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A PRAGMATIC STUDY OF NEGATIVES IN WRITTEN TEXT

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Para meus pais Haydée e Juan Angel

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**ABSTRACT**

Most studies of negation have consisted in the consideration of negative sentences - usually made-up or at best isolated from their original context - in terms of their morphology and syntax or in relation to truth values within the field of Logic. Few attempts have been made to analyze the actual use of negatives in texts and even these studies have sometimes resorted to decontextualized examples. One exception is Tottie's (1982, 1987) systematic classification of negative uses into "rejections" and "denials", which opened the way for research on negation in oral and written language.

In line with Tottie's discussion, this dissertation addresses the topic of negation from a pragmatic perspective, with a view to accounting for the use of denials in written text. Examples of denials were collected from diverse written sources and their function in the text was analyzed taking into account the context in which they appear. These data were approached from three perspectives, corresponding to the three language functions pointed out by Halliday: interpersonal, textual and ideational.

The findings of this analysis point to the significant role of the writer's assumptions about his ideal reader's expectations and the way these influence the construction of the writer's message. This study provided interesting insights into the way texts are produced, stressing, in particular, the interactive nature of written communication.

## RESUMO

A maioria dos estudos sobre negação consiste na análise de sentenças negativas - geralmente inventadas ou isoladas de um contexto - em termos de sua morfologia e sintaxe ou em relação aos conceitos de verdadeiro e falso dentro do campo da Lógica. Poucas tentativas têm sido feitas para analisar o uso real de negativas em textos, e mesmo estas às vezes o fazem usando exemplos descontextualizados. Uma exceção é a classificação sistemática de Tottie (1982, 1987) do uso de negativas em rejeições e recusas, a qual abriu caminho para a pesquisa sobre a negação nas linguagens escrita e falada.

Do mesmo modo que Tottie, esta dissertação aborda o tópico da negação sob uma perspectiva pragmática, com o objetivo de esclarecer o uso de negativas no texto escrito. Com este fim, exemplos de negativas de diversas fontes escritas foram coletados e suas funções no texto foram analisadas, levando-se em consideração o contexto em que aparecem. Estes dados foram abordados sob três perspectivas, correspondentes às três funções de linguagem demonstradas por Halliday: interpessoal, textual e ideacional.

As conclusões desta análise apontam para o papel significativo que têm as suposições de um escritor sobre as expectativas de seu leitor ideal e o modo pelo qual essas suposições influenciam a construção da mensagem do escritor. Este estudo proporcionou um maior entendimento sobre a maneira pela qual os textos são produzidos, enfatizando, especialmente, a natureza interativa da comunicação escrita.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .....	v
RESUMO .....	vi
CHAPTER I - Introduction .....	1
Why study negatives? .....	2
Data .....	11
CHAPTER II - Why do denials appear in texts? .....	15
Existential Paradigm .....	20
Schemata .....	29
Denials of background information .....	34
Denials of text processed information .....	37
Unfulfilled expectations .....	40
Contrasts .....	43
Another category? .....	45
A final word on the categories proposed .....	46
CHAPTER III - What role do denials play in the development of texts? .....	48
Denials in the microstructure of texts .....	49
1) Denial-Correction .....	50
2) Denial-Restriction .....	55
3) Denial-Result .....	61
4) Denial-Explanation .....	62
5) Denial-Exemplification .....	63
6) Denial-No Follow-up .....	71
Denials in the macrostructure of texts .....	76
CHAPTER IV - Covert negatives .....	85
Why do covert negatives appear in texts? .....	90
What role do covert negatives play in the development of texts? .....	92
Denial-restriction .....	92
Denial-result .....	93
Denial-explanation .....	94
Denial-exemplification .....	94
Denial-no follow-up .....	95
Covert negatives in the macrostructure of texts .....	98

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH .....	110
APPENDIX .....	115
SOURCE BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	172
REFERENCES .....	178



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The topic of negation has received a great deal of direct or indirect attention from linguists, psychologists and philosophers. Within the field of Linguistics, most studies have focused on morphological and syntactic aspects of negation (Jespersen 1917, Klima 1964, Davison 1978, Horn 1978), while some have looked at the topic from the point of view of Logic, in relation to truth values (Frege 1892, Russell 1903, Atlas 1974, 1977, 1981, Kempson 1975, Gazdar 1979). However, with regard to the pragmatics of negation i.e. what negative utterances are used for in discourse, little has been done. Some linguists, for instance, have done research on the acquisition of negation by children (Bates 1976, Volterra & Antinucci 1979), which brought about significant insights about the use of negation not only in child but also in adult language. Other linguists have compared negative utterances to affirmatives and have made some points concerning the pragmatics of negatives in language (Givón 1978, Leech 1974, 1983). Interestingly, these authors as well as others who commented in passing upon negatives (Bolinger 1977, Clark & Clark 1977, Greene 1972, Labov 1972, Labov & Fanshel 1977) arrive at similar conclusions about the use of negatives, and, in particular, they all support the idea that negative utterances are used to deny their affirmative counterparts, which are explicitly or implicitly present in the context of interaction.

Unfortunately, most of the linguists working on negation deal with decontextualized or made up examples; besides, none of them have supported their claims with extensive data taken from authentic texts.

In this dissertation, I intend to analyze negation in written texts using a relatively representative amount of data taken from authentic sources.

#### WHY STUDY NEGATIVES?

In English, speakers have linguistically realised options to affirm or deny something, to agree or disagree, to accept or refuse. These contrastive pairs can be linguistically conveyed through formally positive and negative statements, as in 1 and 2:

- (1) The government had great success in its campaign against AIDS.
- (2) The government did not succeed in its campaign against AIDS.
- (3) The government failed in its campaign against AIDS.

However, as a comparison of 2 and 3 indicates, a negative meaning can be expressed not only by utterances in negative form but also by utterances whose form is affirmative. That is to say, there is no one-to-one correspondence between affirmative/negative form and positive/negative meaning. This is an important point to be borne in mind when studying polarity. However, let us for the time being talk about affirmative and negative as if a correspondence between meaning and form did exist and look at their use in text.

Affirmative and negative statements are used according to the purpose of the speaker/writer in the communicative situation. Generally, when people want to provide information about a certain state of affairs in the world, they express things positively. Negatives, by contrast, are specifically used to disagree with, refute or deny some piece of information. This specificity in their use makes negatives salient or *marked* forms in relation to the positive or *unmarked* forms. But, can we say that negatives are *marked*?

According to Bolinger (1968), an *unmarked* feature is one that is usually present or assumed to be present; a *marked* feature, by contrast, is one that is distinctive and unusual. Lehrer (1985) further adds that *unmarked* elements, being more general forms, can appear in more contexts than *marked* ones and, probably because of this, are more frequent. This is certainly the case with negatives. As already stated, we generally convey ideas in positive form and only in specific cases do we use negatives. A quick look at almost any text will show that positive statements abound. Thus, in terms of their frequency of occurrence, which may be due to the restriction in the range of contexts in which they can occur, negatives can no doubt be considered *marked* with respect to affirmatives.

There is a further criterion of markedness considered by Bolinger (1968) and Lehrer (1985) which also applies to negatives: *marked* forms sometimes have an overt morphological marker. Negatives, in fact, are morphologically marked by items such as "no", "not", "never", "nobody", "none", etc. Therefore, their low frequency of appearance, their restricted use and their

morphological markers allow us to regard negatives as *marked* forms.

What makes negatives interesting for study? Actually, the very fact that they are *marked* forms makes us wonder *why* and *when* they are used in language, i.e., what are the pragmatics of negatives?

As I have already pointed out at the beginning of this discussion, there have been relatively few studies dealing with negatives from a pragmatic perspective, and still fewer attempting to systematize the uses of negation in language. Among the latter, Tottie (1982, 1987) has created a classification of the uses of negatives in oral and written language.

Tottie's (1982, 1987) analysis of negatives from a pragmatic perspective provides a useful basis for further analysis of the topic. According to her, negatives are used for two main purposes:

- to reject suggestions (including refusals)
- to deny assertions

From these two, Tottie (1982) draws the following categories:

**REJECTIONS ( including REFUSALS )**  
**EXPLICIT DENIALS**  
**IMPLICIT DENIALS**

The main difference between **REJECTIONS** and **DENIALS**, Tottie claims, is that rejections express volition on the part of the sender, e.g.:

- A: Would you care for a drink?  
 B: **No**, thanks.

whereas denials do not express volition. They are concerned with facts; they just state that an assertion is not true, e.g.:

A: So you are still living out there  
B: **No, I am not.** I have rented a flat near the bank.

This explanation, however, is not satisfactory in its differentiation of the two negative uses, since volition, a quality associated exclusively with rejections by Tottie, may be considered to underlie also denials: there is volition in expressing a denial.

The difference between rejections and denials may be better explained from a functional perspective, considering the language function which is predominant in each situation.

