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Mi fa molto piacere poter presentare come nuovo *Occasional Paper* un saggio pregevole e innovativo, scritto da una distinta studiosa, Alexanne Don, ricercatrice indipendente e docente presso l'Università di New South Wales, Australia. In precedenza, ha lavorato per undici anni come insegnante di inglese, in istituti scolastici e università presso Fukuoka-ken, Giappone.

La Dott.ssa Don ha conseguito un Dottorato di ricerca in Linguistica applicata nel 2007, presso l'Università di Birmingham (UK); ulteriori titoli in suo possesso riguardano l'insegnamento dell'inglese come lingua straniera (TEFL) e l'educazione artistica. Gli interessi di ricerca della studiosa, rispecchiati dalle sue pubblicazioni, vertono su applicazioni della Linguistica Sistemico-Funzionale: tra queste, l'uso del quadro teorico di Appraisal nell'analisi di social media, identità e struttura argomentativa. Collabora attualmente allo sviluppo di vari progetti di ricerca in questi campi, contribuendo a teorizzare il linguaggio dell'identità, del potere e della solidarietà con studiosi in Australia e in altre parti del mondo. I suoi ulteriori interessi sono molteplici e di vasto respiro e spesso esulano del tutto dall'accademia.

Il saggio che presentiamo, ricalcando il titolo della tesi magistrale dell'autore, s'intitola:

Negation as part of the Engagement Framework: Explorations in the territory Disclaim: deny

Scopo principale di questo studio è esplorare come alcuni esempi di negazione possano essere impiegati da un parlante, o dall'autore di un testo scritto, in modo da implicare un determinato atteggiamento valutativo, in particolare da parte del destinatario del testo, senza ricorrere all'uso di un lessico attitudinale esplicito.

L'approccio analitico su cui il contributo si basa – il quadro teorico di *Appraisal* (Martin & White 2005, White 1997, 2007) – considera la negazione, o *disclaim: deny,* come sotto-categoria di *Engagement,* un insieme di risorse attraverso cui il parlante o lo scrivente si

aprono ad un confronto dialogico con i predecessori, o i potenziali interlocutori, in merito a un enunciato. Combinando un'analisi assistita da corpus ed un'analisi manuale su una piccola collezione (55.000 parole) di testi interattivi scritti, il saggio prospetta tre sotto-categorie funzionali generiche di disclaim: deny, illustrandole.

La studiosa però va ben oltre: la tesi difesa in maniera convincente nel lavoro è che l'uso degli 'operatori di negazione' possa anche sottendere, o *project*, un atteggiamento valutativo (*attitude* – categoria principale dell'*Appraisal*) da parte dell'interlocutore o di terzi, persino laddove la presenza di lessico attitudinale esplicito è scarsa, se non addirittura nulla. Dimostra come tale atteggiamento da parte del destinatario può essere implicato (o 'provocato') per mezzo di una vasta gamma di indicatori linguistici *intra*- ed *inter*testuali, tipicamente associati a presupposti condivisi a livello socio-culturale.

Donna R. Miller

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Responsabile scientifica del CeSLiC e *General Editor* dei Quaderni del CeSLiC

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Negation as part of the Engagement Framework: Explorations in the territory

Disclaim: deny

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1 Introduction

In this paper I am concerned with extending the discourse semantic functions for Disclaim: deny as set out by Martin & White (2005), by proposing a number of subcategories for this part of the Engagement framework. The focus of the discussion rests on theoretical issues related to analysis of how negative polarity (at the lexico-grammatical level) - i.e. operators such a *no*, *not* and its variants - function at the discourse semantic level to construe positive and negative viewpoints in everyday texts. My proposal is aimed at dealing more systematically with analytical challenges which have been observed to arise when such negative and positive attitudes are conveyed covertly or by implication rather than overtly or 'explicitly' in texts (cf. Don 2016).

Under the Appraisal framework one of the problems attending Attitude analysis of everyday texts is that their evaluative positions are not always marked with overtly attitudinal lexis (Martin & White 2005: 61), in these cases relying on 'tokens' of evaluation to invoke their Attitudes towards targets. One obvious example of this occurs in reports written within the scientific community which are noted to rarely use any explicitly attitudinal lexis (i.e. terms which overtly convey positive or negative assessments of targets), and yet, as Hunston (1989, 1994) among others has pointed out, the main purpose of these reports is still persuasive, and hence also evaluative of the work done in their field. One of the central concerns of this paper then, is the exploration of the way that attitudes may be implied, or what Martin and White term 'invoked' by writers, with a specific focus on the means by

which instances of negative polarity in clauses or negative operators in nominal groups can be employed by a writer or speaker to signal evaluative stance in others, sometimes without the use of any explicitly attitudinal lexis. A secondary purpose of the paper is to propose a set of sub-categories of Disclaim: deny, as an extension of Martin & White's (2005) Engagement system.

2 Theoretical Background

Under the analytical approach which informs this paper, that of the Appraisal framework (White 1998; Martin & Rose 2003; Martin & White 2005), Disclaim: deny is treated as a sub-type of Engagement (Martin & White 2005, White 1998, 2007, 2012), a set of the resources by which the speaker/writer engages dialogically with prior or potential respondents to the current utterance. Engagement is one of three sub-types of Appraisal, which are conceived as operating as interrelated resources for construing evaluative stances in discourse. Attitude categorises the evaluative charges in any segment of text, while Graduation refers to lexico-grammatical resources which scale, downgrade, or intensify Attitudes.

Engagement focuses on resources that construe relationships between interlocutors in any unit of discourse, and Martin and White locate this perspective on text as Bakhtinian in origin (e.g. 1986), and heteroglossic in nature. That is, any utterance orients itself to what has gone before in the wider culture, and what might come in response to the utterance. Martin & White introduce their discussion of the "Disclaim: deny (negation)" part of their framework by stating: "From the dialogistic perspective, negation is a resource for introducing the alternative positive position into the dialogue, and hence acknowledging it, so as to reject it." (2005: 118). This paper takes their discourse semantic function of Disclaim: deny and proposes that not only does it function to position interlocutors with respect to arguments being concurrently advanced, but that the use of negative polarity may also imply or 'project' an attitude on the part of interlocutors or third parties. By doing so such negatives may also

act to invoke an evaluative position which may not rely on explicitly evaluative lexis at all. Instead, Attitude may be implied, especially on the part of the audience, by means of a complex array of intra- and inter-textual signals, culturally shared assumptions and implied 'presuppositions' (see Don 2016). Such invoked Attitude relies especially on the co-text (i.e. accumulated meanings, prosodic development, cf. Lemke 1995, Sinclair 1993, Hood 2006) in which the instance of negation appears.

As indicated above, the term 'negative operator' has been limited for the purposes of this discussion to a small set of forms (discussed in more detail below) which function to 'deny' or reject a proposition (see Martin & White 2005: 134). I have labelled these forms 'negative operators' to designate that the items on their own do not function as lexically 'full', but act to reverse the polarity of the clause in which they appear. They may operate on the verbal group, e.g. *he isn't heavy*, or the nominal group e.g. *he's no friend*. As is explained in further detail below, an appraisal analysis of the data in the corpus highlighted the need to further theorise resources for invoking attitudes in interactive contexts, and the following proposals and discussion use examples from a 'spin-off' study designed to focus on negatives in co-text as one of the resources noted to occur in spans which invoked attitude (see Don 2016 for discussion of such combination of resources).

While the literature on negation is quite wide-ranging, especially in work within Pragmatics, research on negative polarity within the discipline of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is not as well-developed, at least with respect to the rhetorical or discourse semantic functions it provides. SFL does not recognise the distinction between Pragmatics, Syntax and Semantics as separate domains of enquiry, but conceives of language at all levels (i.e. phonology, lexico-grammar, register, context of culture - see for example Halliday & Hasan 1985, Halliday 1994, Halliday & Matthiessen 1999), to operate in a realisation relationship with each other. Much of the work on negation in the literature outside SFL is focussed on what SFL would view as the lexico-grammar, leading to arguments regarding the

semantic ambiguity of natural language negation (e.g. Horn 1985, Burton-Roberts 1989, Carston 1998), the nature of metalinguistic negation (Chapman 1996) and the activation of presuppositions (e.g. Seuren 2000). Within the literature on the rhetorical effects of negatives which are the focus of the present paper, Pagano (1994) and Tottie (1982, 1987) represent those most influential.

