebration ceremony of MIT's new president-elect, the university's president expresses her excitement as she joins what she defines as "the world capital of intellectual fun". Those words constitute an instance of inscribed positive *appreciation* in terms of *valuation*. Moreover, within this same aspect of place, another value was detected in the corpus:

[M-113] *DanceTroupe strives to bring [113.1] a diverse and welcoming community to all levels of dancers.*
This goal includes facilitating [113.2] positive relationships between dancers, as well as providing [113.3] a safe space for dancers to have fun, explore styles, and grow. Above is one of [113.4] our amazing choreographers, Cady, and her dancers, as well as [113.5] fun shenanigans from DT practices, workshops, and events throughout the semester!
Reposted from @mitstudents

In this case, this post portrays DanceTroupe, a dancing community at MIT, as "a diverse and welcoming community to all levels of dancers". This can be interpreted as assessment of positive *appreciation* in terms of *composition*, which reinforces MIT's diversity.

4.6. Attitude (Cambridge)

This section will first comment on the results obtained on performing the linguistic analysis as developed by Appraisal Theory on the University of Cambridge's posts. Out of the 113 posts initially collected, 88 were singled out as they showed traces of appraisal resources. In these posts, 364 linguistic instantiations of evaluation were identified. Table 6 below summarises the evaluative occurrences found in the University of Cambridge's posts on applying the subsystem of *attitude* and specifies the instances of *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation*, along with their respective subtypes, as observed in the corpus:

Subsystem of attitude	No. of occurrences	No. of occurrences per type	
AFFECT	105	(+) des	24
		fear	3
		(+) hap	39
		(-) hap	4
		(+) sec	9
		(-) sec	4
		(+) sat	22
JUDGEMENT	58	(+) norm	8
		(-) norm	1
		(+) cap	13
		(-) cap	4
		(+) ten	8
		(+) prop	23
		(-) prop	1
APPRECIATION	201	(+) reac	30
		(-) reac	7
		(+) comp	57
		(-) comp	2
		(+) val	95

		(-) val	10
--	--	---------	----

Table 6. Number of instances of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation Found in Cambridge University's Posts

Of the three domains of attitude, *appreciation* is the most frequent appraisal resource found in Cambridge University's posts. A considerable number of the university's posts showcase evaluation in terms of *affect*. Moreover, several instances of *judgement* are also found in Cambridge's linguistic choices. It is important to note that even though most of the appraisal resources spotted are *positive attitude*, some instances of *negative attitude* have been detected. The subsections that follow will examine and illustrate the analysis of *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation* carried out in the university's posts by reference to the *aspects of place*.

4.6.1. Affect in Cambridge's Posts

The University of Cambridge makes use of *affect* as an appraisal resource in many of its posts. For the most part, the expression of feelings is present in posts foregrounding *sense of place* by reference to *the university as its members*. The most salient feelings around which the university presents itself are *happiness*, *desire*, *satisfaction* and *security*. In a collection of video posts in which Cambridge students explain what their experience as members of the university has been like, they voice their *happiness* in terms of *cheer* as they allude to fun times studying at the library. Another post in which *happiness* is seen is the following one:

[C-54] 🗣️: "The idea that Black students have only come to Cambridge in recent years is a complete falsehood... Black people belong, and have always belonged, in this place."
Tyra Amofah-Akardom is the President of the Black Cantabs Research Society, a counter-history project designed to uncover and preserve the legacies of Black Cambridge alumni.
🔗 Find out more – link in bio.
@fitzwilliamcoll @pembroke1347 @lucycavendishcollege @queens_college
#BlackHistoryMonth #BHM2022 #BlackHistoryMonth2022 #CambridgeUniversity
#Cambridge #UniversityOfCambridge #CambridgeAlumni #October #2022

This post, made in celebration of Black History Month, gives voice to the President of the Black Cantabs Research Society who comments on Black Cambridge alumni and through *happiness* (*affection*) expresses that black people belong to Cambridge University. The university's embracing nature is also conveyed by *irrealis affect*, as illustrated below:

[C-85] Video transcript: Meet my Society.
[Shana, HSPS, Catz College] We're a society for South Asian, brown women and non-binary people of Cambridge. So, we run welfare events, we run speaker events, [85.1] we're soon hoping to run alumni networking events, and we get some sponsorship started. Just to, like, help us not only here at Cambridge but afterwards as well in the workplace. [85.2] We're just here as a support network and a sisterhood, to confide in each other and share our experiences.

In this post, which is part of the series "Meet my Society", a member of the South Asian Society expresses her willingness to organise events to strengthen the bonds among the

members of their society. Interestingly enough, Cambridge incorporates instances of *negative attitude* in some of its posts, more precisely of *security* to express, for instance, the disquiet some students from certain backgrounds felt as they did not think Cambridge was an option for them. However, this is to be interpreted as portraying the university in a positive light, since it accounts for how inclusive they are to students from different academic backgrounds. Moreover, subjective attachment to the members of the university is also present in the series “Why My College”. The feeling evoked in this case is that of *security*, as illustrated in the post that follows:

[C-67] Video transcript: Choosing a college at the University of Cambridge – Why Murray Edwards?

[Arvana] So [67.1] I was lucky enough to visit Murray Edwards during an Open Day. And one of the things that really stood out to me was [67.2] the welcoming and friendly environment, which was quite emphasized when I started speaking to different students and some of the teachers here. And I think this is definitely proven to be true after three years. [67.3] I really feel well-supported during the exam season and even during the pandemic when things moved online. [67.4] I always felt like I could have someone that I could talk to if I was at a high period of stress here at Cambridge. The second reason why I chose Murray Edwards was because of [67.5] the modern architecture. It's quite unique, I think, to other colleges, but it was really nice to have a part of home because I've only ever grown up in modern cities.

Here, the expressions in [C-67.3] and [C-67.4] reflect how comfortable a Murray Edwards student felt during the exam season and the pandemic and how supported she felt at Cambridge during stressful times. These two instances can be interpreted as expressing the feeling of *security*, more specifically *trust*. Another feeling alluded to as to this aspect of place is *satisfaction*. Broadly speaking, for instance, the university expresses its interest in A level and qualification results rather than in students' GCSEs during the application process or it also voices the delight the members of the community feel about the nomination of the university's authorities.

On presenting itself online, Cambridge University also employs *affect* in posts foregrounding *sense of place* by reference to *the university as a community*. Among them, there are some instances of *irrealis affect*, as exemplified by the following post:

[C-17] ^{UA} [17.1] We send our best wishes to the 20 Kharkiv medical students returning to Ukraine.

Following a 7-week placement, the students received essential training while at Cambridge over the summer, and are taking [17.2] the specialist skills they have learned back home.

🔗 Read more – link in bio.

This was the first partnership of its kind between the University of Cambridge, @cuh_nhs, @royalpapworth, @cpft_nhs, @illuminainc and @homertoncollege.

#CambridgeUniversity #Cambridge #UniversityOfCambridge #Ukraine #Kharkiv #Healthcare

In this case, the feeling evoked is *desire*, since in [C-17.1] the university wishes the very best to those Ukrainian students who took part in a summer programme at Cambridge. Moreover, some other posts which fall within this category evoke *unhappiness*, more precisely *misery*, as the university voices its sadness about the death of Queen Elizabeth II. These instances of negative *affect* also portray Cambridge in a positive light, for they are a way of paying tribute to the UK's late monarch. The feeling of *satisfaction* also becomes evident in some of the posts foregrounding this aspect of place. The post that follows stands as an example of that, for it

explicitly conveys the university's *pleasure* in matriculating its newcomers and, in so doing, shows the university's attitude to its students:

[C-35] [35.1] It's been such a pleasure matriculating all our new students this past week! 🥰 We weren't able to capture everyone, but here are a few great shots taken by Lloyd Mann and Adam Page.
[35.2] Welcome, one and all!

Resources of this attitude domain are also part of posts bringing to the fore *sense of place* by reference to *the university as a site*. As to this, two feelings were found in the corpus, *happiness* to allude to the celebratory mood which normally characterises Christmas time and *satisfaction* to refer to the several distinctions Cambridge University received and which, in turn, reinforce their standing within the academic community.

Last but not least, *affect* also features in posts emphasising *locale*. In connection with this aspect of place, the most salient feelings are *happiness* and *satisfaction*. *Happiness* is, for the most part, conveyed by reference to the festive tone that characterises many of the university's social events. *Satisfaction* is mainly used in posts whereby the university congratulates its members, as is the case in the following post:

[C-57] [57.1] Congratulations to @homertoncollege for hosting last night's Black History Month formal dinner!
[57.2] Over 250 students gathered together in a celebration of [57.3] Black talent and excellence at Cambridge, with inspiring speeches from some of the invited guests.
#BlackHistoryMonth #BHM2022 #BlackHistoryMonth2022 #CambridgeUniversity #Cambridge #UniversityOfCambridge #HomertonCollege #October #2022

The expression underlined in [C-57.1] evokes the feeling of *satisfaction*, in particular that of *pleasure*, as Cambridge University congratulates one of its Colleges on hosting a dinner in celebration of Black History month.