Halliday (1970; 1973) states that every use of language has some *ideational*, *interpersonal* and *textual* component, which he terms the three main functions of language. The *ideational* function is the use we make of language to express content. "It is through this function that the speaker or writer embodies his experience of the real world" (Halliday, 1973:105). The *interpersonal* function is the use we make of language to establish and maintain social relationships. This involves the expression of our comments, evaluations, and also of the relationship we establish between ourselves and our interlocutor(s), the role we adopt, "of informing, questioning, greeting, persuading and the like" (Halliday, 1973:105). Finally, the *textual* function is the use we make of language to create a text, which implies making internal links (cohesion) and external ones, with the situational context.

It must be borne in mind that the classification of language into three different functions does not mean that only one function will appear in every language use. All three functions

are present in any language instance. However, one of the functions may be more salient than the others. For instance, in a particular language instance, the ideational component may be more relevant than the interpersonal, especially if in using language we are concerned with presenting a particular view of a state of affairs in the world, rather than with playing a role in the social event in which we are using language. Moreover, there are occasions in which the ideational component may be almost absent, as is the case of formulaic greetings e.g., "hello", "how do you do?", which serve the purpose of establishing a channel of communication with the interlocutor rather than conveying a piece of information of a state of affairs in the world.

If we regard rejections and denials from the perspective of language function, we note that the language component that predominates in each of these uses is different. In denials, the ideational component is predominant: when we deny something, we are concerned with expressing our view on a particular fact i.e. we are concerned with whether things are one way or another e.g.:

(Telephone conversation)

A: Then finally she got what she wanted.

B: Well, I wouldn't say that. **She never wanted to break with him.** Things just happened that way.

B's denial of A's assumption (the woman in question wanted to end her relationship with her boyfriend) has a strong ideational component: B wants to correct A's view of a fact; the truth or correctness of the fact is more relevant than the interpersonal element in the conversation. However, if the conversation went like this:

A: So the party is at 9. Shall I bring something to eat or ...?

B: **No**, thanks. Don't worry. We'll have pizza.

In saying 'no', B is assuming a role in the conversation; he is providing an answer to A's offer (interpersonal function). There is certainly an ideational component (A does not need to bring anything to the party), but the interactional function is the one that predominates in this language instance (a rejection). Thus, taking into account the predominant language component in a particular instance of language use, instead of thinking in terms of volition, we can posit that rejections and denials constitute two different categories of negative use.

In Halliday (1985:86), a distinction is made between *propositions* ('information' i.e. statements and questions) and *proposals* ('goods and services' i.e. offers and commands).

*Propositions* imply asserting and denying, with intermediate possibilities e.g.:

this is so  
 this is probably so  
 this is usually so  
 this isn't so

*Proposals* are 'goods and services exchanges between speaker and hearer'; they involve proscribing and prescribing e.g.:

do it  
 do not do it

with degrees of modality:

you needn't do it  
 you shouldn't do it  
 you may not do it

These two concepts may also account for the difference between Tottie's uses of negation: denials, which would be *propositions*, and rejections (refusals) which are *proposals*, or rather answers to *proposals*.

Let us for the present study leave aside rejections and concentrate on denials. What denials negate, Tottie further states, can be either an explicitly stated assertion as in

There are two kinds of waste producers: those that produce inorganic waste and **those that do not**.

or an assertion that is somehow implicit in the context of the interaction, generally an assumption by the producer of the denial with respect to his interlocutor's beliefs or expectations, e.g.:

The most significant departure in the CEELT examination is that video recordings are used in the Oral and Listening Comprehension section. These are clips from actual lessons and **not specially scripted**. For the Oral test the clip acts only as a stimulus to interactive communication in groups of three.

(MEI, vol 15, n 3, Spring 1988:43)

In this example, the denial "not specially scripted" refers to a proposition which has not been explicitly asserted as would be the case, for instance, if the paragraph read:

In previous tests, the clips were specially scripted by our language specialists; this time they are not.

where an assertion is first presented and then denied. In the example taken from MEI, the denial refers to an expectation which the writer assumes his reader may have concerning the scripts of



the tests. The expectation assumed and thus implicit in the context of the interaction, namely "the clips are especially scripted" is denied so as to provide the reader with correct information and dissipate his doubts (I will take up this aspect again below).

At this point, a brief explanatory note concerning Tottie's terminology is necessary. Her terms *explicit* and *implicit denials* are perhaps a bit misleading in that what is explicit or implicit is not, as might be expected, the denials themselves, but the propositions that are being denied. In other words, the explicitness/implicitness criterion used in her classification refers to the thing that is denied and not to the negative itself. Thus, in an exchange like:

A: Has the garbage been emptied?

B: You know bloody well I've been out all day, how could I have emptied the garbage can?

B certainly produces what is commonly called an implicit negative answer, meaning: "No, I haven't done it"; however, it is not what Tottie (1982) considers as *implicit denial*. Indeed, it is not a denial at all in Tottie's terms, since there is no formal marker of negation, such as "no", "never", "nothing", etc. An implicit denial, according to Tottie, is a denial of a proposition which has not been explicitly formulated in the text. For example:

**WHY MOSQUITO REPELLENTS REPELL**

**They are not substances that a mosquito's sensors finds distasteful.** They jam the mosquito's sensors so that it is not able to follow the warm and moist air currents given off by a warm-blooded animal.

(Wright, 1975:104)

Here, the first sentence after the subhead is denying a proposition which is not expressed in the text. The writer is denying what the reader might believe in relation to repellents: they are distasteful to the mosquito. This is an idea implicit in the text, inferable from the text. This is what Tottie calls implicit denial.

Bearing in mind Tottie's definitions of *explicit* and *implicit denials*, there is no need, I think, to change the labels. Re-labelling terms is a practice in all disciplines which frequently proves more confusing than helpful.

Implicit denials then (as I will show throughout this dissertation) are denials which originate as a product of an assumption by the producer in relation to his interlocutor's beliefs. Being denials of implicit assertions, they reveal aspects of discourse which are not explicit. In other words, they reveal the process going on in the producer's mind when constructing a communicative message. They likewise reveal the producer's expectations and presuppositions in connection to his interlocutor, as pointed out by de Beaugrande & Dressler (1981:150), who present negation as a potential object for research.

The discovery of text users' expectations [...] is a messy and intricate task. Only on certain occasions do people actually declare what they are expecting. It follows that we shall have to work largely in the other direction. After identifying language techniques which serve to indicate expectations, we can proceed to trace out the latter from textual evidence. A fairly obvious illustration is the use of *negation*, which typically is found only when there exists some motive to believe something is otherwise true (Wason 1965; Osgood 1971; Givón 1978). We need merely to locate and analyze negations to see what kinds of content are being presupposed.

Similar emphasis to the significance of negatives as a topic for research was given by Van Dijk (1977:57), who states that negation can be studied at the level of speech acts, 'viz. as *denial* (of a proposition), which would presuppose the explicit or implicit assertion of the proposition in the context'.

Among all the uses of negatives, implicit denials seem particularly interesting, as they raise questions as to what the producer has in mind to cause him to produce a denial, why a particular assertion should be implicit in a particular situation, why a denial fits the context in which it appears. The promise of potential insights to be derived from a study of implicit denials seems a very good reason to select this topic.

I intend in this dissertation to analyze instances of implicit denials in order to see *why* and *how* denials appear in texts, which are the specific contexts in which they are used and what role they play in the development and organization of a text. Thus, in the following chapter (Chapter II), I discuss denials from an interpersonal perspective i.e. from the viewpoint of the role they play in the interaction between producer and receiver. In Chapter III, I analyze the links between the denials and the text in which they appear i.e. the textual component of denials.

#### DATA

As the title states, my analysis in this dissertation concentrates on written language. My data, which amount to over two hundred and fifty examples, were drawn from a wide range of written texts: textbooks, magazines, journals, scientific papers, newspapers. All

the data sources are publications originally written in English; no translations were used.

The criterion I used to select implicit denials in the written texts is in line with that adopted by Tottie (1982) in her data collection of negatives. I considered implicit denials, negatives with an overt negative marker such as "no", "not", "never", "nowhere", "neither...nor", "none", "nobody" and "nothing", the proposition which they denied not appearing in the text (i.e. being implicit in the text). Since in this study I concentrate on denials, the data chosen from the source texts are those falling within what Quirk et al. (1985) call "clause negation" i.e. instances in which the whole clause is negated, either through the main verb e.g., "he doesn't know any Russian" or through means other than verb negation e.g., "he knows no Russian". Double negative phrases (Quirk et al., 1985) or so called *litotes* e.g., "not infrequent", were not considered, as they correspond to positive statements, the effect of which is that of understating for special purposes not explored in this work.

In addition to considering Tottie's implicit denials, which as I said, are overt negative statements denying a proposition implicit in the text, I consider denials which are not overtly negative (in the sense that they have no formal marker of negation), but which are certainly negative in meaning e.g.:

The government failed in its campaign against AIDS

I discuss this kind of denial, which I term "covert denial", in Chapter IV, with a view to seeing what function such denials have in texts and how they compare with their overt counterparts

from an ideational perspective i.e. how the writer expresses his view of the world through overt or covert negatives.