The proposed sub-categories of Disclaim: deny set out in the paper are aimed at making more explicit the types of attitude that simple negative polarity may imply on the part of readers and addressees. While Martin & White (2005) explain how negation may act to align interlocutors with the propositions under discussion (see 2005: 118-120) the category Disclaim: deny remains a general one. Thus, one aim of the present paper is to add further delicacy to the category of Disclaim: deny by proposing a small set of potential sub-types of Disclaim: deny through attending to the interpersonal effects of negative operators in discourse. In terms of its potential for invoking an evaluative stance, or invoking an attitude, Martin & White (2005: 118) offer that

> Under disclaim we cover those formulations by which some prior utterance or some alternative position is invoked so as to be directly rejected, replaced or held to be unsustainable.

hinting that such positioning may introduce an unstated evaluative stance in order to contend with it. They provide a discussion on the variety of means for invoking attitude, including examples of Disclaim: counter (2005: 67), but do not go into more detail regarding the rhetorical potential of Disclaim: deny. Strategies[1] or criteria for the invoking of Attitude have not been systemised to any level of delicacy, mainly due to the fact that the *utterance* or reading event is variable, individualised, and context-dependent for its interpretation. The interpretation of Attitude by an analyst therefore needs to take into account and acknowledge

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[1] The use of the term 'strategy' does not imply a (necessarily) conscious attempt by a writer to produce an effect or imply meaning. This term refers to textual patterns that tend to promote readings of interpersonal dis/alignment, and/or signals of argument staging – effects which may potentially also invoke Attitude readings.

a dependence on an interrelationship of all strata of meaning-making resources (as deployed by the writer/speaker).

The analysis which formed the basis for the proposed extension of the framework presented in this paper highlighted the fact that negatives in the data were at least partly responsible for readings of evaluative stances, and hence attitudinal meanings. Thus, one aim of this paper is to suggest that certain locutions which include negative operators act in the service of invoking attitudes which are not explicit in the text, but depend on the interpersonal positioning that the instance of negation entails.

As introduced in more detail below, the proposed sub-categories of Disclaim: deny owe much of their formulation to Pagano's (1994) work on categories of what she called 'implicit negation', and this previous work forms the starting point for the discussion to follow. However, while Pagano's categories are acknowledged to represent the primary heuristic device used for the development of the extended framework offered here, her typology was not located within the wider system for investigating dialogistic meanings represented by the Appraisal framework, having been published at least a decade earlier than Martin & White's formulation of Appraisal. Pagano, in turn, relied on previous work by Tottie (1982, 1987) and the present discussion - while acknowledging and making reference to Tottie's pioneering work in the area of the pragmatic functions of negative clauses - is located entirely within the framework of Appraisal as an extension of the interpersonal metafunction and its construal of interpersonal relationships under SFL.

In arguing for the relevance of the proposed categories for implying stances, the discussion also considers whether the idiom principle (Sinclair 1991 interalia) e.g. *not only - but also -*, *to the best of my knowledge* (see also Erman & Warren 2000) might account for certain locutions as carrying semantic entailments regarding the proposition, and to that end, one such idiomatic structure using negation is investigated using a larger corpus (i.e. *A is not defined by X, but by Y*). This same text structure is also considered from the perspective of

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Matching Clause relations as proposed by Winter (1994), since it is contended that negative operators on their own, while acting to help signal – i.e. *invoke* - an evaluative stance, are usually located in wider social transtextual contexts (Don 2016) as well as phases of discourse which often transcend clause and sentence boundaries, and which set up the other conditions for the interpretation of attitude (cf. for example Hood 2006).

In summary, the discussion below focuses on resources and strategies which use negatives and which writers may deploy in invoking attitudes and related stances in discourse. I am concerned particularly with those attitudes which are implied as *being held by addressees and interlocutors*. Instances of the use of so-called negative operators (such as *no*, *not*, *never* and their variants) are presented during the course of the discussion in support of a proposed extension to Appraisal's Engagement category of Disclaim: deny by offering a set of 'semantic' categories or 'functions' based on the implication they each set up. The paper also points briefly at some of the co-textual environments in which such strategies are deployed, suggesting that a number of other lexico-grammatical elements typically co-occur in the same textual-rhetorical phase – their presence perhaps acting as corroborating 'signals' or means of 'flagging' what the Appraisal framework calls Attitude (see for example Martin 2000, Martin & Rose 2003, Martin & White 2005: 67, Don 2016).

2.1 Invoking Attitudes in discourse

Lexical items are often seen as the only means whereby Attitude is *inscribed*, i.e. made explicitly. At the same time, combinations of wordings forming phrases and local patterns such as idioms and common sentence templates also figure in setting up the conditions for evaluative readings. Corpus linguists such as Sinclair (1991) refer to this type of meaning-making as the 'idiom principle', where common collocations entail their own highly stable meanings in discourse. One common sentence pattern involving negation is used below as an

example of this type of resource for inviting such an evaluative reading in co-text, and this is followed by an extended discussion of such strategies.

Interpretation of attitude on the part of Addressees may depend on understandings that are common or conventional in particular registers, activities, or institutional settings. At the same time, something which increases the likelihood of attitudinal implications in any one section of a text may in fact be dependent on the accumulation of rhetorical meanings that have been set up during the course of its unfolding. This means that evaluative meanings are not able to be read off from the isolated wordings or phrases alone, but are activated by their position in the text's development, what Sinclair (1993) calls the autonomous plane of discourse, and Appraisal terms Attitudinal prosody (e.g. Hood, 2006). These readings are dependent on the *logogenetic* unfolding of meanings (e.g. Halliday and Matthiessen 1999) within the same text.

Additionally, most evaluative meanings are dependent on intertextual reference, and to meanings that may be localised within a sub-group, a discipline, a 'community of practice' (e.g. Lave & Wenger 1991, Wenger 1998), or other wider language-group. The intertextuality that is foregrounded here is what Lemke (1995) and Thibault (1989) refer to as 'thematic formations'. Such formations are more general and have been formalised by others (e.g. Martin 1985, 1992; Martin & Rose 2008) as 'genres', and such overarching thematic formations contribute to readings of attitude in many institutionalised contexts, since expectations are set up as to what is conventional or alternatively 'marked' in such genres – leading in turn to evaluative stances implied by such marked behaviour (Don, 2007a, 2016). Intertextual thematic formations require membership of more than just a group of people with similar interests, but also long-time association or contact, even if mediated by technology. In addition, assumptions as to axiology or 'values' may be in play or projected onto audience members, and so for the purposes of this discussion, it was felt necessary to indicate that the means by which negatives operate to construe stance in texts is not restricted to the clause

level but involves reference to meaning-making resources from lexis through to context of culture.

Thus, in this paper, the dilemmas attending the interpretation and classification of *instances* of negative operators and their interpersonal effects is the focus of discussion. In accounting for readings of attitude where little or no explicitly evaluative lexis occurs, analysis must 'shunt' back and forth along the levels of the 'cline of instantiation' (see Figure 1 below) represented by Martin & White (2005: 25). This can be seen as standing in contrast to analysis in which texts are parsed by reference to lexico-grammatical categories which are taken to realise patterns of language in use. In other words, the interpretation of attitude cannot be 'read off' segments of text, and is not realised by the grammar of any one metafunction (i.e. the lexicogrammatical resources of interpersonal, ideational or textual meanings), but is dependent on reference to elements of language use in its entirety between the poles of macro and micro levels of analysis. Data for the original analysis, as introduced in further detail below, was derived from extended written online discussions.

system   (generalised meaning potential)
    register   (semantic sub-potential)
        text type   (generalised actual)
            text   (affording instance)
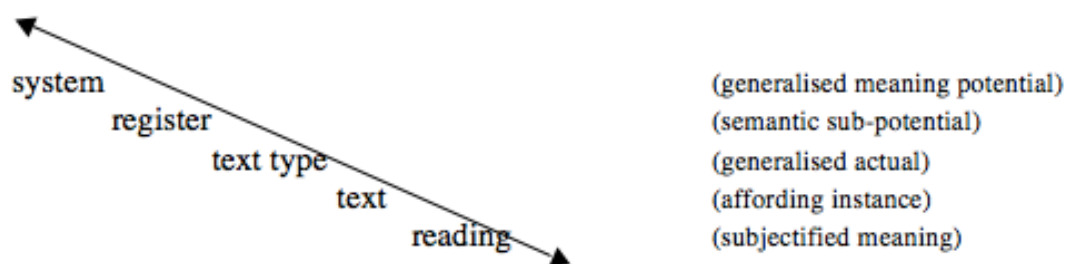   reading   (subjectified meaning)