4.6.2. Judgement in Cambridge's Posts

A high percentage of Cambridge University's posts foregrounding *sense of place* by reference to *the university as its members* evoke *judgement*. These posts, for instance, judge the behaviour of the various members which make up the Cambridge community in a positive light in terms of *social sanction* –i.e. assessments on ethics and moral behaviour. The following post serves as an example of that:

[C-94] Video transcript: 'Is the interview like an interrogation?'
[Maria, Medicine, Catz] [94.1] The interviews were one of the most daunting parts of applying to Cambridge, at least for me. [94.2] I was really scared that the interview would be like an interrogation just based on everything that I'd heard from other people applying and newspaper articles as well because they really seem to hype things up! But based on my actual experience, I think [94.3] the interviewers were really nice, they built questions up in quite a friendly and nice way, they didn't seem to be trying to catch me out so they started off with simpler questions, focusing more on A-level content before then extending that knowledge and getting me to think more laterally. [94.4] They definitely want you to perform to your best potential rather than trying to catch you out so they'll be there to support your answers and try to make you get the most out of it.

In this post, a Medicine student provides an answer to the question: “Is the interview like an interrogation?” With reference to her experience at the admission interviews, she describes the interviewees as “really nice” and the way in which they ask the questions is characterised as “friendly” in [C-94.3]. Those words hint at a fair and polite attitude on the part of the university. Besides, the reference to the fact that “they definitely want you to perform to your best potential” in [C-94.4] reinforces the interviewers’ caring and generous nature. All these attributes are explicit instantiations of *judgement* in terms of *social sanction*, which in particular convey *propriety*. Within this same aspect of place, there are some instances of positive *judgement* in terms of *social esteem* (*normality*) through which, for instance, students overtly say that they are the first generation in their families to access university. Moreover, another very recurrent strategy is the allusion to Cambridge’s members’ *capacity*. One such instance is the following one:

[C-27] [27.1] *We're sending a warm thank you and good luck to Professor Stephen J Toope on his last day as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge before he returns to Canada. Professor Toope joined the University in 2017 after [27.2] a distinguished career as a scholar and academic leader. This week, [27.3] we celebrated his time at Cambridge with a portrait by artist Alastair Adams, which was revealed at the @fitzmuseum_uk.*
#CambridgeUniversity #UniversityOfCambridge #Cambridge

Here, on giving the university’s Vice-Chancellor the farewell on his last day in office, the university qualifies him by reference to “a distinguished career as a scholar and academic leader” in [C-27.2]. This is an instance of positive *judgement* in terms of *social esteem* since it alludes to the Vice-Chancellor’s *capacity*. What is more, there are some instances of positive *judgement* in terms of *social esteem* which convey the value of *tenacity*, as can be seen in the following post:

[C-51] 📌 [51.1] *“The chances of a child like me, who grew up on free school meals, going to Cambridge to study medicine were pretty much zero.”*
Attending one of the lowest performing state schools in the country, Dr Raghieb Ali went on to become a leading epidemiologist and OBE awardee.
[51.2] *He’s determined to improve the life outcomes of children from poor backgrounds so that they too can reach their full potential.*
🔗 Read the full story – link in bio.
@stcatharinescollege @cuh_nhs
#CambridgeUniversity #Cambridge #UniversityOfCambridge #Medicine #ThisCambridgeLife #Healthcare #October #2022

In this case, the comment in [C-51.2] regarding the determination exhibited by a leading epidemiologist who studied at St Catherine’s College at Cambridge can be interpreted as an assessment of behaviour in terms of *social esteem*. More specifically, this is an instance of *tenacity*, which once again not only focuses on that particular student, but also portrays the university as one which embraces people with such values.

Assessments of *judgement* were also identified in the posts conveying *sense of place* by reference to *the university as a community*. One such instance is the post whereby the University’s authorities wish the Cambridge community a merry Christmas:

[C-105] Video transcript:

[Professor Kamal Munir, Pro Vice-Chancellor, University Community and Engagement] The end of the calendar year is a time to reflect on the past and look ahead to the future. [105.2] The past 12 months have certainly been eventful and challenging- for our University, for the country and indeed for the world.

[Professor Anne Ferguson-Smith, Pro Vice-Chancellor, Research and International Partnerships] Even in times of change and disruption, [105.3] our collegiate Cambridge community remains strong. [105.4] We are united by our belief in the power of teaching and research to chance the world for the better.

[Professor David Cardwell, Pro Vice-Chancellor, Strategy and Planning] Every day, [105.5] Cambridge students and scholars pursue academic excellence, creating and passing on knowledge that will help us better understand the world around us.

[Professor Bhaskar Vire, Pro Vice-Chancellor, Education] Today, more than ever, the world needs Cambridge. And, [105.6] as a collegiate community of staff, students and alumni, we need each other.

[Professor Andy Neely, Senior Pro Vice-Chancellor, Enterprise and Business Relations] So, let's continue supporting each other, so that we can thrive together as a community to contribute to society. [105.7] Because together, we make extraordinary things happen.

[Professor Dr Anthony Freeling, Acting Vice-Chancellor, University of Cambridge] [105.8] Thank you all for your commitment to our shared academic mission. [105.9] We wish you and your families a very peaceful holiday season, and a happy New Year.

In this post, the reference to the collegiate Cambridge community remaining “strong” through trying times, as stated by the Pro Vice-Chancellor of Research and International Partnerships in [C-105.3], assesses the community's behaviour in terms of *social esteem*. In particular, this can be interpreted as highlighting its *tenacity*. The second expression underlined above, [C-105.7], is an instance of invoked positive *judgement*, but the meaning conveyed is a different one. In this case, such reference alludes to the *capacity* of those who are part of the Cambridge community.

Behaviour is also evaluated in posts foregrounding *sense of place* (*the university as a site*). Roughly speaking, posts of this kind emphasise the prestigious position that Cambridge University holds within the academic community. At times this high standing is linguistically realised as *social esteem* (*capacity*) by making reference to the fact that the university ranked high both within the UK and abroad.

Last but not least, assessment of behaviour is also present in posts bringing *locale* to the fore. The following posts serve as instantiations of *judgement* in terms of *social esteem* found in the corpus:

[C-48] 🌞🏠 @ChurchillCol has got the power!

The roofs of several buildings around the College have been fitted with solar panels by [48.1] a talented team of in-house electricians, apprentices, and maintenance specialists.

This is part of a project to generate [48.2] 750,000kWh of solar power on site per year by 2026 - equivalent to the College's average annual power usage in the 2010s.

North Court, West Court, 70 and 72 Storey's Way, garages and stores have been fitted in this latest phase. Buildings like the Master's Lodge and the Main Administration Building are next on the list.

#CambridgeUniversity #Cambridge #UniversityOfCambridge #Sustainability #SolarPower #ChurchillCollege #October #2022

This post shared to the celebrate solar panels installed in Churchill College overtly mentions in [C-48.1] that the installation was carried by “a *talented team of in-house electricians, apprentices, and maintenance specialists*”. This illustrates positive *judgement* in terms of *social esteem*, in particular, this instance reinforces the members’ *capacity*. Finally, there is an instance of inscribed negative *judgement* in terms of *social sanction* identified in Cambridge’s posts which reflects some of the values the university holds:

[C-86] Video transcript: [Professor Sander van der Linden, Professor of Social Psychology in Society, University of Cambridge] So in terms of Elon Musk’s plans for Twitter in the future, [86.1] I’m not incredibly optimistic. I mean you have the CEO of a social media platform telling his audience how to vote in advance of an important election. You know, he’s promising to give voice back to the people, but [86.2] he’s actually trying to actively influence people on his own platform. With more than half the workforce gone, how is he going to moderate and curate content on the platform? His policy is basically to not do much of that, and so I think we’ll see a lot of disinformation, a lot of misinformation coming back on Twitter. So if you look at the idea that people are now the product on Twitter, [86.3] I don’t think Elon Musk’s implementation of Twitter Blue is going to be effective in actually reducing bots and trolling and misinformation on the platform.