The criterion I used to select covert negatives is the following. I considered as covert denials, clause negatives which include what Jespersen (1917:42f) calls 'inherent negatives' and Quirk et al. (1985) 'implied negatives', i.e., items which express negative meaning though they are positive in form, that is, they are not accompanied by a formal negative marker ('no', 'not', etc.) or affix ('un-', 'in-', etc.). Examples of inherent negatives are verbs such as "fail", "lack", "exclude", "be missing", "forget", etc. I also considered as covert denials, statements having what Winter (1982:198) terms (though for a different purpose) 'lexical items signalling denial', such as "contradict", "correct", "disagree", "object to", "rebut", "repudiate", etc. Finally, I also considered as covert denials statements possessing some lexical items which have a negative connotation (Quirk et al., 1985), e.g.: "hardly", "few", "little", "only", "seldom", "rarely", etc. and comparisons with "too".

All the data collected is found in the APPENDIX, each example having a reference number. For reasons of space, three or four examples are presented in the text to illustrate the main points of the analysis, but on each occasion the reference numbers of further similar examples located in the APPENDIX, are provided after the examples quoted in the text.

Each denial is quoted in its linguistic context in order to facilitate the reader's understanding and the denial itself (overt or covert) appears in **bold** type. If, as occasionally happens, more than one denial appears in an example, only the one(s) in bold type are specifically discussed. In Chapter III, the denial's

counterpart in the patterns discussed appears underlined in the text.

Again, for brevity's sake, whenever portions of text were felt to be irrelevant to the understanding of a denial, they were omitted and their omission is indicated by means of three dots between square brackets: [...].

The sources of quoted excerpts and the works to which reference is made in this dissertation are listed alphabetically in the SOURCE BIBLIOGRAPHY (p. 172) and REFERENCES (p. 178) respectively.

## CHAPTER II

### WHY DO DENIALS APPEAR IN TEXTS?

In order to address this question, it is useful to consider first the communicative process underlying texts, particularly written texts, which are the source of data for this dissertation.

Communication implies interaction between two or more people. This is clearly seen in spoken discourse, where the physical presence of the interlocutors or physical contact between them (as in telephone conversations) typically exemplifies interaction and meaning negotiation between the participants. In written texts, unlike in spoken discourse, there is no physical receiver of the producer's message at the moment of composition; however, this does not mean that there is no interaction at all. Every written text is a message conveyed by an author to a reader. The reader may be a close relation or acquaintance (personal letters), a less intimate though identified receiver (business letters) or a totally unknown person (newspaper article). These three possible physical receivers, as I said, are not present when the writer composes his text. As they are not present, the writer cannot have the same kind of interaction he would have in a conversation with them. That is, there is no immediate meaning negotiation between interlocutors as there is in spoken conversation, but the writer replaces this absence by means of a mental representation that he builds of his interlocutor. The writer creates a picture of his reader, who thus becomes an "ideal reader", and attributes to this

reader certain experience, knowledge, opinions, beliefs on the basis of which the writer builds his message.

Widdowson (1979) discusses the nature of spoken and written interaction and states that in written texts "the writer assumes the roles of both addressor and addressee" and thus, as he writes, he thinks of the reader's possible reactions, anticipates them and acts accordingly. Whenever the writer feels that his text may pose a doubt or leave a question unanswered, he tries to provide the information he thinks the reader is expecting. That is, the questions which the reader would probably raise if the interaction were oral instead of written, are predicted by the writer while writing his text. This is why the "assumed reader" is so important in text construction, as was pointed out by Moirand (1979) in her discussion of "instances of written communication" (*situations d'écrit*). She states that all writers construct a mental representation of their readers which influences the way in which they formulate their message. Interestingly, Moirand states that, just as the writer creates a mental representation of the reader at the moment of writing, so the reader also builds a representation of the writer and his intentions at the moment of reading which also influences his reading of the text. This is certainly an aspect of the reading process which has received little attention so far.

The figure of the supposed or imagined reader of a text has been further discussed by Fillmore (1982) who designates this reader the "ideal reader". The ideal reader of a text, Fillmore says, is that reader for whom a given text, or more specifically a given interpretation of a text, was created. The ideal reader is then the reader who "sees the connections, creates the



expectations, performs the inferences, and asks the questions" which the writer had predicted. Fillmore concentrates particularly on the dichotomy *real readers/ideal readers* and the difficulties the former encounter when they do not match the latter. In fact, the farther a real reader is from the ideal one, the more difficult the comprehension of the text will be for him.

The characteristics of the ideal reader of a text are those selected by the writer at the moment of creating his message. In relation to this, Fairclough (1989) points out that the writer presupposes certain experiences on the part of the reader and produces his text based on them. If we think about it, this is more or less what we do, when we hold a conversation with other people: we assume our interlocutors possess certain knowledge and beliefs and interact taking these for granted. If the nature of oral and written communication is basically the same, then the principles holding for oral conversation also hold for written communication, and thus we can analyze the latter as if it were oral communication.

According to Widdowson (1979), both spoken and written discourse operate following Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle, which basically states that all speakers expect each other to speak sincerely, relevantly and clearly, providing as much information as required. Generally, the writer makes judgements as to what information his reader is interested in or expects from the text, which bits of text may be easily grasped by the reader and which may cause misunderstandings or confusion, etc. As the writer wants the reader to appreciate and approve his text, he will try to satisfy all the expectations he assumes the reader has in relation to the topic. However, as Jordan (1984:8) puts it,

A writer often looks for information which he thinks should be there, only to find that it is not there. The absence of this information could be important, and it is often reported as not being there. If the writer thought that certain information might be available, then the reader might think so too, and the question that the writer answered for himself also has to be answered for the reader.

Thus, as the writer somehow assumes what his reader's questions and expectations are, he tries to provide information about these. And when certain information is nonexistent, he can report that by means of denials of what was expected e.g.:

In Trankle & Markosian (1985), Expert System Adaptive Control (ESAC) is described. The system consists of a self-tuning regulator augmented with three different expert system modules: the system identifier, the control system designer and the control implementation supervisor. **A real time version of the system has not been implemented.**

(Automatica, 26/6, 1989:815)

In this piece of text, the writer talks about an expert system which has been developed by some researchers. The writer probably thought that the reader might be interested in knowing whether the system has been implemented. That is probably why he tries to satisfy the reader's question with the information expressed through the denial.

A writer is often aware that his message may contain parts which are dubious or likely to be misinterpreted. In order to be clear and not to mislead the reader, he will point to the ambiguous stretches and cancel the potentially wrong interpretations. This can also be done by means of denials e.g.:

Anyone with a passion for hanging labels on people or things should have little difficulty in recognizing that an apt tag for our time is the Unkempt Generation. **I am not referring solely to college kids.** The sloppiness virus has spread to all sectors of American society. People go to all sorts of trouble and expense to look uncombed, unshaved, unpressed.

(LIME, April 2, 1990:46)

Here, the writer denies what his readers might have thought in connection to the expression "unkempt generation", namely that he was referring to adolescents, an idea typically associated with the above quoted expression. This example and the previous one illustrate two instances in which writers use negatives to deny ideas or expectations they attribute to their readers (as they are assumptions by the writers, the propositions denied are implicit in the context of the interaction and therefore constitute *implicit denials*).

Of course, for writers to deny certain ideas or expectations which they assume on the part of their readers, the propositions denied have to be somehow plausible or expected in the context of the text. As Miller & Johnson-Laird (1976:262) state

people do not ordinarily go about uttering such denials as "George Washington is not a table" or "Sealing wax is not a dog", even though they are perfectly true.[...] These denials seldom occur because their corresponding affirmations seldom occur.

That is to say, for a writer to deny a belief or an expectation, he has to have some reason to think that his reader(s) may hold that belief or expectation. If, for instance, a reporter writes:

Wings lead singer, Paul McCartney, had a great success at the Maracana last night, **though he didn't sing any of the Beatles' songs.**

he assumes that the audience (and he himself, probably) had expected the singer to perform some of his old songs. If he wrote:

Wings lead singer, Paul McCartney, had a great success at the Maracana last night, **though he didn't sing any of the Rolling Stones' songs.**

this denial would not correspond to the general audience expectation: in normal circumstances, that McCartney would sing a Rolling Stones' song is less expected than he would sing one of the Beatles' song. Thus such a denial would sound odd in the news report. However, if somebody somewhere had been accusing McCartney of including too many songs by the Rolling Stones in his shows, and this had become public knowledge, the above denial would become meaningful in that context: it would then be denying a plausible expectation.

#### EXISTENTIAL PARADIGM

All this discussion supports Miller & Johnson-Laird's observation that a writer cannot deny just anything, but only assumptions which are plausible or acceptable in the context of interaction. Borrowing Brazil's (1985) terminology, we could say that all those assumptions that are plausible or probable in a particular context of interaction constitute an *existential paradigm*. Why *paradigm*? *Paradigm* implies a group or set of linguistic items that are

related in such a way that they may substitute each other in a given context. What determines the inclusion of the items within a single set is a series of conditions or characteristics that all the members have to fulfill. *Existential* implies that what determines the inclusion of items within a set is experiential factors such as shared experience or understanding in relation to a given environment.