Figure 1: Cline of Instantiation (adapted from Martin & White 2005)

2.2 Negation and evaluation

Because polarity is directly related to the finite operator or primary tense in the MOOD block, it is therefore a basic component of the arguability of the clause. In terms of

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'arguability', under the sub-system of Appraisal known as ENGAGEMENT (see for example White 2011) non-modalized clauses are classed as monoglossic, and contractive in orientation - their basic realisation is the categorical assertion. In this sense, negotiatory 'space' is narrowed or contracted when a bare assertion is offered. So-called heteroglossic options in the clause include the use of modal operators in place of finite elements, as well as adjuncts modifying the clause in some way, and these are viewed as operating to expand negotiatory space between interactants. Whether monoglossic or not, the function of negatives can be to contract the negotiatory space between interactants (e.g. Addresser and Addressee(s)). This means that an Addressee is positioned as having, or at least needing to be relieved of, the corresponding proposition which is being denied, and it is this functionality of negatives in discourse which was of most interest to me here. These types of denial are what Pagano (1994) terms "implicit denials". In turn, Pagano based her classification on Tottie's (1982) distinctions between Rejections and Denials, and, within Denial, a distinction between Implicit and Explicit Denials, "depending on whether what is denied has been explicitly asserted or not in the preceding context." (Tottie 1982: 88). The potential rhetorical effects of negatives in interaction are the focus of categories presented later in the paper.

3 Approach to the corpus study

The sub-categories introduced below are illustrated by reference to a corpus study which was comprised of over 50,000 running words, derived from an Appraisal analysis focused on the argumentative online conversations of an electronic discussion list (see Tables 1.1 and 1.2, and section 3.1 below). This related corpus study was confined to the investigation of the local co-textual effects of a small set of 'negative operators'. For the purposes of the investigation, this set was restricted to non-lexical elements of the clause: 'no', 'not', 'never' and their variants, i.e. those negatives which operate on another part of the clause, rather than function on their own. This investigation was itself part of a longer study of the generic

norms of an online discussion forum which used a combination of Attitude analysis and genre analysis to investigate textual identity (Don 2007a, 2007b, 2012). The wider study revealed that a high proportion of the attitude identified in the texts of study needed to be classed as 'invoked' rather then explicitly announced, and that many of the instances of invocation of attitude involved negation at clause level.

The set of node items in the corpus study was restricted to those deemed to reverse the polarity of the clause, even though 'negation' might also be extended to apply to lexis in which a 'positive' lexical item is given its non-positive orientation via additional morphemes. This means that search items were restricted to those elements of discourse where a negative operator was used, and did not take into account any lexicalised negation found in words where prefixes such as *dis*, *un*, and *non*, or suffixes such as *less* occur. Although such wordings are acknowledged to form resources for the negation of a proposition, it was decided to limit the study to a manageable set, since the results were then manually coded. For example, the item 'never' is included since it is commonly attached to other verbal groups and cannot usually function on its own as Participant in a clause. Other items such as 'no-one', 'nobody' and 'nothing' were also identified by the search criteria, and considered as negation, but were also considered borderline 'negative operators' in this sense since they are nominal groups which can function as Participants in a clause. I note that Pagano also uses this restriction, citing Quirk et al 1985 (Pagano 1996: 253) (cf. also Tottie re lexical negations).

The potential for many of these signals to invoke attitude typically depends on the way in which the text positions addressees or 'ideal readers'. In other words, from a dialogic perspective, the function of 'negative operators' in the corpus was to position interactants in a number of ways, which then activated a potential reading of attitude – either on the part of the writer, or in many cases, implied as being held by readers and/or addressees. In what follows I present some of the ways that negative operators were deemed to invoke attitudes

and position interactants in the corpus. It needs to be stressed that the lexico-grammatical contexts in which these negative operators appear - such as the typical co-occurrence of other signals of engagement potentially acting to *flag* attitude, as well as their use in textual strategies which may *afford* attitude - were also part of the original study, but are not discussed in detail here for concerns of space. At the same time, brief reference to these local co-texts is made in accounting for readings below, as well as reference to whole texts as the primary unit of analysis for the study (cf. Don 2007a).

3.1 The sample corpus

The corpus was derived from an ongoing electronic discussion list, but edited for 'thread', i.e. re-presented coherent conversation, with topic in each thread as constant. This discussion list was active between 1995 and 2009, and its members were originally drawn to the list by its listserv announcement on the topic of group psychology. Most of the posts devolved into argument regarding the purpose of the list or the nature of online communication in general, and several core-members developed online friendships during this time. The original findings on the nature of the registers and generic conventions of this list and its members were outlined in detail in Don 1997 and 2007a.

For the purposes of this sub-study, a simple concordancer (Conc 1.76 beta 1993) was used to find all instances of *~n't*, *no*, *never*, *nothing* and *~not~* in the combined corpus, itself totalling approximately 54,000 words. Comparisons of type/token ratios and calculations of word count, number of orthographic sentences per post, and average number of sentences and words per post, were also calculated for comparison. A summary appears below (Tables *1.1* and *1.2*):

CORPUS (text set) name	WORDS (approx)	CCs	AV per post: CC/word	No of POSTS	neg tokens per 1000words
TVS	24900	1960	13/311	80	19.9
SFT	4600	670	7/191	24	14.3
WVN	4820	354	13/209	23	16.2
average					16.8
stanALL	10700	852	12/281	38	19.1
simonALL	8665	572	15/346	25	17.3
sallyALL	12600	810	16/600	21	20.9

Table 1.1. Summary of corpus data

	words	CCs	posts	neg tokens	neg types	tokens/1000 words
SIMON	8665	572	25	150	13	17.3
STAN	10700	852	38	205	20	19.1
SALLY	12600	810	21	264	23	20.9

Table 1.2. Summary of Poster-specific data

Because type-token ratio is not useful for comparisons across differently sized corpora, 'negative density' is shown in the right hand column. Negative density refers to the number of negative tokens per 1,000 words. The average negative density for the corpora combined is 17.9. Such averages enable the possibility of investigating correlations between attitude, stance, and negative density in these corpora based on their relative densities. It is interesting here for example to compare those ratios found by Tottie (1982: 89) which returned an average frequency of negation in her corpus of spoken texts of 27.6 per 1,000 words, while the negative density of her written corpus was 12.8 per 1,000 words. My claim here would be that, just as lexical density varies by mode, e.g. spoken versus written texts, mode also appears to affect the nature of negative density as well – and, since the texts in my corpus were derived from a highly interactive written email-mediated mode, it appears that negative density may also increase as interactivity increases. In other words, the semi-interactive mode

that email-mediated discussion provides might account for the finding of a negative density about halfway between those found by Tottie (1982) in her analysis of spoken versus written corpora.

4 Denying alignment in rhetorical context

By means of negation, or [disclaim: deny] writers/speakers may imply dis-alignment with what their interlocutors say or write, but in a more pragmatic sense, with what they impute to their thinking. Depending on context of situation and degrees of familiarity/contact existing between these interlocutors (readers-writers), such denial may not necessarily signal negative attitude towards them, but in some cases 'real' readers may interpret occurrences of [disclaim: deny] as invoking negative attitude towards them or other human targets – i.e. what the Appraisal framework terms negative Judgement.

A number of discourse strategies identified in the corpus, incorporating or depending on negative operators, suggested a preliminary framework which can account for their status as acting to potentially construe dis-alignment with interlocutors or third parties. This framework contributes further to the list of categories based originally on Pagano's (1994) work and is outlined further below.