In this post, a Cambridge Professor of Social Psychology in Society comments on the future of Twitter as Elon Musk acquired the app. The expression underlined in [C-86.2] assesses Elon Musk’s behaviour by reference to social norms and morality. This evaluation is of a negative kind for it condemns the use Musk makes of the app. Therefore, this can be interpreted as an instance of *propriety*. However, what is interesting to note in this respect is that through the Professor’s voice Cambridge University distances itself from such unethical behaviour.

4.6.3. Appreciation in Cambridge’s Posts

Appreciation is the domain of attitude which has the most occurrences among Cambridge’s posts. This is a recurrent appraisal resource mainly in posts foregrounding *sense of place* by reference to *the university as its members*. The transcript of the video post included below serves as an example of this dimension:

[C-67] Video transcript: Choosing a college at the University of Cambridge – Why Murray Edwards?
[Arvana] So [67.1] I was lucky enough to visit Murray Edwards during an Open Day. And one of the things that really stood out to me was [67.2] the welcoming and friendly environment, which was quite emphasized when I started speaking to different students and some of the teachers here. And I think this is definitely proven to be true after three years. [67.3] I really feel well-supported during the exam season and even during the pandemic when things moved online. [67.4] I always felt like I could have someone that I could talk to if I was at a high period of stress here at Cambridge. The second reason why I chose Murray Edwards was because of [67.5] the modern architecture. It’s quite unique, I think, to other colleges, but it was really nice to have a part of home because I’ve only ever grown up in modern cities.

This post belongs to the series “Why my College”, in which Cambridge students explain their college choice. In this case, a Murray Edwards student uses the expression “the welcoming and friendly environment” to comment on how much she liked the Open Days event. This is then an instance of positive *appreciation*. More specifically, it expresses *reaction* and adds to the university’s depiction as a welcoming institution. However, this is not the only type of feeling

conveyed. Within the same series, there are some instances of inscribed positive *appreciation* in terms of *composition*, as illustrated below:

[C-15] Video transcript: *Choosing a college at the University of Cambridge – Why Lucy Cavendish?* [Kiera] So [15.1] the one thing I love about Lucy Cavenish is our diversity rates. We try and be [15.2] *the most diverse college in Cambridge*. And so because of that, [15.3] *we have a really good representation of different types of people from state school and private school backgrounds, from different ethnic groups*. And so [15.4] it just feels like the outside world, but within Cambridge.

In this post, Lucy Cavendish is described as “the most diverse” in [C-15.2]. This idea is later reinforced by the fact that those students come from “state school and private school backgrounds, from different ethnic groups” as explicitly stated in [C-15.3]. These are two instances of inscribed positive *appreciation* which assess Cambridge University in terms of the *composition* of its student body. Besides, there are also some instances of inscribed positive *appreciation* in terms of *valuation* which overtly reinforce the institution’s uniqueness and worth as they point out, for instance, that the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge is one of those people who proclaims the King’s accession to the throne.

Moreover, some instances of *appreciation* were also spotted in the posts highlighting *sense of place* by reference to *the university as a community*. Within the category, there are posts which voice Cambridge University’s opinion about climate change, as exemplified below:

[C-69] Video transcript: *What is the significance of this year’s COP?*
[Professor Emily Shuckburgh, Director of Cambridge Zero] This year, we’ve seen [69.1] *spiraling climate impacts with millions affected from flooding in Pakistan to record heatwaves across Europe*. But it comes at [69.2] *a difficult time as the world faces multiple interlocking crises*, not least the rising cost of living.
What signs of hope do you see?
[69.3] Progress to date on global emissions reductions is simply not enough to avert dangerous climate change. Renewable energy is being deployed at scale around the world. Business are stepping up and [69.4] young people are making their voices heard, demanding a better future.
What are your hopes for COP?
[69.5] Africa, the host of this year’s COP, is the most severely impacted by climate change and yet accounts for [69.6] a negligible percentage of global emissions. [69.7] This COP is about building trust. Rich nations most responsible for climate change must step up and support those most vulnerable countries. All countries must use this moment to reaffirm and strengthen their commitments to put the world on track to a safe and sustainable future.

In this post, shared on 6th November 2022, a Cambridge professor who is the Director of Cambridge Zero, comments on the significance of the 2022 COP. His remarks in [C-69.1] and [C-69.2] about the challenging times the world is facing not only in terms of climate impact but also in terms of crises can be interpreted as instances of negative *appreciation* in terms of *reaction*. The negative reaction is not to do with the academic institution under analysis, but to the matters that affect the world at large. This implies that Cambridge University is well aware of matters that concern the world and, therefore, aims at raising awareness on such concerns. Within this same aspect of place, there are also some instances of positive *appreciation* in terms of *valuation*. One such example is the following one:

[C-17] ^{UA} [17.1] We send our best wishes to the 20 Kharkiv medical students returning to Ukraine. Following a 7-week placement, the students received essential training while at Cambridge over the summer, and are taking [17.2] the specialist skills they have learned back home.
 Read more – link in bio.
 This was the first partnership of its kind between the University of Cambridge, @cuh_nhs, @royalpaworth, @cpft_nhs, @illumina and @homertoncollege.
 #CambridgeUniversity #Cambridge #UniversityOfCambridge #Ukraine #Kharkiv #Healthcare

Here, the reference to “the specialist skills they have learned” in [C-17.2] can be interpreted as an instance of evoked positive *appreciation* in terms of *valuation*, for it seems to suggest that the Kharkiv medical students’ experience at Cambridge has been both valuable and enriching.

What is more, the posts foregrounding *sense of place* by reference to *the university as a site* also include some instance of evaluation in terms of *appreciation*. For the most part, these posts include people’s *reactions* to the beauty they encounter on campus. Last but not least, *appreciation* was also identified in posts foregrounding *locale*. Within this aspect of place, assessments are done in terms of *reaction*, *composition* and *valuation*, as exemplified below:

[C-91] [91.1] We’re celebrating the 4th annual Women in Aerospace event 
 [91.2] Over 80 women from varying backgrounds, disciplines, and careers came together last week to discuss [91.3] the importance of diversity in the aviation industry and how it can help transform the sector to one that works better for people and the planet.
 The event was held at the Whittle Laboratory and @newnhamcollege, and hosted by the EPSRC Centre for Doctoral Training in Future Propulsion and Power, with partners at the @Oxford_Uni and @lboroUniversity.
 #Diversity #Aerospace #WomenInSTEM #STEM #Careers #Cambridge #UniversityOfCambridge #CambridgeUniversity #Aviation #WorkplaceCulture #November #2022

[C-95] // [95.1] The discovery of a new fossil bird species has overturned 150 years of what we know about the origin of modern birds.
 Cambridge researchers were finally able to see a fossilised skeleton that had been hidden inside a rock for 20 years. [95.2] What they saw substantially changed our understanding of a key evolutionary feature of modern birds.
 Tap the link in our bio to find out more about Janavis finalidens and its impact.
 @fieldpalaeo @cambridgeearthsciences
 #CambridgeUniversity #Birds #Evolution #Research #December #2022

The first post quoted above, [C-91], makes reference to the 4th annual Women in Aerospace event. The expression “over 80 women from varying backgrounds, disciplines and careers” in [C-91.2] can be interpreted as an instance of inscribed positive *appreciation* in terms of *composition*. This is a way to reinforce once again that Cambridge University welcomes and celebrates diversity. The second post included above, [C-95], refers to a piece of research conducted by Cambridge experts. Their discovery is overtly assessed in terms of positive *appreciation*, more specifically in terms of *valuation*. It is presented as a discovery which “has overturned 150 years of what we know about the origin of modern birds” in [C-95.1]. Its significance is later restated by reference to the substantial change the discovery entails for the understanding of the evolution of birds.

4.7. Attitude (Oxford)

Before proceeding to a detailed analysis of the concrete linguistic instantiations of evaluation found in the University of Oxford's posts, this section offers some general remarks as to the results obtained. After analysing the university's posts, out of the 168 posts collected, we were left with 65 in which evaluation in terms of *attitude* was detected. In these posts, 87 occurrences of an evaluative nature were singled out. A thorough examination of the University of Oxford's posts by reference to the subsystem of *attitude* revealed the instances of *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation* and their respective types that follow:

Subsystem of attitude	No. of occurrences	No. of occurrences per type	
AFFECT	33	(+) des	13
		(+) hap	9
		(-) hap	1
		(+) sat	10
JUDGEMENT	11	(+) norm	2
		(+) cap	4
		(+) ten	2
		(+) prop	3
APPRECIATION	43	(+) reac	23
		(+) comp	3
		(+) val	17

Table 7. Number of Instances of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation Found in Oxford University's Posts

As outlined in the table above, among the total number of evaluative instantiations found in Oxford University's posts, *appreciation* is the most salient appraisal resource used. In addition, a high percentage of the academic institution's postings shows evaluation in terms of *affect*. Lastly, instances of *judgement* are also identified in the university's choice of words. It is also worth noting that almost all appraisal resources analysed are instances of *positive attitude*. In the following subsections, an analysis of the *attitude* subsystems will be given. Such dimensions will be examined and exemplified by taking into consideration the *aspects of place*.