Brazil (ibid:39) exemplifies this with the following exchange:

A: What card did you play?

B: The Queen of Hearts

If we analyze the question posed by A, we can see that for that question, there is a limited number of possible answers, which could be represented by the following paradigm:

the	{	ace two queen king	of	{	spades diamonds hearts clubs
-----	---	-----------------------------	----	---	---------------------------------------

In each of the slots in this paradigm, the speaker has a limited number of options. "Of", for instance, is the only word that could be used to link "queen" and "hearts". As regards the name of card, the options are also limited: they are thirteen; the class or suit of card is limited to four options. In the case of "of", the limitation is a linguistic one: belonging to a particular suit can only be expressed in English by the preposition "of". In the case of "queen" and "hearts", the limitation is an extralinguistic one: it is imposed by the fact that in the real world a pack of cards has fifty-two cards divided into four suits.

Thus, Brazil distinguishes between the *general paradigm* of the language, which consists of the conditions in the language system that limit the number of elements that can fill a slot e.g., "of" in the example above, and the *existential paradigm*, which is the "set of possibilities that a speaker can regard as actually available in a given situation" (p. 41), which is determined by conventions or extralinguistic factors, as is the case of "queen" and "hearts". Actually, the existential paradigm is included within the general paradigm of the language. The latter consists of all the choices which are linguistically possible in a given slot, e.g., to the question *Which card did you play?*, the following answers are linguistically possible:

the queen of hearts  
 the ace of clubs  
 the fifteen of flowers  
 the four of lions

But only a subset within the general paradigm constitutes the existential paradigm i.e. all the choices which are linguistically and experientially acceptable in a given context. Hence, "the fifteen of flowers" and "the four of lions" are certainly linguistically possible, but experientially nonsense, since such cards do not exist in the conventional pack.

If we take these two concepts (*general & existential paradigm*) and apply them to our study of denials, we can see that in a given situation, there are many linguistically possible denials that can be produced (certainly by linguists) and which make up the general paradigm e.g., "colourless ideas don't sleep furiously", but as Miller & Johnson-Laird state, those denials are nonsensical, because those propositions could never take place in

a real world context. Thus, the set of propositions that could be denied in a given context is limited by the propositions which are experientially possible in that context (existential paradigm). We could then define *existential paradigm* as a set of assumptions which are experientially linked in a certain context. In order to clarify this, let us go back to the example on page 19, in which the writer writes about the "Unkempt Generation".

This expression is, in our culture, associated with ideas such as hippies, rebellious, long-haired adolescents. These ideas are part of an experiential fact in our culture. We all know about or have experienced or have heard about the beat generation and its aftermath: a style of clothes, hairdressing, life, which became widely extended up to the present day, though the connotation has always been that those characteristics are more linked to young people. If we hear or read "unkempt generation", we expect the speaker/writer to be referring to youngsters. Thus, we could say that the existential paradigm of the idea of "unkempt generation" i.e. the assumptions experientially linked with that idea, are matters related to young people, adolescents. Therefore, the idea of referring to college kids can be plausibly denied in the context of "unkempt generation", since "college kids" is part of the existential paradigm of this context.

Why then is the notion of *existential paradigm* relevant to the analysis of negatives such as the one about the unkempt generation? As I stated previously, we can deny things that we can plausibly assume about our interlocutor's ideas. These plausible assumptions must be part of the existential paradigm of such ideas. Thus, when the above author writes "I am not referring solely to college kids", he is denying what he assumes his readers

might have thought when they read "unkempt generation". Had he written:

**I am not referring solely to politicians**

we, as readers, would have found this idea odd or incomprehensible, certainly unexpected, which would have made us read on to find out the link between "unkempt generation" and "politicians". The denial would not be a plausible one in this context. For us, "politicians" is not within the existential paradigm of "unkempt generation".

In his discussion of existential paradigm and the value of intonation, Brazil (1985:47) makes a significant point (the underlining is mine):

Instead of saying that a certain configuration of contextual features results in the speaker choosing a certain intonational treatment forming his utterance, we will say, more correctly, that his intonation projects a certain context of interaction.

That is to say, the context does not completely determine an intonation choice, but the speaker makes a projection of context when he chooses a particular intonation. For instance, if in the exchange about cards, the question were:

A: Which EIGHT did you play?

and the response:

B: The eight of HEARTS

by making "hearts" prominent, B is projecting a world in which



"eight" is existentially determined (i.e. there was only one choice in the paradigm for this slot in the answer: eight, because the question set that imposition: which eight?) and therefore not selective, while "hearts" is the relevant, non-determined piece of information (actually, this slot is also determined and limited to four choices: the four suits, but it is non determined, because the choice among those four suits exists).

If, as Brazil also points out, the answer were

A: Which eight did you play?

B: The ace of HEARTS

by placing prominence on "hearts", B would be projecting a context in which "ace" is existentially determined and therefore not selective, which represents a mishearing or misunderstanding of the question posed: "eight", not "ace", is the non-selective item.

It is then interesting to notice, paralleling Brazil's (1985) analysis of prominence choice by speakers, that when a denial is expressed, the producer is projecting a world in which what is denied is accepted, that is, in which an understanding that the producer and his readers accept the proposition being denied exists. For instance, when somebody says: **the bride was not wearing a white dress**, that person is projecting a world in which brides normally wear a white dress in contrast to the one he is talking about. Similarly, when he says: **the bride was not wearing a blue dress**, he projects a world in which there was a reason to expect that she would wear one, either because it is custom in the group or because there was reason to believe that the particular bride he is talking about would wear one. This has significant

implications which are generally exploited in certain mass media. For example, if a bottle of juice is advertised as having **no sugar**, it is because producers assume people believe juices typically contain added sugar. If the label on the bottle read **no fish bone**, people's first reaction would be one of surprise, because in our society nobody expects a juice to contain fish-bone. But then the very denial would project a world in which at least some other juices contain fish-bone. This can actually create an expectation in the consumers' mind, as they may start to wonder whether the juice they habitually buy contains fish-bone, a substance certainly undesirable and perhaps prejudicial to health, since nobody would advertise something as not having a healthy or positive thing.

For instance, an ad for butter that appeared recently in the British market said: "**contains no more calories than margarine**". The idea which this message was conveying was: if you stopped eating butter because you thought margarine had fewer calories, this is wrong. But actually the reason why people had been advised to eat margarine was not the calories, as the ad wants them to believe, but the type of fat that butter contains: saturated fats. So, this ad distorts the original idea which was cutting down on saturated fats and thus avoiding butter, in order to persuade people that butter is a good choice because it "contains no more calories than margarine". The ad's text, by means of this denial, projects a context in which butter is wrongly "blamed" because it contains more calories.

Another interesting example appearing in Business Week International shows how existential paradigms underlie some of the ideas played upon in advertisements.

BILL COLEMAN BELIEVES THE ENVIRONMENT IS A SOUND INVESTMENT

**Bill Coleman is not an ecologist**, he's a banker.

(Business Week International,  
April 30, 1990:62)

The fact that a person thinks about the environment, cares about it, is usually associated with the notion of ecology. That is why the writer of this text denies the idea that Bill is an ecologist. He is denying an idea which is actually associated with his first statement. He chooses a member within the existential paradigm of the first context introduced: care for environment = ecologist. When he denies that Bill is an ecologist, he is presenting a world in which all people who are concerned about the environment are ecologists, but, in contrast, the present case is different. Curiously, the author introduces an idea not associated with ecological matters: Bill is a banker. Thus the writer creates an unusual combination (at least in our society): a businessman who cares about ecology. There is still another aspect in this text: Bill thinks the environment is a sound investment. This last expression is certainly connected with banks. That is how the writer manages to combine the two ideas from the very beginning.

Interestingly, on some occasions, the writer provides a denial or idea he wants to correct after an assertion stating what he considers to be the right choice. For example:

Menstrual changes were significantly related to the intensity, **not the activity**, of running.

(Runner's World, June 1985:29)

Making friends with the neighbouring Indians, he argued that the land belonged to them and **not to the king or to the Massachussets Bay Company.** The Massachussets government decided to deport him as a dangerous character.

(Current & Goodwin, 1975:12)

In these cases the writer is making explicit the choices or existential paradigm from which he selected the right option affirmed. In doing so, he is making sure the reader learns about the other members of the existential paradigm which he considers wrong. For example, in the example about the Indians, the set of possible owners of the land (that is, the existential paradigm in this context) includes the king, the Massachussets government and the Indians. On stating that the land did not belong to the first two, the writer is adding after his assertion a piece of information to make sure these two options are known to the reader. If the writer did not do this, the reader may probably never learn about the discarded options. And, usually, these options are added to the text because they are significant to the discussion of the topic.

Compare these two instances from a magazine advertisement.