4.1 Denial and the construal of affiliation and identity

4.1.1 Matching relations

In terms of 'phraseology', and textual strategies where attitude is invoked, varieties of lexico-grammatical patterns were the most obvious possible means for invoking attitude. Such 'grammar patterns' involving more than one clause often also involved a number of engagement signals, or 'discourse markers'. Hoey (1991a [1983], 2001) describes *matching relation* as one of the means for signalling cohesion in text, i.e. the means for signalling a meaningful rhetorical pattern. Matching relations subsume a set of signals he labels as

repetition, *conjuncts*, *syntactic and lexical parallelism*, *lexical signals*, and *parallelism of questions answered*. (1991a: 113). He goes on to mention Winter's (1974) method of identifying matching *contrast* relations by the 'denial paraphrase' which is described as "denying an attribute or action of *x* for the compared *y*". Matching contrast relations and negative expressions are implicated in the context of the relation which Winter terms *hypothetical-real*. In this relation, "a statement of views that are left unendorsed by the writer (a Hypothetical statement) strongly predicts a statement of the author's own views (the Real). The consequence of delaying fulfilment of such a prediction is that the reader requires it with even greater urgency…" (Hoey 1991a: 183).

This point is reiterated by Thompson and Zhou (2000: 134) who comment that "hypothetical situations are typically signalled by reference to the beliefs of the audience". In this way, the implication by negation that the audience holds mistaken ideas can be brought into play and refuted. Thus, matching relations of contrast operate to suggest that interlocutors may not have as much knowledge as the writer or speaker, and by this means, unequal relationships may be construed between them. This positioning of readers or hearers has implications for the construction of affiliation between members involved in projected discussion, and also for the accumulation of identity through claims to 'superior' knowledge, expertise, and the relative status of those legitimately denying propositions which are projected as held by others (cf. Don forthcoming).

Hasan (1996), in her discussion of *semantic networks*, points out that not all appearances of a negative in any text realise a speaker's non-stated opinion or orientation toward their interlocutor, but that many of them do. She labels these negatives [**assumptive**], by which she refers to those cases in which negatives construe an "unuttered attitude of the speaker" (1996: 123) regarding the understood conditions. Similarly here, while my interest concerned those negations which <u>did</u> signal assumptions of potential areas of disalignment, the corpus provided several other classes of negation which are detailed below. As an example of an

'unuttered attitude of the speaker', Hasan (1996) provides a statement such as *You **haven't** eaten your dinner yet* as implying that the Addressee was expected by the Addresser to have eaten their dinner. In contrast, my initial interest in this study concerned a perhaps _uttered token of attitude of the speaker_, in which the assumption is of an _unuttered attitude on the part of the Addressee_. In this manner, speakers/writers are able to position interlocutors/readers as having attitudes they may not in fact have, and in the process perhaps putting affiliation at risk.

4.2 Categorisation of negative operators

My proposal here is for a set of 3 main sub-categories of negation (or disclaim: deny under ENGAGEMENT), which function as strategies acting to imply an attitude on the part of a third party or interlocutor. A basis for the categorisation of the rhetorical effect of negatives in the corpus was provided by Pagano's (1994) identification of 4 categories of "implicit denials" (derived from Tottie, 1982, 1987) in the texts she investigated. Pagano notes, however, that what Tottie termed *Implicit denials* needs to be re-defined as *explicit* denials of what is *implicit* in the text, i.e., negative operators which signal an assumption about the positions held by Addressees - what has elsewhere been termed 'presupposition' (e.g. Delogu 2009). In other words, instances in this study were classified according to the discourse semantic positioning of interlocutors they afforded, rather than the strictly lexicogrammatical strategies they employed. My purpose was to provide a set of functional sub-categories of disclaim: deny, using the instances of negative operators in my corpus. The resultant set of three functional sub-categories of Implicit Denial, 1) *mistaken idea*, 2) *disambiguation*, and 3) *unfulfilled expectations*, is summarised and exemplified below.

4.2.1 Categories of "Implicit Denial"

1) The first category of Implicit Denial can be glossed as denials of background information: the writer assumes or implies that the addressee/reader entertains a *mistaken* idea. Unstated propositions, or assumptions purported to be held by addressees/readers are thereby brought into play through this functional strategy.

(1) Examples of 'mistaken idea' from the corpus

 (1.1) `I `**`don't`**` have any need to first make the blank spot,`

      `and then, to fill it in.`

In this example, the generic behaviour 'to have a need to make a blank spot' is construed as negatively evaluated, since the speaker/writer denies a need to do this. In addition it implies that the audience assumes that the writer, 'I', has this need, which is then denied. In terms of the invocation of attitude, it can be implied that for the target 'I' (the writer), a Judgement of Positive Propriety has been activated, while perhaps also implying a negative Capacity on the part of those who *do* have a need to make a blank spot and fill it in, most particularly, the primary addressee[2]. The co-text for this segment is one of an argument against the behaviour of the primary addressee, whose behaviour is thus characterised as having made such a play (i.e. to make a blank spot and then fill it in) in their previous contribution. In other words, the writer contrasts his own 'proper' behaviour with the denied improper behaviour imputed to the primary addressee.

 (1.2) `she `**`didn't`**` consciously intend to make trouble.`

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[2] It needs to be stressed here that these interpretations are not based solely on the segments excerpted as examples, but are based on participation in the list, and the wider context of both the whole texts, and dialogues in which they first appeared.

Here the audience of addressees is construed as assuming 'she consciously intended to make trouble', which is denied. In this case, the implied Judgement of Positive Propriety is directed towards the target 'she', by means of alleviating the audience's mistaken idea about that target.

(1.3)   she **didn't** come here to annoy and disrupt.

Once again, the audience is construed as assuming 'she came here to annoy and disrupt', which is denied. The behaviour 'to annoy and disrupt' is explicitly negatively attitudinal, and so the denial implies that the audience members/Addressees have maintained a mistakenly negative Judgement regarding the target 'she'.

(1.4)   your "dominant purpose is to analyze and learn" argument **doesn't** hide your anger very well.

In this example, the implication is that 'you' (the primary addressee of this text) try to hide your anger. This leaves aside the implied negative attitude of Judgement: Capacity also implied of the 'you', whose argument is characterised as ineffective in its purported aims. The main implication is that the target 'you' is suffering from inappropriate negative emotions [Attitude: Affect], and has also perhaps attempted to 'hide his anger' leading to an invoked Judgement of negative Veracity into the bargain.

(1.5)   there you go taking it personally again. Stan, you're just **not** that important to me. You're **not** such a major figure in my fantasy of [the group]

The implication in this example is that 'you' (Stan, the primary addressee of this text) think yourself important to 'me', which is denied. Here, an attitude of negative Judgement: Capacity is invoked regarding the target 'you/Stan', who has entertained mistaken

assumptions which the writer identifies for the first time in this excerpt. To twist the colloquial idiom, the writer accuses the addressee of 'putting thoughts in his mind'.

2) The second category of Implicit Denial identified is that of denials of text/discourse information: or 'disambiguation'. In this sub-category, the writer assumes the reader could get the *wrong* idea from the co-text: a) regarding the text to come (prospective), or b) regarding an idea already outlined (retrospective).

(2) Examples of 'Disambiguation' from the corpus

(2.1)   And **not** because she's all sweetness and light now.

This is an example of retrospective disambiguation: it denies what the audience may assume regarding the *writer's* opinion of the target 'she', due to what the writer has just said about 'her'. In this case, the mistaken assumptions have not yet been entertained by the audience, but in view of what has just been asserted by the writer, he feels it needs to be clarified.

(2.2)   As we know from all the group-ese here, many role
         functions are **not** chosen by the individual.

This example is prospective disambiguation, while at the same time it refutes a previously quoted assertion by the primary addressee. In this instance the statement positions the writer as disaligning with that addressee regarding his statement (pertaining to 'fact' rather than opinion), while at the same time aligning with the group of readers, 'we', who 'know.. that role functions are not chosen by the individual'. This segment opens and frames the next phase of his argument. Its function is to 'second guess' or prospectively disambiguate what the audience may make of both the previous contribution (by the addressee, and quoted by the writer) and the writer's coming response to it. In this sense, it is possible that a reader may see this segment as invoking a Judgement of Negative Capacity towards the target 'you'

(the primary addressee), while at the same time, it claims an alignment over shared knowledge with the other audience members (the secondary addressees).

In passing, it is noteworthy that these types of presupposing moves highlight the nature of the interpersonal relationships that are at stake in this mode of communication. In this instance, a statement from a previous contribution to the discussion is being refuted, and the writer directs the denial to a specific participant to whom he is responding. At the same time, the discussion is conducted with other 'audience' members in mind, and so the other participants are also being addressed - occasionally explicitly called on (as 'we') as in this instance. I therefore refer to these audience members as the 'secondary addressees'.