4.7.1. Affect in Oxford's Posts

To present itself online as an *experienced space*, the University of Oxford makes use of *affect* as a resource in posts foregrounding *sense of place* by reference to *the university as a community*. In this respect, the university fosters the feelings of *desire*, *happiness* and *satisfaction*. *Desire*, for instance, is employed in posts made on special celebrations such as festivities. For instance:

[O-28] [28.1] #WelcomeToOxford to all our new students and welcome back to everyone returning. 🙌
[28.2] Here's to an amazing 2022-23! 🥂
If you're a new Oxford student make sure you follow @oxunistudents for essential news and info!
📱 | @eric_hetti
#oxforduniversity #oxfordviews #oxfordstudents #oxfordunilife

Through the expression in [O-28.2], an instance of *irrealis affect*, the university overtly wishes its alumni “an amazing” academic year at the beginning of a new term and, in so doing, fosters a sense of community among the members. The strong bonds of the community are also strengthened by other feelings evoked, as seen in the following posts:

[O-9] [9.1] It is with sadness that we hear of the death of Her Majesty The Queen. Over the last seven decades [9.2] the collegiate University has been honoured by a close association with The Queen, and [9.3] we give thanks for her 70 years' of service to the nation.

[O-47] [47.1] Many congratulations to everyone who matriculated this weekend – [47.2] the official welcome to the University of Oxford! 🎉
📱 | @TrinityCollegeOx, @spc_jcr, @flav15c (@mansfieldoxford), @liber.ray (@spc_oxford)

In the first post quoted, the feeling of *unhappiness*, more specifically *misery*, is conveyed as Oxford University announces the death of Queen Elizabeth II in [O-9.1]. The two other expressions underlined in the same posts, that is, “the collegiate University has been honoured” in [O-9.2] and “we give thanks for her 70 years' of service to the nation” in [O-9.3], are examples of the feeling of *satisfaction*, in particular of *pleasure*, which express the pride the institution takes on the association with the late monarch. In the second post, the university expresses *satisfaction* (*pleasure*) as it welcomes the new members of the Oxford community and, in so doing, it congratulates them on matriculating in [O-47.1]. Through this official welcome in [O-47.2], an instance of *happiness* (*affect*), the university portrays itself as one that embraces its students.

Oxford also incorporates *affect* in posts bringing to the fore *sense of place* by reference to *the university as its members*. Among the most recurrent feelings evoked is *satisfaction*. One such instance which conveys *pleasure* is present in a post whereby a former Oxford student overtly states how proud she feels about going back to the university's premises to get married:

[O-3] From student to bride. We love this 😊
📱 | @emilyqureshihurst
Image text: I have been at Pembroke for 9 years, from an 18 year old undergraduate to a 27 year old Junior Research Fellow. It was an honour, a privilege, and incredibly special to marry the love of my life on Saturday @PembrokeOxford @UniofOxford

This attitude domain also features in those posts building the subjective attachment around *the university as a site*. In connection with this aspect of place, two main feelings are evoked: *happiness* and *desire*. The following posts serve as illustrations of them as found in the corpus:

[O-23] [23.1] A wonderful Oxford heirloom 🥰

📷 Twitter | Dr SarahLouMiller

#OxfordStory #OxfordUniLife #FamilyHeirloom

Image text: In the late 1940s, my wonderful late grandmother was studying at @UniofOxford and lacked a desk. Her father had this one built for her from shipyard scrap wood, and she kept it all her life. Now it is mine, and I've brought it home to her college! [23.2] Excited to be at @Imhoxford

[O-6] An important hidden message in @StEdmundHall Library 📖

#NationalReadABookDay

Image text: Please handle us with great care. WE ARE OLD. [6.1] We have served many generations in the past and [6.2] we would like to be of service in the future.

The first post refers to a piece of furniture which a student had back in the 1940s and which is now being used by her granddaughter years later. Within such context, the expression in [O-23.2] conveys *happiness*, more specifically *cheer*, as the student expresses her joy at being there and at having the chance of using her ancestor's piece of furniture. The second post introduces a different strategy: the books are personified. The expression in [O-6.2] evokes the books' *desire* to serve future generations.

Finally, *affect* is also used in posts foregrounding *locale*. In this respect, the most recurrent feelings in academic-related and social events are *desire*, *happiness* and *satisfaction*, as illustrated in the posts that follow:

[O-142] Season's greetings from the University of Oxford 🎊

[O-63] Students and staff celebrating Diwali earlier this week ☐

📷 | @christchurchoxford & @MansfieldOxford

#OxfordStudents #OxfordUniLife #OxfordUniStudents #Diwali #Diwali2022 #OxfordColleges

[O-20] Congratulations to everyone who graduated last week! 🎓

📷 | @Luis_Louis_Lewis & @spc_oxford

#OxfordStudents #OxfordUniStudents #OxfordUniLife #Graduation #GraduationSeason

Desire is evoked, for instance, in [O-142] as the University sends its members greetings as the academic year comes to an end. In [O-63] the feeling conveyed is *happiness* (*cheer*) as seen in the festive mood both students and staff are in as they celebrate Diwali. As part of the graduation season, Oxford University shared post [O-20]. There, the University expresses the feeling of *satisfaction*, more specifically *pleasure*, as it congratulates its students on graduating.

4.7.2. Judgement in Oxford's Posts

As introduced in Table 7 above, assessments of behaviour are not a recurrent evaluative resource the University of Oxford makes use of to present itself online. The appraisal analysis

conducted by reference to the *aspects of place* has revealed that this university incorporates judgement in posts foregrounding *sense of place* by reference to *the university as its members*. In such posts, there are evaluations which judge the behaviour of Oxford members in a positive light, in terms of *social esteem* –i.e. social acceptability of behaviour. The following post serves as an example of that:

[O-136] [136.1] Congratulations to Vice-Chancellor Professor Louise Richardson who [136.2] *received her Damehood for services to Higher Education at Windsor Castle* yesterday. 🎉

The first post, shared by the University in celebration of the Vice-Chancellor's reception of her honorary damehood, includes an instance of positive *judgement* in terms of *social esteem*. This reference highlights the Vice-Chancellor's *capacity*, for this recognition is awarded to her "for services to Higher Education", as expressed in [O-136.2]. Moreover, within this same aspect of place, some instances of evoked *judgement* in terms of *social sanction* –i.e. assessments on ethics and moral behaviour– are also identified:

[O-49] Rapper and music producer @ajtracey partners with @SPC Oxford to help Black students at Oxford University.
The AJ Tracey Fund also aims to support research into Black histories and experiences.
📷 | @re.mark

In this case, the post assesses the role a rapper and music producer who worked together with Saint Peter's College at Oxford played in helping Black students at Oxford University. This description can be interpreted as an instance of evoked positive *judgement*, in particular of *propriety*.

Further occurrences of *judgement* are present in posts foregrounding *sense of place* by reference to *the university as a site*. As to this, there are two posts worth mentioning which refer to Oxford libraries and include assessments in terms of *social esteem* and *social sanction*:

[O-156] St Anne's College Library creating a Christmas tree from books! 📖🌲
📷 | @stanneslibrary
#OxfordLibrary #OxfordLibraries #OxfordUni #OxfordUniLife #LibrariesOfInstagram
#LibrariesOfInsta #ChristmasTree #XmasTree #Christmas2022

[O-6] An important hidden message in @StEdmundHall Library 📖
#NationalReadABookDay
Image text: Please handle us with great care. WE ARE OLD. [6.1] We have served many generations in the past and [6.2] we would like to be of service in the future.

Post [O-156] alludes to St Anne's College Library and a Christmas tree made from some of the library's books. This reference is an instance of evoked positive *judgement* in terms of *social esteem*. In particular, this suggests that this is the way in which they celebrate the festivity and, therefore, expresses the *normality* you may encounter at Oxford. Post [O-6] refers to St Edmund Hall's Library. Here, assessment of behaviour is also implicit. The books are personified

and, in so doing, they are evaluated in terms of *social sanction* for it is their service to the many generations that have been to Oxford that is highlighted. This conveys *propriety*.