PCB CAD/CAE  
TO MAKE YOU MONEY.

PCB CAD/CAE  
TO MAKE YOU MONEY...  
**NOT TAKE YOUR MONEY.**

(Computer Design, July 1983)

In this case, the second version (the authentic one) makes explicit the option or choice that is being rejected. This is

important, because the option denied represents a disadvantage with which the ad's offer is contrasted.

## SCHEMATA

While Brazil discusses the set of choices a speaker has in a given context in the form of paradigms (existential and general), we can also regard this set of choices in terms of schemata and knowledge representation.

Schemata or schemas are 'packets of information stored in memory representing general knowledge about objects, situations, events, or actions' (Cohen et al., 1986:27). This notion can be illustrated by means of an example of a schema: a picnic schema. We all have a general idea of what a picnic is. Our idea of a picnic involves certain elements that characterize it: a place, people, food, activities. These basic elements or slots can be fulfilled by compulsory choices i.e. those that are essential to the idea of picnic e.g., a place outdoors (this would be a *fixed value*), and by optional choices such as going to the river, going to the seaside, etc (*optional values*). The idea we have of a picnic determines our expectations about picnics i.e. if we are invited to a picnic, for example, we expect to go to an outdoors place, to have a light meal, have a good time. Similarly, when somebody is talking about picnics, we take all these basic elements for granted.

Why are schemas relevant to our discussion of denials? If, as it has already been said, we can deny propositions which are plausible in a given context in the sense that we would expect those propositions in that context, and schemas determine our

expectations in connection with a given situation, then when referring to a particular schema, we can only deny propositions which are assumed to be part of that schema. Let me clarify this with the picnic example.

If somebody comments after a picnic:

The picnic was nice but **nobody took any food**

it is because he expected the people going picnicking to take food. 'Food' is a defining element in the schema of a picnic. If, on the other hand, somebody commented

The picnic was nice but **nobody watered the grass**

this would sound an odd comment on a picnic: when you go to a picnic, you do not normally water the grass of the place where you stay. This seems to indicate that the things we can plausibly deny concerning a schema have to be considered as likely to be part of that schema, either fixed values or conventionally optional ones.

We should always bear in mind that even the more general schemas are culture-specific, which implies that the values which a culture considers part of a schema may be different from the ones considered by another culture. Let us take the wedding schema. For us, a traditional wedding involves: the bride and bridegroom, a ceremony performer, etc (fixed values) and also a white dress for the bride, throwing confetti, music, etc. (conventionally optional ones). So, if somebody remarked about a wedding:

**the bride wasn't wearing a white dress**

this denial would represent the expectations the producer had in connection to the bride. If, however, that person remarked

**the bride didn't turn over the cash gifts  
to her parents**

this denial would sound odd to us, because giving the cash gifts to the bride's parents is not part of our schema of a wedding. But for a Korean, this denial is meaningful, because that practice is customary in his culture and constitutes an element in his schema of a wedding.

Tomitch (1988) says that what is part of a schema i.e. its basic elements, is assumed to be well-known and therefore does not need to be told. For example, when reporting about going to the supermarket, you wouldn't tell anybody that you went to the supermarket, picked up things from the shelves, paid at the cashier and left. This is not worth telling, because it is assumed to be general knowledge. However, Tomitch says, what would make going to a supermarket a tellable event "would only be a fact that did not belong to the normal schema" (p. 2), that is, something unexpected e.g., you were exempted from paying because you were the thousandth customer or you had to queue up for hours at the cashier. I would add to Tomitch's remark that, in fact, something which does not belong to the schema is certainly tellable, but also the absence of an element belonging to that schema makes it tellable, because it represents an unfulfilled expectation e.g., you go the supermarket and no self-service is allowed. This would certainly be tellable because it contradicts your expectations. This negative is certainly plausible or likely to be uttered because it is related to the expectations we have concerning the situation. Besides, in uttering such a negative the speaker

assumes that the hearer shares this basic schema and if, in fact, this is so, the interlocutor will make sense of the denial. If, as in the case of the wedding's comment on the bride's not giving the cash gifts to her parents, the interlocutor does not share this schema for a wedding (a Korean one), the denial is not likely to be understood.

All this indicates that for people to deny something, they assume that they and their interlocutors share a common world in which certain beliefs and expectations are usual. Taking up the concept of ideal reader, all this implies that the writer attributes to his ideal reader certain knowledge (schemas) and beliefs or ideas specific to the topic being dealt with. Taking those attributes for granted, the writer can build his message aimed at his target reader. In his mental picture of the reader, the writer attributes to the latter certain knowledge which will lead the reader to make certain inferences or to raise questions at certain points in the text. All this the writer predicts and uses to develop his text, because this will guarantee a better understanding of the text and a more satisfied reader. Actually, it is very important for a writer to be clearly understood and interpreted and to fulfill most of the reader's expectations. This gives him better chances of gaining the reader's approval and even support. As Tadros (1985:63) states after her discussion on prediction in text:

There is evidence that the writer does not simply present facts and ideas to the reader, but is rather concerned that these should be understood and accepted.



In order to see how denials appear in this process of text construction, I selected and considered a reasonable number of denials and tried to see which ideas or propositions were denied and whether there was any reason for the writer to deny them. Remember that implicit denials, as their name states, refer to propositions which are not explicit in the text. The fact that they bear no reference to an explicit proposition, however, does not mean that they appear out of the blue, without any connection at all with the topic being developed. They take place because there must be some reason why the writer feels the need to use a negative.

From the analysis of the data, I extracted four reasons why the writer does this and I classified them into four categories:

- 1. DENIALS OF BACKGROUND INFORMATION i.e. denials used when the writer assumes that the reader entertains certain mistaken ideas from his previous background knowledge.

- 2. DENIALS OF TEXT PROCESSED INFORMATION i.e. denials used when the writer assumes that the reader could derive a wrong idea from the text.

2.1. Denials used to correct an idea already processed in the text.

2.2. Denials used to prevent an erroneous inference from text to come.

- 3. UNFULFILLED EXPECTATIONS i.e. denials used when the writer wants to express an unfulfilled expectation of which he makes his reader co-participant.

- 4. CONTRASTS i.e. denials used to compare or contrast two or more items.

In order to clarify these categories, I will illustrate each with examples from my data. Like all systems of classification, mine is not a rigid one: it allows for different interpretations in relation to some of the examples. That is, according to the interpretation each makes of an example, this can be assigned to one particular category as well as to another. Thus, when I assign one example to one class, you may disagree with me and feel that it better exemplifies another class, both interpretations being valid and acceptable, as long as arguments supporting each one can be demonstrated. (I will exemplify this at the end of this chapter).

#### 1. DENIALS OF BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In this class, the propositions denied by the writer are ideas which he assumes his interlocutor may, irrespective or independent of the text itself, entertain in connection with some aspect of the topic being dealt with, e.g.:

Another important point to remember is that **sexual orientation is not completely permanent**. Especially in adolescence, but also throughout adulthood, sexual orientation can change.

(Coleman, 1981:217)

The idea that sexual orientation is permanent is attributed to the reader. The writer, being familiar with the topic and with ideas

generally held about it, such as the one denied in the example, feels the need to correct those wrong views through a denial and present his own view afterwards.

Similarly in

**"Oat-bran muffins alone aren't going to save you. Eat a high-fiber diet with a variety of foods. Emphasize vegetables, fruit and whole grains".**

(Runner's World, March 1990:68)

The writer denies a view which gained popularity through mass media publicity: the miraculous power of oat to reduce cholesterol, and which he knows his audience may entertain. As the wrong idea (from the writer's viewpoint) is a popular and widespread one, he assumes his readers believe or at least are familiar with it. Thus, he must explicitly correct it.

The idea denied can also be a specific one, for instance in academic writing, which only those who are familiar with the basic assumptions and theories of the specific area can actually have, as they belong to the community which sustains those ideas. Hence in

**Design is not art. It also is not engineering, and it is not science.** It is time to recognize this and distinguish the differences. **Design is not separative,** it is integrative. One of the *hallmarks* of design is its penchant for integration.

(Owen, 1989:4)

a number of misconceptions about Design, which the writer knows his reader may entertain, are denied. For someone outside the field of Design, the denials and/or the necessity for them may sometimes not be fully understood.

This category of denials is the commonest in the data. Here are some more examples.

A text is a semantic unit, **not a grammatical one**.  
But meanings are realized through wordings...

(Halliday, 1985:XVII)

"Designing Foods" report stresses that **reducing fat in the diet does not mean simply eliminating animal products**.

(Journal of the American  
Dietetic Association, March  
1990, vol 90, n 3)

Also to learn. Chamorro owes her election **not to any natural gift for leadership** but to her married name. Though graced with regal poise and an engaging personality, she has had little experience in public life.

(LIME, March 12, 1990:13)

One reason is to help you learn new, permanent eating patterns. While restricting your calories certainly will help you lose body fat, **weight loss and dieting cannot go on forever**. They're merely temporary therapeutic measures to help you attain a desirable body composition.