(2.3)   I am **not** advocating that we forego criminal law
          enforcement, simply stating that…

This example illustrates retrospective disambiguation: it denies what the audience may assume from the writer's previous argument. At the same time, it forms the 1st part of deny-assert pattern, the second part of which asserts what he believes to be the case. In this instance, the target of the attitude is the generic behaviour 'to forego criminal law enforcement', which the writer denies he is advocating. The attitude is somewhat over-layered in this case, as 'to forego s.t' entails a type of denial in itself. The writer thus heads off a potential interpretation on the part of audience members that his previous statements amount to an inclination 'to forego criminal law enforcement'. In Appraisal terms, inclination towards a target of any kind may be categorised as Affect: Inclination, as it may be paraphrased as 'being in favour of'. In this case, such 'favouring' is retracted, with the effect that the writer invokes a potential self-Judgement of positive Propriety via this token of denial of inclination towards a somewhat socially sanctioned target. At the same time, it subtly presumes that criminal law enforcement should NOT be foregone; that it is of social value.

(2.4)   This message was **NOT** intended as an argument against
          your criticism of Kaylene, **nor** against the position
          against her posts that you and Stan share.

This is a retrospective disambiguation of the writer's previous argument: he denies the audience's (implied) interpretation of his purpose in making that argument. In this example, we note the use of capitalisation serving as emphasis in this mode, and functioning as intensifying Graduation of the denial. The writer assumes that his primary addressee ('you') will interpret this contribution as an argument against the addressee's own previous 'criticism' – thus, again, putting thoughts into his mind. Such denials have the twin effect of assuming how the primary addressee will interpret the response, and bringing such an unstated attitude (on the part of the primary addressee) into the minds of the other audience members. While it thus functions at one level as *disambiguation*, it can also be seen to shade into implications of addressees carrying *mistaken assumptions*, and therefore as acting to surreptitiously suggest something lacking on their part.

(2.5)   This is **not** to say I am **without** a poetic strain. I
          post to FOP-L my warehouse stories are created
          solely for the literary effect.

This is an example of retrospective disambiguation: the writer denies assumptions which he thinks may be made by the audience regarding the content of the previous phase of his argument, in which he argues against the use of poetry in contributions to the discussion.

3) The third type of Implicit Denial is 'unfulfilled expectations': the reader is made co-participant in some counter-expectation (co-textual signals include *but*, *yet*, *while*, etc, as well as categorical assertion of the negated proposition). This time, it is the *writer's* previously

unstated assumptions which are brought into play through denial teamed with counters and/or concessions. Under the Appraisal framework, this category would normally be labelled as *Disclaim: Counter* under Engagement (cf. Figure 2 below), but because the use of the negative operator is involved and the strategy allows implication of attitude rather than explicit statement of attitude, it has been identified here for its specific function.

(3) Examples of 'Unfulfilled Expectations' from the corpus

    (3.1)   `maybe` **`not`**`hing so rude`

This example occurs as a counter to a previous contributor's comment which entailed an expectation of agreement in response to another interlocutor. The response is both 'Entertained' (*maybe*) and downplayed (*so* rude), which in itself signals that the writer is making what he knows is a slightly negative assessment of the previous contributor's (the primary addressee's) opinion, and hence wishes to ameliorate the positioning. In other words, this writer has labelled the primary addressee's appraisal of his agreement as something 'rude', which he denies: the primary addressee expected agreement, but this has been unfulfilled.

    (3.2)   `grievances being aired,` **`not`** `vented or spewed.`

This comment (in context) implies an assumption on the writer's part regarding behaviour of the participants: that grievances are usually 'vented or spewed'. It is countered in this case, making the comment a type of back-handed compliment regarding the targets' (the discussants in the audience) behaviour in this instance. In terms of attitude, these unfulfilled expectations function to imply a positive Appreciation of the conversation, invoked by the contrast between grievances that are *aired* versus grievances *vented or spewed*. In turn, it might be argued that this also implies a positive Judgement: Propriety of the discussants in this case.

(3.3)   It came through in my prose but did **not** consciously
          dawn on me 'till later.

Here, the counter-expectation is asserted after the writer acknowledges that a negative attitude did flavour what he has previously said, and that he did not realise it at the time. This move begins by conceding what his 'prose' has done, and then following it with a denial that it was done on purpose. The negative assessment of the target 'me' here is acknowledged, but down-graded. At the same time, the mistaken assumption that members of the audience may have entertained about the writer's purpose is denied – their expectations have not been fulfilled.

(3.4)   I **did not** want to have anyone thinking I was
          referring to you. **Didn't** work anyway.

Here, the writer mentions his expectation that people might think he was referring to 'you' (i.e. the primary addressee). The fact that what he did to prevent the interpretation that he 'was referring to you' didn't work is asserted as counter-expected – despite there being no marker of counter-expectation, and - what is the occasional feature of email communication - the ellipsis of Subjects in clauses, similar to what occurs in speech.

4.2.2 Other categories

In addition to these functions, it needs to be acknowledged that Pagano (1994) suggests two further categories which I did not find useful as subcategories of disclaim: deny in this corpus, or in general. This is because they were felt to be closely linked to that of 2) and 3) above, and were concerned with discourse strategies, rather than discourse semantic positioning. That is, they act to contribute to, or could be part of any of the three categories of positioning act outlined above. Those categories she identifies, but which I have subsumed
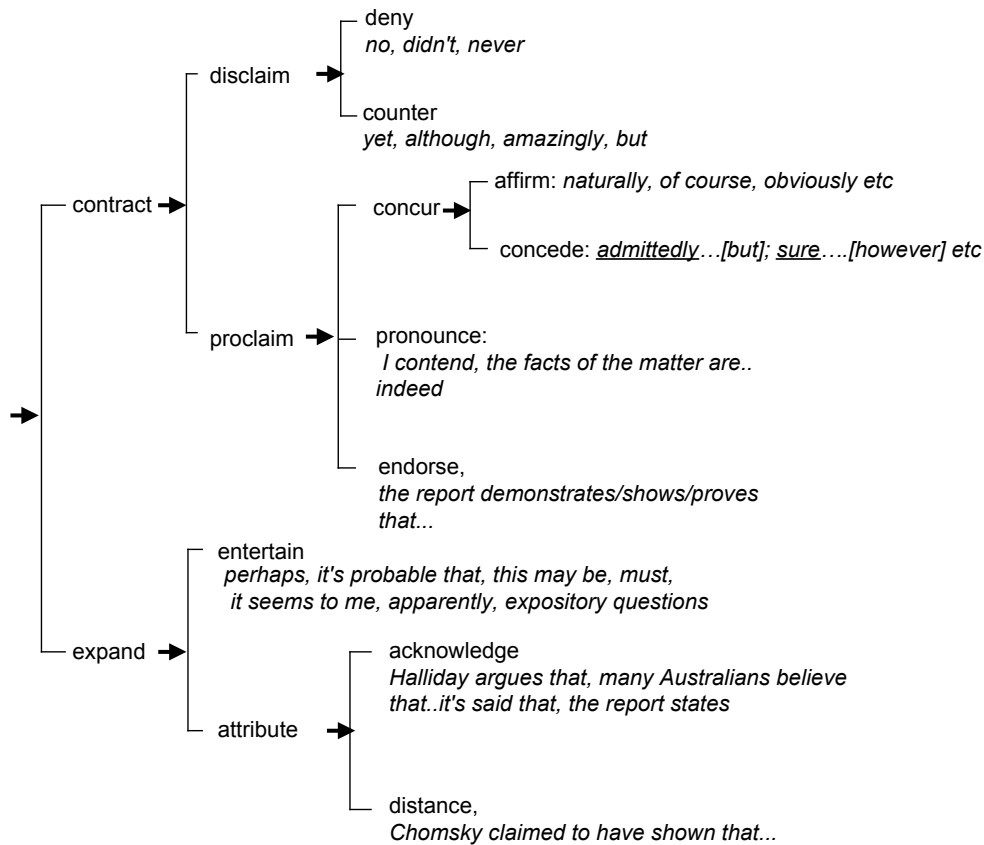
under the previous three, she calls 'Contrasts' and 'Concessions' (see also Spenader & Maier (2009). A brief discussion of these is offered below for clarification.