Oxford also incorporates this attitude domain as part of the posts which bring to the fore *locale*, as illustrated below:

[O-12]  | [12.1] The University of Oxford has secured the top spot in @thetimes and Sunday Times Good University Guide 2023.
Image text: "It is a testament to the [12.2] talent and commitment of staff all across the collegiate University as well as to [12.3] the creativity and [12.4] resilience of our students who refused to allow a pandemic to derail their education." Professor Dame Louise Richardson, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

Here, the university celebrates the position it achieved within the academic community. The reference to the University securing a high position in [O-12.1] is an instance of evoked positive *judgement* in terms of *social esteem*, more specifically of the university's *capacity*. The explicit mention of the staff's "talent", "commitment" and "creativity" are instances of inscribed *capacity*, which allude to the people who make up the Oxford community. Finally, the comment of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University as to Oxford student's "resilience" in [O-12.4] to the hardships they faced during the pandemic is also an instance of *judgement* in terms of *social esteem* which illustrates *tenacity*.

4.7.3. Appreciation in Oxford's Posts

Overall, *appreciation* is the most recurrent evaluation resource used Oxford's posts. On its self-presentation on Instagram, the university mostly includes the evaluation of the aesthetic or ethical value of things in posts foregrounding *sense of place* by reference to *the university* as a *site*. In this respect, the most frequent allusions concern the numerous spots at Oxford University one may enjoy. In the post that follows, the use of the adjective "stunning" exemplifies inscribed positive *appreciation* in terms of *reaction*:

[O-21] A stunning view from @universitychurchoxford 
 | @Your.LocalTourist
#OxfordViews #OxfordUniLife #OxfordSkyline #UniversityChurch

Within this aspect of place, there are some other types of *appreciation* identified, as seen in the assessment in terms of the *composition* and the *value* of the Bodleian Libraries:

[O-77] #OnThisDay in 1602, the Bodleian Library first opened its doors to scholars! 
[77.1] With over 13 million printed books and over 80,000 e-journals, [77.2] the @BodleianLibraries have become one of the largest library services in Europe 
 Oxford University Images

This post, shared to commemorate the opening of the Library, makes reference to the millions of printed books and e-journals available there. It evokes positive *appreciation* in terms

of *composition*. The expression in [O-77.2], an instance of *valuation*, highlights that this is “one of the largest library services in Europe”.

Oxford University also includes assessment of this kind in posts foregrounding *sense of place* by reference to *the university as its members*. One such example concerns an expedition into the Indonesian rainforests an Oxford researcher embarked on to search for the world's largest and most mysterious flowers. The researcher's experience is described as a life-changing moment and, therefore, assessed in terms of *valuation*. This example of the type of research conducted at Oxford sheds light on the areas which are of academic interest to the university.

Moreover, *appreciation* is also present in those posts which express *sense of place* around the notion of *the university as a community*, as exemplified below:

[O-167] Our most-liked Oxford pictures from 2022 – what's been your favourite? 📷
📷 @ballioljcr (February, 2022), @Juncao_Oxford (July, 2022), @hertfordcollege (December, 2022), @iamanadiamond (June, 2022), @EstherJohnsonPhotography (December, 2022), @lincolncollegeoxford (March, 2022), @yushi_zhao_ (May, 2022), Amanda Sharp (Twitter – November, 2022), @bodleianlibraries (January 2022)

To summarise what Oxford's 2022 was like, the University shared post [O-167]. In this post, the reference to “our most-liked Oxford pictures” illustrates inscribed *appreciation* in terms of *reaction* because it entails that those were the pictures that Oxford's IG followers liked. There is a further instance of *appreciation* found in connection with this aspect of place which is worth exploring:

[O-34] #OnThisDay in 1920, women were granted the right to take degrees at Oxford University.
130 women took part in the historic matriculation at the Divinity School. A week later, the first women received their Oxford degrees in the Sheldonian Theatre.
📷 | @st_annes_college
#OTD #WomensHistory #OxfordHistory #OxfordUni #Matriculation #SheldonianTheatre
#OnThisDayInHistory #OxfordWomen

This post celebrates the inclusion of women at Oxford University. The reference to such a date as “the historic matriculation at the Divinity School” constitutes an example of inscribed positive *appreciation* in terms of *valuation*. The words chosen clearly emphasise the exceptional character of the event that took place.

Last but not least, *appreciation* was also present in some posts which bring *locale* to the fore. One example of that is a post which was also made on 7th October 2022 to welcome Oxford's newcomers:

[O-35] [35.1] Welcome to Oxford! @oxfordstudents have been busy this week welcoming our Freshers with an array of activities - [35.2] the Freshers' Fair has been a great success 🎉

This post makes reference to Freshers' Fair, an event organised the week before the academic term begins. As it is overtly stated in [O-35.2], the Fair is described as a “great success”. This is an instance of inscribed positive *appreciation* in terms of *valuation*.

5. Discussion of Findings

One of the significant findings from the analysis is that the five universities have a distinctive and consistent approach to the way they present themselves as institutions which offer a myriad of experiences to the members of their communities. To do so, the universities allude to academic-related experiences (teaching, learning and research) as well as to sports-related, recreational and social experiences which enrich university life. This confirms the first hypothesis presented in the introduction:

1. Through the posts they share on their Instagram accounts, universities present themselves online as *lived spaces* which offer a myriad of experiences to the members of their communities.

On presenting themselves online as *experienced spaces*, the first tool they make use of is their IG bio. What is interesting to note is the degree of consistency observed between the choice of words each university uses in its Instagram bio and the most salient aspect of place the institutions bring to the fore through their posts. Harvard's self-presentation explicitly fosters the sharing of photographs which capture experiences on campus and around the world. There seems to be a correlation between this focus on the photos and the fact that the most salient *aspect of place* brought to the fore in the posts is *sense of place*. In fact, the institution emphasises *the university as a site*; an aspect which is primarily conveyed, for instance, by mentioning how beautiful the grounds and campus are or by referring to the myriad of experiences awaiting on Campus.

The other two American universities choose, instead, to highlight their standing within the academic community worldwide. Stanford University, for its part, presents itself as a world leader in research and teaching and also highlights its advocacy to safeguard the environment by implementing climate solutions. Here again, there seems to be a clear connection with the aspects of place the university highlights through its posts, for the two most prominent ones are *sense of place (the university as its members)* and *locale* –aspects closely tied to research and teaching. Through some testimonials and personal stories, Stanford also presents itself as an institution which embraces a diversity and which includes international students and people who belong to ethnic minority groups. Moreover, references to the academic achievements and the research conducted reveal the university's advocacy to the environment as well as the numerous studies carried out to develop large-scale solutions to climate change.

Likewise, MIT opts to present itself as a global leading research, education and innovation institution in its Instagram bio and does so by foregrounding *sense of place (the university as its members)* and *locale* through its posts. Diversity, in this case, is more pronounced for not only does it comprise undergraduate and graduate students from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, but also the countless number of programmes and courses to choose from. MIT's

faculty members' academic recognition and the long-standing careers of the institution's authorities help position MIT as a leader within the academic community. As for *locale*, it is worth noting that, unlike Stanford, the assumption underlying MIT's posts is that research-related tasks and activities can be a pleasurable experience. Through these posts the university introduces the numerous research endeavours undertaken to highlight the innovative nature and the advancement of knowledge.

Unlike the universities from the US, the ones from the UK do not overtly present themselves in their Instagram bios. Still, both of them emphasise their welcoming nature. While the University of Cambridge does so by inviting its IG followers to share their experiences, the University of Oxford encourages followers to explore its latest news. The correlation between this short self-presentation and the aspects of place foregrounded through the posts is not that evident in these two universities. The most prominent aspect of place Cambridge foregrounds is *sense of place (the university as its members)*. There is, however, in the use of this aspect of place a strategy which indirectly fosters Cambridge's welcoming and embracing attitude: the repetition of the same people in series such as Why my College or Meet my Society by means of which a sense of familiarity between the university and its followers is created. In the case of Oxford, this correlation is not present. The university mainly presents itself through posts foregrounding *sense of place (the university as a site)* and, in so doing, two aspects are highlighted: the beauty of the university and its facilities and the prestigious position this university holds within the academic community worldwide.

What has been outlined so far confirms the second hypothesis presented in the introduction:

2. By foregrounding different *aspects of place* in the construction of their identity as *experienced spaces*, universities build their institutional identity and position themselves within the academic community.

Moreover, the analysis shows that a further parallelism can be drawn between the *aspects of place* foregrounded through the posts and the concrete linguistic instantiations of *affect, judgement* and *appreciation* the universities use as part of the *textual discursive space*. In broad terms, there is a tendency towards *appreciation* in Stanford, MIT, Cambridge and Oxford, whereas in the case of Harvard *affect* is the most salient appraisal resource used. Evaluation in terms of *judgement* is the least frequent resource in the five universities. The general remarks that are developed below serve as confirmation of the third hypothesis presented in the introduction:

3. The use of *attitude* as an evaluative linguistic resource is central to the way in which the universities present themselves online through their Instagram posts.