(Runner's World, January  
1987:36)

It must be remembered that, as I have already stated, what is denied must be within the range of possibilities that can be plausibly denied (*existential paradigm*). Thus in

He was carrying the .25 when the cops arrested him on the street the following day. **He wasn't wearing colors**; few members do so anymore, since gang emblems are as open an invitation to arrest as carrying a semi-automatic rifle. But just the fact that he was dressed in low-slung black trousers, Nikes and Pendleton shirt gave him away.

(LIME, June 18, 1990:22)

the statement that the boy was not wearing colours is denying the idea that is generally assumed of a gang: they usually have special or distinctive clothes. In fact, the writer goes on to explain that wearing colours is a practice no longer followed by gang members. Wearing colours is an idea that is plausibly related to gangs. Had the writer said "he wasn't eating peanuts", it would certainly have been unexpected, unless the writer later explained that eating peanuts is a usual practice among gangs i.e. unless it were part of the existential paradigm of gangs.

For more examples of this category, see numbers 11, 16, 23, 24, 31, 35, 39, 56, 57, 58, 69, 70, 71, 74, 75, 88, 90, 95 (among others) in the Appendix.

## 2. DENIALS OF TEXT PROCESSED INFORMATION

This class of denials involves propositions (i.e. ideas or beliefs) which the writer thinks the reader could wrongly infer from the text. This implies an awareness by the producer of which points in the text will be dubious or ambiguous for the reader. Therefore, out of solidarity with his reader and because he is interested in the reader's understanding and eventually supporting his view, the writer detects those misleading parts in his text and through denials he cancels the wrong inferences, e.g.:

If a male increases his chances of reproduction through this type of cooperation because the favor is returned later on, the behaviour is referred to as reciprocal altruism. In many species reciprocal altruism appears to have evolved in response to situations where it is difficult, if not impossible, for a solitary male to successfully mate with a female.

**This interpretation is not universally accepted.**  
Scott Kraus and John Prescott [...] suggest [...]

that the males are not cooperating but rather are competing with one another for access to the female.

(Wursig, 1988:81)

In this example, the writer presents a theory accounting for the sexual behaviour of whales. The way in which Wursig presents the theory may lead the reader at that point in the text to think the theory is an accepted or probable one. As this is not the case, the writer points out the relativity of the view presented, denying what he thinks may be the reader's possible wrong inference: that the theory is generally accepted.

Within this kind of denial, we can distinguish between:

2.1. Denials, as in the example above, in which the proposition denied has been suggested by previous parts of the same text, as also in:

'Relatively few people have applied for studies in the exercise line', says Wood. **The number's not negligible**, but proportionately it's rather small. Drugs are ridiculously over-represented, and that has to reflect the importance of the drug companies...'

(Runner's World, May 1990:1)

Copies of all those documents [...] were dutifully filed away on computer disks, **but that really didn't help**. How, for instance, could a lawyer locate relevant information buried in documents created years before?

(Business Week International,  
June 18, 1990:139)

Sudbury Valley is a private school, **but it is nonselective**. It admits anyone who applies, age 4 to adult.

(Phi Delta Kappa (sic),  
May 1984:609)

It has been estimated that nearly 50% of recent marriage cohorts will experience marital dissolution [...]. However, **these figures do not necessarily mean a massive rejection of marriage and family life**, as most individuals who experience marital dissolution eventually remarry.

(Teachman & Heckert, 1985:185)

Because of a better informed public, a greater social awareness on the part of the students, and the instant dissemination of news by the mass media, graffiti became more literate, more self-conscious, more concerned with political and social issues. **The coarseness, the bawdiness, the vulgarity, the puns, the humor, did not disappear.** But more and more they were being used as techniques in the service of satire and polemics.

(D'angelo, 1976:103)

In all these examples, there is some idea in the text which, the writer thinks, is likely to lead the reader to a wrong interpretation. That is why that idea has to be expanded or clarified, e.g.: if the writer states, as in the last example, that graffiti became more elaborate and less vulgar, the reader may very well come to think that from that moment onwards all graffiti were elaborate and critical, which is not true. Hence the writer's clarificatory denial.

Examples number 1, 22, 29, 36, 52, 53, 55, 97, 107, 112, 113, 127, 134 (among others) in the Appendix illustrate this category.

2.2. The ideas denied may actually be ideas or reactions which the writer anticipates or expects the reader to have in connection with what he is going to say in the text e.g.:

"I don't want to sound sentimental but they've been saving up to come here to see me and they'd see me talk the songs..."

(The Sunday Times, 22 April 1990:1)

Here the speaker cited in the text anticipates the reaction that his words may produce in his interlocutor (the reporter that interviewed him); he denies what he believes the listener will think about him.

Similarly in

**The state courthouse in Beaumont, Tex., isn't normally a hotbed of excitement.** But on Sept 14, attorneys gathered....

(Business Week International, October 9, 1989:73)

In this example, the first statement anticipates the reader's probable assumption about the state courthouse after he has read the complete text. The following text, in fact, presents the state courthouse as a "hotbed of excitement". In fact, this expression will be interpreted retrospectively by the reader, once he has read the whole article.

### 3. UNFULFILLED EXPECTATIONS

Implicit denials can also represent unfulfilled expectations on the part of the writer and the reader, as the former assumes his expectations are also the latter's. Let us consider the following example.



To control the development of a plant, light must have some effect on the developmental blueprints, the genes. Yet whereas the biochemical reactions involved in photosynthesis have been described at length, **it is not at all clear how light influences the expression of plant genes.** Six years ago we set out to clarify the biochemical basis for photomorphogenesis by beginning with the light-responsive genes themselves.

(Moses & Chua, 1988:64)

The writer here acknowledges some information (the biochemical reactions in photosynthesis have been described at length) but then indicates that some information which for him is relevant and, he assumes, for his reader too, is not clear. We could say that the writer has an expectation connected with something that is significant for the field of research and believes that his reader, being someone interested in that field of research, has the same expectation; therefore, he informs the reader about what they expected.

It could be claimed that some expectations seem to be the writer's, in which case the denials give the reader access to the writer's own thought processes. However, we must always bear in mind that the writer writes for an ideal reader and the very fact that he includes an expression of an unfulfilled expectation in his text may indicate that he thinks that information about that unfulfilled expectation (be this missing information or an excuse for not presenting or dealing with some aspect of the topic in question) is relevant for his ideal reader.

Similarly in

Bowheads are also believed to feed at the bottom (usually at depths of less than 60 meters), **but it is not clear how, equipped with long and finely fringed baleen, they are able to do so.** We have seen bowheads surfacing with muddy water streaming from the sides of the mouth, a behaviour that in gray whales is clearly associated with bottom feeding.

(Wursig, 1988:79)

**But Bart doesn't illuminate why Kerkorian does what he does.** He offers a few new anecdotes about Kerkorian's gambling habits, but **the financier never comes alive.** Bart seems content with his conviction that MGM boss lives simply to be a trader and is not manager.

(Business Week International,  
July 23, 1990:8)

The Bush Administration, though, is diverted on the foreign front. It is concentrating almost exclusively on developments in Europe, where countries are moving in the opposite direction: from separation to unity.

**No U.S. working group has been established to consider Canada's crisis; no studies have been commissioned. Not even to ponder what effect a split might have on the nearly \$200 billion in annual trade that makes Canada the biggest U.S. trading partner by far.** Quebec separatists say that if the province goes its independent way, good relations will survive.

(TIME, June 18, 1990:27)

Generally, an unfulfilled expectation leaves implicit the idea that what is missing, absent, etc., should be otherwise. In the example above, the criticism of the U.S. government is that they should have considered Canada's problem. The implication of some denials of expectations is that things should/could be otherwise.

Sometimes, the writer tries to respond to expectations which are only the reader's expectations. That is, the writer did not

expect that but he thinks the reader probably will. This is clearly seen in prefaces, introductory or aclaratory notes, in which the writer states his intention concerning the text and the scope of his work. Consider these examples.

**This article attempts not grand solutions** but rather a clarification of some of the theoretical differences between two major camps in the current debates, recognizing that in these debates political commitments often precede and determine theoretical positions.

(Valverde 1989:237)

The purpose of this short section [...] is to explore a few points prompted by material in the main part of each chapter [...]. **No attempt is made to be comprehensive** and some comments are concerned with areas marginal to the main themes.

(Pears, 1985:9)

Both writers exempt themselves from presenting information which their readers could otherwise have reasonably expected.

Other examples of this category are numbers 4, 8, 10, 19, 20, 21, 43, 46, 50, 62, 68, 78, 79, 92, 102.

#### 4. CONTRASTS

To this class belong those denials which appear as implicit contrasts between two or more things, e.g.:

For past generations, lifestyle was the leading pharmacopeia. **They had no antibiotics, no cures for infectious disease.** They had to rely on their manner of living to preserve their health.