4) "Contrasts", i.e. what Labov (1972) calls 'comparators': in this the negative is used in demonstrating the difference between one option and another (this strategy is used in the example 2.3 above, and in the extract below, example 8). It is obvious that *contrasts* are not mutually exclusive to *implicit denials*, but may of course 'realise' a positioning move[3] in which implicit denial also figures. "Contrasts" may be activated under Engagement by [disclaim: counter], but contrasts may also be instantiated by means other than signals of counter-expect. As discussed above, while matching relations: contrast will generally feature a negative operator, their actual rhetorical function is dependent on the co-text.

5) "Concessions": the writer acknowledges that a negation *is* the case – i.e., assumes the reader entertains a *partial* negated idea (framed by *admittedly*, *I concede*, etc) which is then expanded or 'corrected'. These strategies or signals are collectively labelled *Proclaim* under the Engagement system (see below, Fig 3) and again, were felt to be more discursive than dialogic in effect. That is, they draw attention to or 'flag' meanings in the clause or co-text, while not necessarily implying (unstated) attitudes on the part of the writer or addressees. Once more, this highlights the fact that negation is obviously to be found in contexts of Engagement other than disclaim: deny.

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[3] Martin & White (2005: 142) include lexically realised comparison within Graduation.

Figure 2. The Engagement framework (adapted from Martin & White 2005)

As well as indicators of so-called *implicit denials* there are also examples in my corpus of what Tottie (in Pagano 1994: 251) calls

6) "Rejections" - these, unlike Denials, operate in the refusal of *proposals* rather than the denial of *propositions*. In other words, they reject either offers or directives to supply services of some kind. Their presence in the corpus likely stems from the mode of interaction from which the texts are taken, one which can partly be characterised as 'reply expected' (cf. Martin 1992 (Ch 7) 513ff). That is to say, email interaction is a mode in which interactants operate with metaphors of 'saying' rather than 'writing' and all the expectations of doing and behaving that attend the relatively immediate response that email affords. Rejections or

"refusals" of proposals may also be considered a token of attitude in some contexts. Space prevents an extended commentary on this type of evaluative positioning here, but since "refusals often offend", it is obvious that these moves carry some form of implied negative attitude.

(6) Examples of 'Rejections/refusals' from the corpus

    (6.1)   `One game I `**`won't`**` play is Terry the Aggrieved Victim`
                      `Takes Potshots at Stan.`

In this excerpt the writer implies that the Addressee (Terry) wants to play [that game], and this proposal is refused.

    (6.2)   **`No,`**` Stan. I `**`do not`**` wish to change it.`

Here the writer refuses a suggestion/offer that he change behaviour (*it*).

    (6.3)   **`No, no`**` more snottiness. I should be the only one`
                      `allowed to be snotty.`

In this instance, the writer issues a directive using a reduced form of the imperative. That such a directive is meant to be slightly ironic is underlined by the assertion which follows it.

    (6.4)   `So contrary to what Harry suggests I am `**`not`**` about to`
                      `tell either of them much of anything.`

Here, the writer rejects the suggestion of what he might do in future.

7) In addition, there were of course *explicit denials* or 'refutations', where the writer denies what the previous writer has asserted. The presence of these types of refutations are not common in written texts unless the writer specifically extra-vocalises or brings in alternative

voices with which to disagree, and so the prevalence of examples of this type of refutation also appears to be a function of the mode of interaction – since there *are* in fact external voices with which the writer disagrees. These types of denial are not included in the set of dialogic categories listed above, as they do not imply an attitude on the part of the interlocutor, merely disagree with what they have said or written as a prelude, perhaps, for further argument or clarification. In other words, they say quite explicitly that you (the primary addressee) are wrong.

(7) Examples of Refutation from the corpus

(7.1)   `I `**`didn't`**` write the pseudo-quote above.`

(7.2)   `Now I feel provoked to say that I `**`didn't`**` see myself`
                `as coming to Terry's defense`

(7.3)   `I `**`don't`**` dislike rational discourse. (Me?! Dislike`
                `rational discourse?!)`

(7.4)   `Ter, Stan `**`isn't`**` "kindly" providing you with any`
                `examples.`

In all of these examples, the propositions are 'explicit' in the preceding text to which the writer is responding. The propositions, then, are not implied in this type of negation, and act to contract the dialogic space in a more obvious way.

5 Abstract pattern or local construal?

Up until this point it might be assumed that the categories of implied attitude or dialogic positioning exemplified above, might be interpretable from segments of texts such as presented, but such segments are meant to illustrate where the occurrence of a negative operator activates a potential reading of stance, not account for such a reading in entirety. Such readings are only really possible when several discursive threads in a text are taken into

account. The interrelationship between several such 'layers' of meaning contributing to the assignment of an invoked attitude category at the discourse semantic level is illustrated by the following example. The excerpt below *(Example 8)* is from a post[4] sent to the email list by a new subscriber. It acts to negatively evaluate the group it addresses, partly by the use of a negative operator and its denial function. It does this by denying a proposition that has not previously been made in any specific posting to the discussion. However, the very act of denying the proposition implies that it is one that is held by other contributors, the addressees. In addition, it works to negatively evaluate these contributors by means of the device of a conceit used in the rest of the post which likens these contributors to the members of a family.

(8) `An open system is` **`not`** `defined by public archives and open`
     `subscription, it is defined by how a family responds to`
     `its new babies and external influences.` [20jan97/sally4:SE17]

5.1 Lexis and phraseology

In the context of the post in which it appears, this sentence (17 in the full text) acts as a *pivot*, node, or phase shift (Gregory 1985) of an argument cycle which acts to negatively evaluate the group addressed, here using the strategy of matching relation: contrast (Hoey 1991a), in tandem with a so-called *implicit denial*. The sentence appears at the end of an orthographically-signalled paragraph in which the writer makes a series of statements about group-relations, with the following paragraph changing direction to bring the argument more clearly into the domain of the writer's experiences in the target group itself.

The contrast in the matching relation in SE17 is dependent on a negation of one definition, and an affirmation of another. At the same time, it sets up, or implies an attitude on the part

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[4] see appendix for complete text

of the audience which did not exist before the denial. However, the sentence itself only works as the node in the invocation of attitude due to logogenesis – its location in the text and the unfolding of the text's argument. This results in a form of strategic evaluation where a position is set up through ambiguous referents and targets in order to *provoke* or imply an attitude. In this sense, the pattern can be identified, and suggested as a possible means for invoking attitude, dependent on contextual configuration involving many other layers of meaning-making. The denial-affirmation pattern of this sentence was investigated with this in mind, and will be discussed in more detail below, since it appears that this type of discourse strategy, the dialogic positioning it evokes, and other moves using this type of positioning (i.e. matching relation contrast, e.g. affirm-deny; deny-assert) are again related to the first category of *implicit denials*, 'mistaken idea', outlined previously above.

5.2 Intra- and inter-textual relations

As indicated above, this type of positioning also relies on co-textual signals within the rest of the text, and sometimes beyond (cf. Don 2007a, 2016). In the example sentence reproduced above (Ex 8: SE17) there is no overtly evaluative lexis. However, its appearance acted to encapsulate the argument which the writer had been making, marking a transition phase between what had gone before, and the paragraph which followed it. Its function as highly negatively evaluative of the group addressed therefore also depends on the tracking of a number of referents already introduced in the same post – referents in which list-members as a group had been likened to a family, and the writer likened (by herself) to a new baby in that family. In addition, it also makes reference to 'systems theory' in which open systems are assumed to be positively evaluated.

In the example 8 cited above, it is lexis identifying the field of discussion which identifies the target of evaluation as the audience (i.e. the email list "ND" and its members): *public archives* and *open subscription*. At the same time, it is these identifiers which are denied as

defining an *open system* – where *open system* is obviously assumed to carry positive connotations. Here, *Systems Theory* is used as extra-vocalised authority, with the writer having already explicitly described the group, i.e. the participating audience members and addressees, as *in many ways a closed system* (Sentence 14):

(9) `I do` **not** `state or imply that ND is a dysfunctional family`

       but `in many ways it is a closed system` – [20jan97/sally4: SE14]

This in turn is part of another denial – a denial that the writer herself is implying that the audience is a *dysfunctional family*. Once more, the denial constructs audience members as entertaining a view they may not in fact hold, and it is this specific function of [disclaim: deny] that often brings 'straw men' into an argument – by implying or *presuming* that interlocutors (readers/hearers) hold unstated positions. This last example (Ex 9) therefore relates most closely to the second category of denial outlined above, that of *disambiguation*. At the same time, it uses this denial in order to assert a claim which is then used to make further assessments of the group ("ND"). Note also that the occurrence of [disclaim: deny] is part of an extended rhetorical strategy employing [disclaim: counter] as well (c.f. Figure 2 above).