Harvard uses *affect* in testimonials to overtly express students' *desires*. In so doing, the university presents itself as a place which offers its students the prospect of meeting people from different backgrounds and learning from them, and as a place which offers them the chance to both challenge and enjoy themselves by joining the many clubs available and by taking part in the many events organised. Other positive feelings such as *happiness*, *satisfaction* and *security* also add up to the many experiences this institution offers.

The second domain of attitude Harvard makes use of is *appreciation*. Assessments of this kind portray the university as a supportive community and as one that has a diverse student body which not only has a large black community, but also brings together people from all parts of the world, from different racial and ethnic identities, from different religious traditions and people with disabilities.

The last appraisal resource contributing to Harvard's self-presentation is *judgement*. In this respect, assessments of *social esteem* highlight Harvard's members' achievements and persevering nature. Assessments of *social sanction* serve as illustration of the many values the university cherishes, the institution's caring nature and generosity towards members of the Harvard community as well as towards members of the community at large.

Stanford's most salient appraisal resource is *appreciation*. Like Harvard, this university is evaluated by reference to the *reactions* triggered: applying to this university is defined as a gratifying experience, Stanford's premises are described by reference to their beauty and the university itself is presented as the students' home. This university also presents itself as an institution whose student body is diverse and embraces students who are the first in their families to attend university. Its position as a world leader in research and teaching and an advocate of implementing climate solutions which protect the environment is repeatedly highlighted by reference to the work done at Stanford Doerr School of Sustainability and the value and uniqueness underpinning the research the institution conducts. This university also portrays itself as a place where dreams come true, where students continue dreaming and where community and family are welcomed. Moreover, Stanford appears as a place which not only allows its students to flourish, but, most importantly, encourages them to place their skills in the service of creating a better world.

As for the use of appraisal resources which convey *affect*, Stanford also makes use of testimonials to voice its students' *desires*, *happiness*, *satisfaction* and their sense of *security*; feelings which clearly portray the university in a positive light. Stanford also turns to assessments of behaviour (*judgement*) on its self-presentation. Evaluation in terms of *social esteem* primarily emphasises the members' *capacity*. People at Stanford are then defined as extraordinary and clever, aspects which showcase that they are not only serious academically speaking, but also that they are entertaining company. Besides, each of the members of the community is thought to be special and unique, and to bring something to the community. Assessments in terms of *social sanction*, as in the case of Harvard, also refer to members of the community working

together and helping each other to strive for a better planet; an aspect which also reinforces Stanford's commitment to sustainability.

MIT also incorporates *appreciation* as the main evaluative resource to present itself online. Like Stanford, the university's posts restate its position as a global leader in research, education and innovation. MIT presents itself as the capital of intellectual fun and as an academic institution whose scientific developments foster new sustainable technologies and, in so doing, offer faster, more powerful and newer transformation pathways. MIT's legacy is also key in its self-presentation, not only in terms of the university's connection to its past –as MIT's campus has a tree which is a descendant of the tree which inspired Newton's theory–, but also in that the research conducted aims to move society forward in a positive way or even transform the future of science. Diversity is also a value this university cherishes. In the case of this university, this alludes to how inclusive and diverse MIT's community is and the many scientific developments one can encounter at this institution.

With regard to *affect*, MIT also resorts to testimonials to express its students' *desires*. However, unlike Harvard and Stanford, the desires mentioned are not necessarily confined to students' educational experiences, but they aim at changing people's lives. *Happiness* is evoked to showcase the celebratory mood of the events organised by the university, *security* is alluded to in order to reinforce how safe, comfortable and at ease those students feel and *satisfaction* is expressed to highlight the creations students come across on campus. MIT also presents itself as an academic institution which aims at building close bonds with the members of its community.

MIT also takes advantage of evaluative instantiations of *judgement* to construct its identity online. Some of the assessments in terms of *social esteem* signal the uniqueness that characterises MIT's students and the academic excellence of MIT's professors; the latter being tightly connected with the institution's portrayal as a leader in teaching. Moreover, the members' brilliant and entrepreneurial nature is reflected in the kind of research conducted, as some of it aims at solving the world's greatest climate challenges. Assessments in terms of *social sanction* also bring to the fore the institution's values and its caring nature.

Cambridge University, for its part, also exhibits *appreciation* as the most salient appraisal resource in its posts. Like Harvard and Stanford, this university also defines itself by reference to the friendly and welcoming environment it provides. What is more, Cambridge's characterisation as a place which embraces diversity is conveyed by alluding to the different colleges that make up this university. For instance, Trinity College is described as the one which has the largest intake of international students, Clare Hall College as a postgraduate-only institution which has a very vibrant and intellectual community and Lucy Cavendish as the one which has the most diverse student body, to name only a few. This richness also concerns the societies and clubs the university offers, the extensive range of services the University Counselling Service provides and the breadth of subjects and courses available.

Unlike the other four universities analysed, Cambridge's testimonials are different in nature. Most of them consist of videos whereby students share their experiences at university and

express their *happiness* by alluding to their entertaining times studying or their fondness for the premises. They also express *security* by referring to how well-supported they felt during exam seasons and the pandemic. As in the case of MIT, instances of negative *security* only serve the purpose of reinforcing the fact that Cambridge's community is so inclusive that even someone who attended a state school has the chance to study there. Besides, the feeling of *satisfaction* is evoked to refer to the *pleasure* the university takes in matriculating new members of the community and in seeing graduates host a dinner in celebration of Black History Month. *Satisfaction* is also conveyed by reference to the *pride* the university takes in its high standing with respect to social and environmental sustainability performance.

Cambridge also incorporates assessment of *judgement* on presenting itself online. Like Harvard, this university makes a point of its student body embracing members who are the first generation in their families to go to university. Besides, by defining its members as leading experts, as people who have distinguished careers and also as academic leaders, the university accounts for its high standing within the academic community. This university also highlights its generosity when referring to the friendly and generous attitude on the part of the interviewees who conduct the Application Interviews and the caring nature of the members of the Counselling Services, to name but a few. Last but not least, instances of negative *propriety* on assessing the behaviour of people who do not belong to this university are a way to condemn unethical behaviour and reinforce the ethical values the university upholds.

The University of Oxford, for its part, also uses *appreciation* as an appraisal resource in its posts. Most of the occurrences allude to the beauty of the place and the festive atmosphere surrounding this university. Diversity plays a role in Oxford's self-presentation. However, as opposed to the way the other four universities foster this diversity, Oxford exhibits variety in relation to the many spots the university has to offer its members or even the vast collection of books the Bodleian Libraries have at their disposal. This university is also presented as one characterised by tradition. Research is referred to, but it is not as prominent as in the cases of Stanford, MIT and Cambridge.

Affect is another dimension Oxford resorts to in constructing its identity online. Unlike the other four universities analysed, the University of Oxford makes a more limited use of testimonials. It does, however, personify books to express desire and to highlight the university's long tradition within the academic community. Numerous feelings are evoked to build on the institution's caring attitude towards its students and the festive mood is also very much present in its posts. The least frequent evaluation resource this university includes in its posts is judgement. Here again, assessments of *social esteem* serve the purpose of fostering a sense of uniqueness and of accounting for the top position the University of Oxford holds within the academic community. Evaluative instantiations of *social sanction* primarily bring to the fore the university's charitable nature.

6. Conclusion

At the heart of the use of social networking sites lies the *presentation of the self*, an aspect which is tightly linked to the notion of *identity*. In this respect, it may be argued that participants bring into the computer-mediated arena an individual but composite identity constructed psychologically, socially and culturally, which they enact on a personal basis. Instagram –as many other social network sites available today– allows its users to construct and enact their identities online. In fact, users are given the chance to decide how they want to present themselves to the Instagram community by making use of the series of affordances at their disposal. The digital environment, however, not only allows individuals to construct and enact their identity, but also companies and other types of institutions, as is the case with universities.

Against this background, this study has set out to explore the extent to which Harvard University, Stanford University, MIT, University of Cambridge and University of Oxford make use of Instagram to construct and enact their identity online. Identity construction and enactment in the case of universities seems to be built around the notion of *experienced spaces* (Parini and Yus, 2023). Following the categories proposed by Agnew (1987), this study has also explored the extent to which the *aspects of place* foregrounded by each of the universities in its posts sheds light on the way they present themselves on Instagram and the position they hold within the academic community.