(Runner's World, February 1990:16)

Here, there is an implicit comparison between the past and the present, and the differences are pointed out. These are actually the denials indicating the absence of antibiotics and cures, which we now have. In

About three fourths of the U.S. population is concentrated in urban areas. People growing up in the inner city often have little exposure to or opportunity for leisure/recreation experiences in a natural environment. Adult urbanites, however, are more likely than rural residents to be recreation/leisure users of public outdoor areas. Yet, **they were not provided the opportunities during youth to learn the skills and knowledge which would allow them to understand the dynamics of the natural environment.**

(Journal of Physical Education,  
Recreation & Dance, April 1990:49)

the comparison takes place between the people living in town and the people living in rural areas. In

**At Sudbury Valley there is no curriculum. There are no academic requirements. There is no evaluation of students except when requested, no grades or other devices to rank them from best to worst. There is no school-imposed segregation of any kind - not by age, not by sex, not by ability. Students are free to move about at will, using the school's laboratories, workshops, library, playground, and other resources.**

(Phi Delta Kappan, May  
1984:609)

the contrast is established between traditional schools and Sudbury school which claims to be special.

For further examples of this category, see the following numbers in the Appendix: 3, 27, 80, 89, 158, 159 (among others).

## ANOTHER CATEGORY?

In a small number of cases in the data, denials apparently have a different purpose from those already analysed. These specific denials contain a modal verb meaning possibility and are followed by a restriction which actually opposes them, e.g.:

**Saabs may not look large.** Yet the Saab 9000 is the only imported car in the USA rated "large" by the Environmental Protection Agency.

(Business Week International,  
March 12, 1990:1)

Through the denial the writer is actually admitting, or better, conceding the fact that Saabs does not look large. It is as though he were saying: "D.K. I agree. Saabs may not look large. But..." And there comes a restriction implying that some Saabs are large.

Another example is:

**Solar technology may never eclipse conventional power sources.** But it already promises the children of Africa a brighter future.

(Business Week International,  
July 23, 1990:15)

The same process takes place here. The writer admits something but then presents an alternative which reduces the effect of the denial.

As the number of examples having similar features to these two examples above is very small, we cannot at the moment formulate or state any features of this category but just point to its potential existence.

## A FINAL WORD ON THE CLASSIFICATION PROPOSED

As I said at the beginning of this discussion of the categories established, some instances of denial can be classified into more than one class depending on our interpretation. For instance,

**It is simpler to say where fiber is found than precisely what it is. Scientists are still not in complete agreement as to exactly what constitutes fiber, nor do they concur on how much is really needed and how lack of fiber relates to cancer and other diseases of the colon.**

(Runner's World, December  
1980:76)

These denials can be considered denials of ideas the writer assumes the reader believes, especially because so much information on the topic has been widely disseminated. The idea is: as so many articles have appeared on how much fiber we should eat, on the miraculous power of fiber to combat cancer, etc., the reader may believe everything has been deeply studied and researched. As the writer indicates, this is not the case.

On the other hand, these denials may be expressing unfulfilled expectations: scientists have not given a definite statement as regards fiber; if they had done, things would be clearer for us, consumers or advisors (the person writing this text is giving advice on the use of fiber).

The fact that a denial can be classified into more than one category implies the possibility of there being a multiplicity of simultaneous purposes for which denials are used.

In analyzing the aim of the writer when producing a denial (what I have done throughout this chapter), we are dealing with

the interpersonal aspect of denials i.e. denials in the interaction between writer and reader. In the following chapter, I move the focus of attention and look at denials from the viewpoint of their integration in the text, in relation to the clauses surrounding them and the text as a whole: I concentrate on the textual aspect of negatives.

## CHAPTER III

### WHAT ROLE DO DENIALS PLAY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF TEXTS?

In the previous chapter I analyzed denials from an interactive perspective i.e. from the point of view of how denials function within the interaction between writer and reader, focusing on the reasons why a writer feels the need to deny certain beliefs or ideas in his text. From this perspective, denials appear as the product of the writer's assumptions concerning his interlocutor's ideas, beliefs or expectations.

Besides looking at denials in terms of their appearance within the interaction between producer and receiver, it is possible to consider them from a textual perspective i.e. from the viewpoint of the role of the denial in relation to what comes before and after it. In other words, to consider how denials function within the development of a text.

In order to do this, I decided to look at the features of the environment in which denials appear i.e. the surrounding text and tried to see the links between the denial and this surrounding text. Both the previous and the subsequent text make up the environment of a denial. I discussed in the previous chapter why denials appear at a particular point in a text, a question which involves the assumptions the writer has about his reader's beliefs. These beliefs are part of the previous knowledge the writer assigns to his ideal reader, and also involve possible inferences the reader may make from the text presented.



Now I want to discuss how denials are linked to the following text and thus integrated into the whole text, and what function denials play in the structure of the text. This implies working from both micro- and macrostructure perspectives.

It is a complex task to find a proper definition of micro- and macrostructure, particularly the latter, but perhaps we can try to do so by considering what we regard as constituting each level. As regards the former, Van Dijk (1985:29) states:

Under microstructures of discourse we understand [...] all those structures that are processed, or described, at the *local* or short-range level (viz., words, phrases, clauses, sentences and connections between sentences).

If microstructure constitutes a local level of analysis, then macrostructure represents a general or global level, which involves all those local structures of analysis integrated into a whole (the text) in a way that they all contribute to a general idea we can extract and make sense of. There have been several different proposals for macrostructure. For the present discussion, I will use Hoey's (1983) study of rhetorical patterns. It is worth noticing that both levels of analysis (micro and macro) are complementary, as when we say that the part and the whole complement each other (I will discuss this later on when dealing with macrostructure).

#### DENIALS IN THE MICROSTRUCTURE OF TEXTS

From the analysis of environments (microstructure perspective), the following patterns were identified in the data:

Denial-correction  
 Denial-restriction  
 Denial-result  
 Denial-explanation  
 Denial-exemplification  
 Denial-no follow-up

I will describe each of them in detail. For the sake of clarity, the denial is presented in bold type while the second member of the pattern (correction, restriction, result, explanation, exemplification), is underlined.

#### 1) DENIAL-CORRECTION

This is one of the most frequent patterns. It consists of a denial followed by information correcting what was denied e.g.:

**What Lithuania is experiencing, therefore, is not betrayal, nor is it appeasement. It is tragedy.**

(LIME, April 16, 1990:52)

The first member of this pattern is the denial; the second member, the correction, corrects the idea denied.

A large number of the denials in the pattern DENIAL-CORRECTION have the form *x is not y* which Kress (1985:80) labelled *definitional clause*. In these cases, there is generally a parallelism between the denial and the correction, which is called by Winter (1978) *matching relationship*. Actually, this particular matching pattern had already been considered by Poutsma (see Winter 1978), who termed this kind of relationship *substitutive adversative co-ordination*. In this relationship,

there are two members, and the second 'contains that which is substituted for what is denied in the first' e.g.:

It's not I who have lost the Athenians;  
it's the Athenians who have lost me.

(Poutsma Book I:529-3)

Winter (1978) considered this kind of relationship a *matching relationship*, that is, a relationship in which two members are matched for similarity or contrast.

In the DENIAL-CORRECTION pattern, denial and correction are matched for contrast:

*x is not y*

*x is z*

The fact that these two clauses (*x is not y* and *x is z*) are in a matching relationship implies that there is a meaning unit expressed by the two clauses together: both complement each-other's individual meaning.

This matching relationship is characterized by a phenomenon called *systematic repetition* (Winter, 1978:96) i.e.

a clearly identifiable structural repetition of the elements of the clause in which we recognise the repeated items as the *same* clause as before because they occupy the same syntactic position in the clause.

Repetition shows what the two clauses have in common and what they do not, in which case there is **replacement** of information. For instance, in example about Lithuania presented on page 50, between the two clauses (denial-correction) there is repetition of information (*Lithuania/it*, verb *to be*) and replacement (affirmative for negative, *tragedy* for *betrayal* and *appeasement*). According to Hoey (1983:113), repetition focuses attention 'on the new information in the sentence by putting it in the context of

known information". In order to see this replacement of information more clearly, we can represent the two clauses by means of the following table, where each column shows the information that is repeated (REPETITION) and/or replaced (REPLACEMENT).

What Lithuania is experiencing It	is not nor is	betrayal appeasement tragedy
REPETITION	REPETITION REPLACEMENT	REPLACEMENT

In addition, besides repetition, both clauses have a syntactically parallel structure (subject - verb - complement) which reinforces the matching of the two, and they complement each other in terms of meaning: if the first clause were not accompanied by the second, the reader would be left wondering what Lithuania's experience is. That is, his expectation after the denial, namely: to be told the correct information (at least from the writer's point of view), would remain unfulfilled. Winter (1978:88) had already pointed out that "the membership of denial and correction means that the presence of one member can predict the coming of the other as next sentence". (I will take up this point below).