In summary, the writer's argument is that the list-as-group is *not* a dysfunctional family, but *is* a closed system. Up until this point (Ex 9: SE14), 'the family' had provided a metaphor for the writer in which she hinted that she herself could be regarded as a (positively evaluated) new baby in a family, and described the 'good' and 'bad' ways a family can respond to a new baby. In the paragraph following SE17 (Ex 8 above), the identification between herself and a metaphorical new baby is made more explicitly. The implication of negative Judgement is made via a threat or warning: if group members do not treat her, the new baby, in the 'right way', they will suffer the fate of remaining negatively evaluated as a closed system. Therefore, this strategy can also be classed as one incorporating a matching

relation {hypothetical-real}, usually signalled by an if-then pattern. In this case, the if-then pattern is not explicit in the text, but a part of the argument structure itself.

Part of the if-then pattern employed in this text incorporates the pattern noted above and exemplified in Ex 9: matching relation: contrast. In the case represented in Ex 9: SE14, this is realised by a deny-counter sub-pattern:

(9.a)   `I do **not** state or imply that` [disclaim: deny – framing]

`ND is a dysfunctional family` [denied proposition]

`**but** in many ways` [disclaim: counter + downgrade assertion]

`it is a closed system` [contrasting proposition]

In passing, we note that the paragraph and text as a whole (see Appendix) is characterised by implicit and explicit conjectures, or what the ENGAGEMENT system calls Entertain: *I assumed*, *it seems that*, *I wonder whether*, *if*, etc on the part of the writer. This underlines the previously noted related factor that the co-text of [disclaim: deny] is often characterised by other Engagement values such as *Disclaim* [counter/concur], *Entertain*, *Pronounce*, and *Attribute*.

5.3 Conventionalised pattern for signalling disalignment?

Initially I speculated that the pattern in Example 8: *A is not defined by x, A is defined by y*, might be a common means for construing the Addresser's/ speaker's stance of *disalignment* with Ideal or imagined interlocutors in most contexts. This was related to the effect that negation has in implying counter-expectation, or the denial of presuppositions on the part of projected audience members (Jordan 1998, Pagano 1994). My assumption was that, in general, such denials would act to signal disalignment with Addressees by denying the validity of the position they held – or in this case, which they had been construed as holding.

At the same time, I assumed that there would also be instances where co-textual signals would act to clearly direct any disalignment towards third parties, and hence in contrast, call on solidarity with interlocutors. For example, negatively evaluating the views held by 'out-group' members would call on solidarity with those addressed when explicit reference was made to the out-group. That is to say, the out-group would need to be *referred to*: without the overt reference, the denial of the validity of a view would position the Addressee(s) as entertaining such a view (cf. Wigboldus et al 1999).

5.3.1 Negative operator as hinge

In order to investigate assumptions regarding the typicality of the pattern represented in Ex 8 above in signalling a stance of disalignment with addressees, I first considered it as a potential candidate for a local grammar à la Hunston and Sinclair (2000: 81):

thing evaluated	hinge	evaluative category	apposition	thing evaluated	hinge	evaluative category
nominal group	neg v-link	nominal group		nominal group	v-link	nominal group
A	is not defined by	X		A	is defined by	Y

Figure 3. Proposed grammar patterning for example strategy

If this pattern were common in a larger corpus, it would be possible to investigate its typical functions at a higher level of abstraction than the lexico-grammatical - the discourse semantic – by appeal to conventionalised patterns at the level of system (cf. Figure 1 above: cline of instantiation). Therefore, I consulted the Bank of English (2003) with the following query: [not+1,2by], and then sorted 1 word to the right. There were 41 instances in the whole

corpus, out of which 12 showed either a similar, or related 'denial' of definition together with replacement by another definition (i.e. the pattern 'deny-assert' referred to earlier). Out of these, 7 used apposition, or the denial plus affirmation pattern, but none showed the pattern represented above in all respects. That is to say, in 6 instances, the pattern was abbreviated by ellipsis of the repeated nominal and verbal groups of the example clause complex, and in a 7th, the pattern was slightly different due partly to its orientation to futurity.

These 7 Bank of English examples are listed below, with the negating phrase *italicised*:

(10.a)   It is that ultimately our human significance is *not defined by* the wrong we do, <u>but by</u> God's love for us. <brmags/UK>

(10.b)   Great players are *not defined by* their best performances <u>but by</u> how easily they repeat excellence.<usspok/US>

(10.c)   Alpine permafrost is *not defined by* the percentage of permanently frozen ground <u>but by</u> its presence in a mountainous setting. <strathy/CA>

(10.d)   This view, increasingly being promoted by cognitive scientists and artificial intelligence experts, suggests that human beings are *not defined by* the atoms of our bodies, <u>but by</u> an ethereal matrix of electrically stored data. <guard/UK>

(10.e)   The desire for a quality of life that is *not defined by* the accumulation of things <u>but </u>rather <u>by</u> a pairing down to the essentials <brmags/UK>

(10.f)   Here, the basic process is *not defined by* industrial engineers, <u>but by</u> the team members themselves, who construct a detailed working plan which is followed by each member. <wbe/UK>

(10.g)   The terms "investment adviser representative" and "place of business" are *not defined by* the Coordination Act, but are proposed to be defined by Commission rules. <p> <wbe/UK>

These examples suggested that the verbal group cannot be comprised of the elements hypothesised in Figure 3 above: the preposition 'by' has not been deleted along with the verbal element, and therefore appears to be part of a prepositional phrase realising a Circumstance of Manner (Halliday 1994). In sentences 10.f) and 10.g) above the pattern is semantically complicated in that the nominal groups in the by-phrases seem to realise an agent function in the clause, rather than simply an instrumental function (Halliday 1994: 154). However, given that the structure of a prepositional phrase is [preposition + nominal group], the pattern could be rewritten in the following way:

thing evaluated	hinge	evaluative category	apposition	thing evaluated	hinge	evaluative category
nominal group	neg v-link	-by- nom group		nominal group	v-link	-by- nom group
A	is not defined	by X	but	[ellipted]	[ellipted]	by Y

Figure 4. Amended grammar pattern for example strategy

In all of the above examples from the Bank of English corpus, it appears that a certain definition, or 'view of reality' has either been assumed as entertained by addressees, or it has been developed as a shared assumption on the part of the addressees during the unfolding of the discourse. In most of these cases, the positioning does not necessarily act to disalign Addressees, but it does construct them as sharing an invalid assumption, about which the

Addresser has more expertise or knowledge. In this way, the writer is able to define the nature of reality anew for the readers (or hearers) with whom s/he may claim affiliation in terms of interest in semantic domain (field), but with whom s/he assumes unequal status in terms of *authority* (expertise) - and perhaps *control* (genre manipulation) within this field (i.e. these together act to construe tenor) (cf. Martin 1992: 527, and Don forthcoming). The fact that 'control' relates to an ability to manipulate the constraints of the genre, which in turn is a function of the field of discourse, points to what Martin (1992: ibid) states as a need to see tenor and the construction of relationships as "an ongoing process of textual negotiation". Similarly, Hoey (1991a: 18, referring to Winter) raises the same issue when he maintains that a sentence in isolation is interpretable in discourse terms only when placed in its context, and that any account of meaning is hampered unless contextualisation takes place first. In these cases, therefore, where Engagement values of [disclaim: deny] come into play, the positioning of interlocutors and the stance of the writer/speaker may depend on indicators quite outside the local clause in which any negative operator occurs. In accounting for such positioning, the whole text as unit of meaning may be required, and reference to context of culture may also be salutary. In terms of the cline of instantiation illustrated in Figure 2 above, this means that the cline might be better conceived of as a cone, where the reading event is entirely dependent on all levels "above": thus *message* (i.e. the pragmatic meaning of any clause) cannot be read excerpt in terms of its location in *text*, and in terms of the conventionalised meanings for similar messages in similar contexts at the level of *system.*

5.3.2 Threat of Attitude?

In terms of what the system offers for rhetorical strategies of this kind, the excerpt above (Ex 8) acts to encapsulate what Halliday terms a 'warning' under his 1973 (reproduced by Hasan 2001) semantic network model. This network provides the means for tracing options used in disciplining a child, and under this model, the clause complex in Ex 8 can be interpreted as a

[warning: attribute: agency unspecified, child as 'done' to by other: condition implicit]. Given that one of the recurrent tropes of the text involves the notion of 'family', this suggests the potential for the activation of a *context of control,* the register on which Halliday based the semantic network model referred to here. Hasan (1996: 114) notes that Bernstein's theory considered this register as critical to the process of socialisation. In this sense then, the writer of this text could be seen as evoking attitude in the service of *norm-setting* (as distinct from *norm-applying,* borrowed from Peter White, personal communication), as a way of exerting control over the group by the *threat of negative evaluation*, or what Hasan (2001) describes as "condition implicit".