From the on-the-ground analysis of the data collected, it is apparent that the five universities actively choose to foreground a distinctive set of *aspects of place* through the resources the platform offers –i.e. their posts. This foregrounding is in line with Goffman's (1959) concept of *frontstage*. By choosing what to bring to the fore, these universities construct and enact their institutional identity online. In this sense, the study conducted reveals that these idealised versions of the institutions share a common pattern: the universities do not present themselves as the mere premises the members of the academic community assist on a regular basis, but instead as spaces which such members experience on different levels.

Even if there is some variation as to the figures obtained in connection to the different *aspects of place* foregrounded, in general terms, there seems to be a tendency among the five institutions to build their identity around the notion of *sense of place*. This means that they mainly construct and enact their institutional identity online by reference to the emotional and subjective attachment to the university.

Along these lines, the three appraisal domains of *attitude* (Martin and Rose 2007; Martin and White, 2005) were analysed in the linguistic component of the posts with a view to gaining insight into how the universities selected discursively construct their institutional identity online. The two most salient resources used by the universities were *appreciation* and *affect*, though instances of assessment in terms of *judgement* were also found. What is more, the analysis of the institutional self-portrayal of each of the universities revealed that there is some degree of consistency in the explicitly stated choice of words which make up the universities' IG bio, the

distinct set of *aspects of place* foregrounded and the use they make of appraisal resources in the *textual discursive space* of their Instagram accounts.

Finally, a brief comment on some of the limitations of this study as well as some ideas for future research are in order now. It is fair to say that, due to length constraints, this study focuses on *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation* –the three subdomains of *attitude*– to explore the concrete linguistic instantiation of evaluation in the posts of each university. In doing so, we left aside the *engagement* and *graduation* dimensions of Appraisal Theory. Moreover, this piece of research primarily focuses on the *textual discursive* space of each of the universities under analysis –in particular their Instagram bios, the captions to the posts, the words written as part of the posts and the words uttered in the video-posts– to delve into identity construction through the evaluative resources the universities use. On that note, it would be fruitful to study, for instance, the use these universities make of *engagement* to explore the way in which certain matters are addressed or endorsed, or the extent to which the use of emojis serves as a *graduation* resource to intensify the meanings conveyed. It would also be interesting to explore the role these elements play in the construction of identity online. An intriguing prospect for future research is the study of the *visual*, *audiovisual* and *pictorial discursive* spaces, with a view to seeing the extent to which this study's findings can be enriched by a multimodal analysis comprising all four discursive spaces.

References

- About Instagram (December, 2017). Introducing Stories Highlights and Stories Archive. Retrieved from <https://about.instagram.com/blog/announcements/introducing-stories-highlights-and-stories-archive>
- Agnew, J. A. (1987). *The United States in the World Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Agnew, J. A. & Duncan, J. S. (2011). *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Human Geography*. United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Albert, S. & Whetten, D. A. (1985). Organizational identity. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 7(2), 263-295.
- Androutsopoulos, J. & Georgakopoulou, A. (2003). *Discourse constructions of youth identities*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Ashforth, B. E. & Mael, F. A. (1996). Organization identity and strategy as a context for the individual. *Advances in strategic management*, 13, 19-64. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Blake-Ashforth/publication/275657324_Organizational_Identity_and_Strategy_as_a_Context_for_the_Individual/links/5d9f8d8745851553ff86935e/Organizational-Identity-and-Strategy-as-a-Context-for-the-Individual.pdf
- Askehave, I. (2007). The impact of marketization on higher education genres—the international student prospectus as a case in point. *Discourse Studies*, 9(6), 723- 742. doi: 10.1177/1461445607082576
- Balmer, J. M. & Gray, E. R. (1999). Corporate identity and corporate communications: creating a competitive advantage. *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, 4 (4), 171-176. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/235279083_Corporate_identity_and_corporate_communications_creating_a_competitive_advantage CORPORATE COMMUNICATION CORPORATE IDENTITY CORPORATE IMAGE CORPORATE REPUTATION TOTAL CORPORATE COMMUNICATIONS CORPORAT
- Barker, M. S. (Eds.). (2013). *Social media marketing: A strategic approach*. Mason, OH: South-Western, Cengage Learning.
- Basset, E. & O’Riordan, K. (2002). Ethics of Internet Research: Contesting the Human Subjects Research Model, *Ethics and Information Technology*, 4, 233–247. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1021319125207>
- Benwell, B. & Stokoe, E. (2006). *Discourse and identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bou-Franch, P. (2023). The lived experience of place in a Twitter affinity space around the death of sports celebrity Maradona. In A. Parini & F. Yus (Eds.), *The discursive construction of place in the digital age* (pp. 95-120). New York, London: Routledge.

- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 15-29). Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Boyd, D. & Ellison, N. B. (2007). Social network sites: definition, history and scholarship. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13(1), 210-230. Retrieved from <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00393.x>
- Cataldo, J. (2020). *Just post it: a critical discourse analysis on Nike's Instagram*. (Thesis, University of Hampshire). Retrieved from <https://scholars.unh.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1543&context=honors>
- Cheng, X. & Shi, X. (2021). A corpus-based study of the discursive construction of corporate identities by Chinese and American banks. *Contrastive Pragmatics* 3 (2), 313–335. Retrieved from https://brill.com/view/journals/jocp/3/2/article-p313_6.xml?language=en
- Christensen, L. T. (2008). Corporate and organizational identity. In W. Donsbach (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of communication* (pp. 1014-1019). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Cresswell, T. (2011). Place. In J. A. Agnew & J. S. Duncan (Eds.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Human Geography* (pp. 235-244). United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell.
- De Fina, A. (2003). *Identity in narrative: a study of immigrant discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- De Fina, A. (2010). The negotiation of identities. In M. A. Locher & S. L. Graham (Eds.), *Interpersonal Pragmatics* (pp. 205-224). Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton.
- De Fina, A., Schiffrin, D. & Bamberg, M. (2006). *Discourse and identity*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Edwards, J. (2009). *Language and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2015). Sharing as Rescripting: Place Manipulations on Youtube Between Narrative and Social Media Affordances. *Discourse, Context and Media* 9, 64–72. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2015.07.002>
- Gilpin, D. R. (2011). *A networked self: Identity, community and culture on social network sites*. New York: Routledge.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Anchor Books.
- Herring, S. (2001). Computer-mediated discourse. In D. Tannen, H. E. Hamilton & D. Schiffrin (Eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 612-627). USA: Wiley Blackwell.
- Herring, S. (2013). Discourse in Web 2.0: Familiar, reconfigured, and emergent. In D. Tannen & A. M. Trester (Eds.), *Discourse 2.0. Language and Media* (pp. 1-25). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Herring, S. C. & Kapidzic, S. (2015). Teens, gender, and self-presentation in social media. *International encyclopedia of social and behavioural sciences*, 2(3), 1-16. Retrieved from <https://homes.luddy.indiana.edu/herring/teens.gender.pdf>
- Hui, K. L. (2009). *Higher education in a globalised market: A comparative discourse study of university prospectuses in Hong Kong and the United Kingdom*. (M.A. Thesis, The

- University of Edinburgh, UK). Retrieved from https://era.ed.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/1842/3631/9416184_Dissertation.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
- Instagram Help Centre (n.d.). *Verified badges*.
https://help.instagram.com/854227311295302/?helpref=hc_fnav
- Jones, R. H., Chik, A. & Hafner, C. A. (2015). Introduction: Discourse analysis and digital practices. In R. H. Jones, A. Chick & C. A. Hafner (Eds.), *Discourse analysis and digital practices: doing discourse analysis in the digital age* (pp. 1-17). London: Routledge.
- Joseph, J. (2004). *Language and identity*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kennedy, J. (2020). *Digital Media, sharing and everyday life*. India: Routledge.
- Kleinke, S., Hernández, N. & Bös, B. (2018). Identity construction in complex discourse contexts. In B. Bös, S. Kleinke, S. Mollin & N. Hernández (Eds.), *The discursive construction of identities on- and offline. Personal - group - collective* (pp. 2-11). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Koller, V. (2005). Critical discourse analysis and social cognition: evidence from business media discourse. *Discourse & Society*, 16(2), 199-224. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/239546862_Critical_discourse_analysis_and_social_cognition_Evidence_from_business_media_discourse
- Kozinets, R. (2010). *Netnography. Doing Ethnographic Research Online*. Los Angeles, USA: Sage.
- Krämer, N. C. & Hakerhamp, N. (2011). Online self-presentation: balancing privacy concerns and impression construction on social networking sites. In S. Trepte & L. Reinecke (Eds.), *Privacy online: perspectives on privacy and self-disclosure in the social web* (pp. 127-141). Berlin: Springer.
- Kress, G. (2010). *A social semiotic approach to contemporary communication*. London: Routledge.
- Landert, D. & Jucker, A. (2011). Private and Public in Mass Media Communication: From Letters to the Editor to Online Commentaries. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43, 1422-1434. Retrieved from <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0378216610003504>
- Lee, C. (2014). Language choice and self-presentation in social media: the case of university students in Hong Kong. In P. Seargeant & C. Tagg (Eds.), *The language of social media. Identity and community on the internet* (pp. 91-111). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lee, C. K. (2011). Micro-blogging and status updates on Facebook: texts and practices. Digital Discourse: Language in the New Media. In C. Thurlow, & K. Mroczek (Eds.), *Digital discourse: Language in the new media* (pp. 110–128). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Martin, J. R. & Rose, D. (2007). *Working with discourse: meaning beyond the clause*. London, New York: Continuum.

- Martin, J. R. & White, P. R. R. (2005). *The language of evaluation: appraisal in English*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mehdizadeh, S. (2010). Self-presentation 2.0: narcissism and self-esteem on Facebook. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, Social Networking*, 13(4), 357-364. doi: 10.1089/cyber.2009.0257
- Merunková, L. & Šlerka, J. (2019). Goffman's theory as a framework for analysis of self presentation on online social networks. *Masaryk University Journal of Law and Technology*, 13(2), 243-276. doi: <https://doi.org/10.5817/MUJLT2019-2-5>
- Miri, J. (2016). *Online Corporate Identities: A multimodal analysis of the communication patterns in the social media marketing posts on #Instagram by three multinational companies*. (Thesis, Université de Lausanne, Switzerland). Retrieved from https://serval.unil.ch/resource/serval:BIB_S_000000023990.P001/REF.pdf.
- Osman, H. (2008). Re-branding academic institutions with corporate advertising: a genre perspective. *Discourse & Communication*, 2(1), 57-77. doi: 10.1177/1750481307085577
- Parini, A. (2023). Estilos del discurso digital (Digital Discourse Studies). In C. López Ferrero, I. E. Carranza & T. A. van Dijk (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Spanish Language Discourse Studies* (pp. 395-408). London, New York: Routledge.
- Parini, A. & Yus, F. (2023). *The discursive construction of place in the digital age*. New York, London: Routledge.
- Parini, A., & Giammatteo, M. (2018). Address and evaluation as stancetaking resources in the co-construction of YouTube product reviews. *REDD*, 2018 (1), 123-156. Retrieved from <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=6817425>
- Parini, A., Galende, E. & Vera, V. (2024). YouTube. In M. E. Placencia & A. Parini (Eds.), *Introducción al Estudio del Discurso Digital en Español* (pp. 67-80). London, New York: Routledge.
- Petroni, S. (2019). How social media shape identities and discourses in professional digital settings: self-communication or self-branding? In P. Bou-Franch & P. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (Eds.), *Analyzing Digital Discourse. New insights and future directions* (pp. 251-281). Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pollach, I. (2005). Corporate self-presentation on the WWW: strategies for enhancing usability, credibility and utility. *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, 10(4), 285-301. doi: 10.1108/13563280510630098
- Portmann, L. (2020). Designing "good taste": A social semiotic analysis of corporate Instagram practices. In C. Thurlow, C. Dürscheid & F. Diémoz (Eds.), *Visualizing Digital Discourse. Interactional, Institutional and Ideological Perspectives* (pp. 203-223). Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Scolari, C. (2018). Online brands: branding, possible worlds and interactive grammars. *Semiotica*, 169(1), 4, 169-188. Retrieved from https://repositori.upf.edu/bitstream/handle/10230/25462/Scolari_Sem_online.pdf;jsessionid=18AD18CA00570A7089A951199007080D?sequence=1

- Seargeant, P. & Tagg, C. (2014). Introduction: the language of social media. In P. Seargeant & C. Tagg (Eds.), *The language of social media. Identity and community on the internet* (pp. 1-20). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Seibel, B. (2019). Insta-Identity: the Construction of Identity through Instagram an Extended Literature Review. (Thesis, Portland State University, Portland, USA). Retrieved from <https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/honorstheses/747/>
- Serafinelli, E. (2018). *Digital life on Instagram: new social communication of photography*. Bingley: Emerald Publishing.
- Shahnaz, A. & Qadir, S. A. (2020). Branding the higher education: identity construction of universities through logos, mottos and slogans. *Journal of Research in Social Sciences* (8) 1, 48-71. doi: 10.52015/jrss.8i1.67
- Shulman, D. (2022). Self-presentation. Impression management in the digital age. In M. H. Jacobsen & G. Smith (Eds.), *The Routledge International Handbook of Goffman Studies* (pp. 26-37). London, New York: Routledge.
- Solmaz, O. (2021). The presentation of self in social networking sites: an introduction, theory and the current state of the scholarship. *Electronic Journal of New Media*, 5(1), 49-59. doi: 10.17932/IAU.EJNM.25480200.2021/ejnm_v5i1005
- Sorescu, A., Frambach, R. T., Singh, J., Rangaswamy, A., & Bridges, C. (2011). Innovations in Retail Business Models. *Journal of Retailing*, 87, S3-S16. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228215419_Innovations_in_Retail_Business_Models
- Stensaker, B. (2015). Organizational identity as a concept for understanding university dynamics. *Higher Education*, 69(1), 103-115. Retrieved from https://www.uio.no/english/research/groups/hedwork/Publications/2012-2021/2015/Stensaker_2015.html
- Stöckl, H. (2020). Multimodality and mediality in an image-centric semiosphere - a rationale. In C. Thurlow, C. Dürscheid & F. Diémoz (Eds.), *Visualizing Digital Discourse. Interactional, Institutional and Ideological Perspectives* (pp. 189-202). Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Tagg, C. & Spilioti, T. (2022). Research Ethics. In C. Vásquez (Ed.), *Research Methods for Digital Discourse Analysis*. London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Thurlow, C., Dürscheid, C. and Diémoz, F. (2020). *Visualizing Digital Discourse. Interactional, Institutional and Ideological Perspectives*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Van Dijck, J. (2007). *Mediated memories in the digital age*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Vásquez, C. (2014). 'Usually not one to complain but...': constructing identities in user-generated reviews. In P. Seargeant & C. Tagg (Eds.), *The language of social media. Identity and community on the internet* (pp. 1-20). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Vásquez, C. (2022). *Research Methods for Digital Discourse Analysis*. London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

- Wetherell, M. (2010). The field of identity studies. In M. Wetherell & C. T. Mohanty (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Identities* (pp. 3-26). London: SAGE.
- White, P. R. R. (2011). Appraisal. In J. Zienkowski, J. Ostman & J. Verschueren (Eds.), *Discursive Pragmatics* (pp. 14-36). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Wodak, R. R., Reisigl, M and Leibhard, K. (2009). *The discursive construction of national identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Xiong, T. (2012). Discourse & marketization of higher education in China: The genre of advertisements for academic posts. *Discourse and Society*, 23(3), 318–337. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926511433>
- Yilmaz, O. C., Gostieva, A., Vaillant, A., Tarbeev, I., Erguder, I., Hoorn, R. J. & Ribeiro, M. J. (2021). *Identity construction on Instagram*. Budapest: Budapest Metropolitan University.
- Zappavigna, M. (2011). Ambient affiliation: a linguistic perspective on Twitter. *New media and society*, 13(5), 788-806. Retrieved from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/258173684 Ambient affiliation A linguistic perspective on Twitter](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/258173684_Ambient_affiliation_A_linguistic_perspective_on_Twitter)
- Zhang, T. (2017). The marketization of higher education discourse: a genre analysis of university websites homepages in China. *Higher Education Studies*, 7(3), 64-79. doi: 10.5539/hes.v7n3p64
- Zollo, A. S. (2016). Internationalization and Globalization. A Multimodal Analysis of Italian Universities' Websites. *Journal of Multimodal Communication Studies*, III (1-2), 1-17. Retrieved from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320980172 Internationalization and Globalization A Multimodal Analysis of Italian Universities' Websites](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320980172_Internationalization_and_Globalization_A_Multimodal_Analysis_of_Italian_Universities'_Websites)

Appendix

Detailed Data Analysis (Aspects of Place)

For the detailed analysis of *aspects of place*, please follow this direct link to access the Excel file: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1IGlflxO1YL-cLtLZwrJ_iUKF3SICoSOgmK1VdG1-v3g/edit?usp=sharing

Detailed Data Analysis (Appraisal)

For the detailed analysis of *attitude* resources, please follow this direct link to access the Excel file: <https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1-URePHRQXwoMYYYOIl-8ZMCafROF6gYqOI7s8OfXMpM/edit?usp=sharing>