It is this threat of negative evaluation that points to the implied attitudes here, and relates to those contexts in which [modulation: obligation] is commonly found. That is, in contexts where directives are made through the use of declaratives featuring modal finites such as *should*, *ought*, *had better*, *must*, etc, the implication is often that failure to carry out what should be done will result in negative Judgement: Propriety being levelled against the target. The invocations in these cases are *irrealis* – merely threatened. Other rhetorical strategies employed to suggest the potential for attitudes of Judgement: Propriety (negative or positive) include the matching relation {cause-consequence} or {hypothetical-real}, where the threat of negative/positive attitude is based on the target's behaving or not-behaving as 'directed'. The following two examples from the study data will need to suffice at this stage for providing examples of such hypothetical-real relations teamed with a negative operator in order to *threaten* negative evaluation:

(11) Thus, <u>if</u> my hypothetical PHD in sociology in the same
message demonstrates that he or she **cannot** format an
email message, **cannot** download and configure a simple
computer program, **does not** know what UNIX is, and
considers reading a computer manual akin to menial

```
labor, then I am not going to give much weight to what

the  person has to say about the dynamics of the internet

{H-R} [sft24.9/simon1]
```

(12) ```
Of course, the difference may be because you have back-

channel material that I don't. So the *what* sets that we

each are reading are not the same. {H-R} [jvs16.4/ter]
```

In both these excerpts the pattern features an if-then relationship, or what Hoey (1991a) describes as hypothetical-real {H-R} matching relation. In the first example (11) this pattern is more readily observed, as shown by the underlined elements of the segment. The second excerpt (12) instead uses two sentences, the first employing a *may be,* followed by a second sentence beginning with *so*. The interest here is in the co-occurrence of a hypothetical-real pattern or structure teamed with the use of negative operators to set up an implied evaluative stance towards ambiguous targets, with a threat of actual disapprobation. These kinds of text phases featuring negative operators in tandem with discourse patterns such as {H-R} were noted often in this study whose focus was the function of negative operators in context. It remains for further work to be carried out to determine how prevalent such combinations are, in a variety of different text types, and with what implied evaluative stances.

## 4 Conclusion

The Appraisal framework as outlined by Martin and White (2005) provides a robust and flexible set of discourse semantic categories for use in analysis of attitude and stance in discourse-based texts. One of the three primary categories of the framework, Engagement, points to the use of 'denial', more commonly known as negation in the construction of interpersonal relationships in the unfolding of any text. Discourse analysts often need to account for their interpretation of pragmatic or 'intended' meanings, or potential

interpretation in their texts, and the Appraisal framework allows analysts to account for their interpretation of evaluative moves and implications by reference to the categories in this framework. At the same time, the framework can be expanded or elaborated by the activities of discourse analysts themselves, which is considered one of the most useful aspects of such a framework: it allows discussion of context-dependent interpretation of stance and positioning by reference to a set of systematically-ordered and continually tested taxonomy of categories.

With this study it has been demonstrated that negative operators function in a variety of ways in the data set under investigation, one which incorporates interactivity in a written medium. A set of 'categories' of implied attitude using negation was proposed and illustrated, and the paper has argued that negation sometimes functions to 'put words in people's mouths', listing and exemplifying some of the means by which negation functions in context to sometimes construe evaluative positions on the part of interlocutors which they may not have uttered.

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**Appendix**

**Date:** Mon, 20 Jan 1997 16:13:46 -0500

**From:** <email>

**Subject:** Baby Talk or So Happy Together

**1a** Sandra, and (Ray - I just got your post)

**1b** Sandra's:

**1c** "Sally, I'm sorry if these musings of mine make you feel at all targeted. I thought about not sending them, but as it is a question that has been brought out into the open, then I think I will."

**2** I'm glad you answered Ray's question because it is obvious that I need information. **3** I do feel 'under the microscope' as any new member is going to feel, and be, in any group (not just the Web). **4** In my expectation to be targeted, I had anticipated curiosity, fear, jealousy, among others, but not suspicion, and particularly of my identity.... this is, in my experience, unique to the Web. **5** As for stating your suspicions or doubts, I value honesty in

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communication and would rather hear your fear, suspicion or doubt directly than to hear their echoes in all of our exchanges or in the poverty of our exchange. **6** I usually find that exchanges between two people are largely superficial until they risk the truth of their feelings and thoughts toward each other. **7** Ray got the brunt of my indignation because he was trying to be honest about his perceptions of me.

**8** New members in any group are the lifeblood of the group...they are the new babies of that family. **9** They refresh the group dynamic. **10** But like new babies they disrupt the pairings and interrelatedness of pairings in the family and force realignment of its habitual patterns. **11** In some families the mutual love that they feel supports these radical shifts and changes with a minimum of negative feelings and consequences. **12** In families with existing underlying hostilities or a scarcity of fulfilling interactions, the baby is likely to be seen as a usurper of comfort and safety. **13** It has not been entirely in jest that I have written two passages in posts to the effect that it is always the choice of a disrupted family to physically remove the intruder or at least to wish or fantasize this possibility. **14** I do not state or imply that ND is a dysfunctional family but in many ways it is a closed system - this was my first observation from the comfort of my former observerhood. **15** I even assumed that it had been a by-invitation-only group before the Tracy trauma until Simon set me straight. **16** I have forgotten most of my Systems Theory but I remembered enough to understand why there were fears among the group of its eventual self-absorption or withering demise. **17** An open system is not defined by public archives and open subscription, it is defined by how a family responds to its new babies and external influences.

**18** I have been surprised that no one identified the presence of an Active new member as a possible source of some of the recent threads or other List activity. **19** Think about the threads and discussions in terms of a new baby in a family and it may explain a lot. **20** I

would like to talk about my impressions of many of these subjects but I have boring reports waiting for me that I must squeeze some interest from. **21** (One example is my assumption that Ray, as father or older brother, was assigning roles for the purpose of helping my older siblings feel safer, important and loved, but his Dana child saw the false security in that approach and wanted an opportunity to work out the changes in a more lasting and productive way). **22** As for my veteran ways at listtalk, I am ignorant of the Bionic approach to group dynamic and I am ignorant of List operations and jargon but I am not ignorant to life. **23** From where I sit, Ray, I don't feel very veteran to the Web or to list protocol.

**24** (I have recently thought that it would have been wiser had I learned more about the Web before I got myself involved in such a powerful list).


**25** In my first post I attempted to do four things: 1. to respond to Kaylene's plea for the group to wake up from its complacency - one of her posts stated so clearly to me her desire to shock herself and the group out of their sleep - one of the Muck posts, but I can't find the damn thing. 2. to introduce myself in terms of what moves me and what holds me, including many of my buttons. 3. to be a baby that could refresh the dynamic without unreasonable demands. 4. to learn and to teach, in that order. **26** My only regret since I have been here is that, in knowing that I had to jump into the water, that I wasn't more careful where I landed - instead of landing beside Kaylene as I had planned, I landed on top of her. **27** I have never been a particularly graceful diver. **28** But someone with her courtesy, honesty and courage did not deserve this and my innocent intent does little to change the fact. **29** My behavior henceforth might.

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**30** I am always disinclined to prove myself.....I always assume that how I act is proof enough. **31** It is hard for me to get past the conviction that WHO I am, no matter what the circumstance, will always be measured by how I treat others and how I respond to how I'm

treated. **32** Apart from Kaylene, I believe that I have treated people here with respect and on occasion have demanded the same.

**33** I know there are people here who fear me, they have reason to, I am not safe. **34** I am as dangerous as anyone here who is willing to be honest.

**35** There is more........ but the damn reports await, Sally B.