Sometimes, repetition takes place through paraphrase e.g.:

**My purpose here is not to make a case for a Victorian decorum or for namby-pambyism. The argument is directed to bad dress, bad manners, bad speech, bad human relationships.**

(TIME, April 2, 1990:46)

Here, the author states: "my purpose is not x" i.e. What I intend to do is not to make a case for Victorian decorum. Then he

states: "The argument is directed to...", which could be paraphrased as "my purpose is to criticize...". Although repetition is less obvious here, it is present through a paraphrase. The linking between one member (denial) and the other (correction) is done through systematic repetition, one of the four possible connections between sentences (Winter, 1978). The correction is done through repetition of information (this can be simple, complex, paraphrased, etc. [see Hoey, 1983]) and replacement of meaning (that is how new information is introduced).

In the data analysed, there are several instances of denials appearing alone, after an assertion which, were the order reversed, we would interpret as a correction of what is denied e.g.:

Making friends with the neighbouring Indians, he argued that ~~the land belonged to them~~ and **not to the king or to the Massachussets Bay Company**. The Massachussets government decided to deport him as a dangerous character.

(Current & Goodwin, 1975:12)

Today most whites are eager to end the pain and regain a place among civilized nations. Yet they are also angry and resentful, blaming Americans in particular for what they see as rank hypocrisy. Many insist that ~~the U.S. has lost~~, **not gained**, leverage over South African policies.

(LIME, February 5, 1990)

Menstrual changes were significantly related to ~~the intensity~~, **not the activity**, of running.

(Runner's World, June 1985:29)

Vegetarians face risk because of the quality of the protein they eat, **not the amount.**

(Runner's World, January  
1987:19)

In chapter II, I had discussed this kind of denial from an interpersonal perspective and shown that in these cases the denial makes explicit the paradigm or options among which the writer has chosen one (the assertion), thereby rejecting the others. That is, in the case of the example

Making friends with the neighbouring Indians, he argued that the land belonged to them and **not to the king or to the Massachussets Bay Company.**

the option "to them" is part of all the possible choices there are concerning whom the land belonged to. By choosing this and bringing to the text the option(s) rejected ("the king" and "the Massachussets Bay Company"), the author is making explicit the existential paradigm concerning the ownership of the land and hence correcting a wrong view which he knows might be entertained in connection with the topic being discussed.

From a textual perspective, which I am now concentrating on, this type of denial, introduced after an assertion, makes the assertion more prominent or emphasizes it, because these denials act as potential options with which the assertion is contrasted. Compare

Making friends with the neighbouring Indians, he insisted that the land belonged to them and thus they should take care of it.

In this case, "to them" is not as prominent as when it is contrasted with other options "not to the king...".

Other examples of the DENIAL-CORRECTION category are numbers 32, 50, 51, 57, 70, 75, 77, 86, 88, 98, 105, 106, 108, 119, 154, 158, 163, 173, 184, 185, 192, 196, 197, 201, 202 (among others).

## 2) DENIAL-RESTRICTION

This also occurs quite frequently in my data. The restriction which follows the denial narrows the scope of the denial, because it restricts the claim stated by the denial. This could be represented as *x is not y* but *x may be y*. That is, this restriction makes us retrospectively interpret the denial as an acceptance or "acquiescence" of a fact, though not as an absolute truth e.g.:

**May 1, International Labor Day, isn't an official holiday in South Korea. But this year, some workers commemorated it with a vengeance. A week of strikes, riots, and police raids touched off panic selling on the Seoul stock exchange, causing a record one-day drop of 4.4% in the index.**

(Business Week International,  
May 14, 1990:16)

In this example, the author first states that May 1st is not an official holiday (denying an idea the reader may have, because in many countries that date is a holiday). But then the author presents events which eventually marked that day as a special one, as if it had been a holiday.

The same process takes place in the following examples:

Today's economic and political changes in Europe will profoundly affect management. No one can foresee precisely the full impact of the European single market initiative or the restructuring going on in the Eastern Bloc. But it is already clear that managers with a solid educational international background in the skills of management will be at a premium.

(Business Week International,  
March 12, 1990:87)

The Roman retreat (...) did not mean an immediate collapse of Romano-British society, but it did leave the British in a very difficult situation.

(Mountfield 1978:14-15)

The great advances in law and administration during the 12th century were not inventions of King Henry II; but Henry, whose fierce energy imposed a greater degree of peace and stability on his kingdom, provided the environment in which they could take firm root.

(Mountfield 1978:31)

Within this pattern, there is a class of denials which I term *denials of exclusiveness* i.e. denials in which the exclusiveness or completeness of a fact is denied and not the fact itself (as in the case of DENIAL-CORRECTION). This class could be represented as *x is not only y; it is also z*. The first claim is not completely denied. In fact, part of it is acknowledged, though part of it will be complemented by the restriction or second member. Thus if an author states:

Although a mosquito may use its eyes to locate an object, **vision alone does not tell it whether the object is an animate one or a potential host.** Convection currents appear to be the clue that enables a mosquito to distinguish between lifeless objects and warm living animals.

(Wright, 1975:107)



he is acknowledging some information: vision helps the mosquito identify its target, but he is denying the role of vision as the only element working towards this identification. The second clause complements the first, adding another element: convection currents, which also help the mosquito identify its prey.

Denials of exclusiveness are characterized by what Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) call *limiters* or *exclusives* i.e. adjuncts which restrict what is said to the part focused in the clause e.g.: *only, just, merely, simply, solely, alone, exclusively, purely, exactly, precisely*. When these adjuncts are denied, the exclusivity of a fact is denied, and thus a following clause is expected to complete the idea expressed e.g.:

Anyone with a passion for hanging labels on people or things should have little difficulty in recognizing that an apt tag for our time is the Unkempt generation. **I am not referring solely to college kids.** The sloppiness virus has spread to all sectors of American society.

(LIME, April 2, 1990:46)

**Alfred's greatness does not rest on his generalship alone.** A highly intelligent humane and pious man, he sought to raise the standard of civilization among his people by means of education, religion and just laws.

(Mountfield 1978:19)

**Learning another language is not just learning how to say something in a new way;** it is also knowing what can be said and exactly how to say it *right*.

(Wardhaugh, 1985:51)

Denials of exclusiveness can also contain verbs signalling exclusiveness such as *limit, confine, restrict, etc.*, or

quantifiers such as *all*, *everybody*, etc., which, again, when denied, make the clause call for another clause which will complete the idea expressed e.g.:

**Not everyone, even in the 11th century, worked on the land. There were fishermen and sailors and, under the Norman kings, town life grew rapidly.**

(Mountfield 1978:27)

The connection between denial and restriction is frequently realised (in the data analysed) through a subset of what Winter (1978) calls *vocabulary 2* items (connectors) such as: "but", "however", "yet", "still". These conjunctions are also called *adversatives* (Halliday & Hasan 1976:210) and their meaning is that of "contrary to expectation" e.g.:

**Many runners don't take walking too seriously as a fitness activity. However, race walking, or even fast walking, might help you run better.**

(*Runner's World*, July 1989:32)

The "however" clause introduces an idea which the reader may never have thought about or may even have evaluated wrongly. The fact the walking does contribute to better running is presented as something that the reader may never have considered, thus implying that his expectations about walking need to be reconsidered.

In the case of denials of exclusiveness, correlatives such as "not only...but also" are used. These are called *additives* (Halliday & Hasan 1976:246) and their meaning is: "there is yet another point to be taken in conjunction with the previous one".

It must be noted that the connectors are not always explicitly present in the text. The last example quoted from

Mountfield, for instance, has no connector linking the two members of the pair and yet the relationship holding between the two is clearly made sense of and can be spelled out by adding a possible connector e.g.: "also", "likewise", etc.

Actually, if we pay closer attention to DENIAL-RESTRICTIONS, we will see that they imply a contrast as DENIAL-CORRECTIONS do. For instance

**May 1, International Labor Day, isn't an official holiday in South Korea. But this year, some workers commemorated it with a vengeance.**

may ultimately be reduced to

**May 1, International Labor Day, isn't an official holiday in South Korea. But this year, it was.**

This represents a contrast between two situations. However, the restriction is clearly not a correction; the restriction relativizes the claim stated by the denial, but is not substituting any information presented as wrong by the denial (as is the case in DENIAL-CORRECTION). Compare:

**May 1, International Labor Day, isn't an official holiday in South Korea. It is an ordinary working day.**

The correction rectifies a wrong idea which is negated by the denial. Remember the formula *x is not y, x is z*, where "x is not y" is an absolute claim corrected by the following one. By contrast, in the case of DENIAL-RESTRICTION, the formula is *x is not y, but, under certain conditions, x can be y*.

It is interesting to notice the use of "but" in DENIAL-CORRECTION and DENIAL-RESTRICTION.

In DENIAL-CORRECTION, "but" appears as a *contrastive* signal (Horn 1985): *x is not y but z*

Yet the greatest exposures to airborne combustion products, volatile toxic chemicals and radioactivity are typically **not outdoors but inside residences, offices and other non-industrial buildings.**

(Nero, 1988:24)

Its feet are webbed and, although it has mammary glands with which it suckles its young, **it does not give birth but lay eggs that are incubated and hatch outside the body.**

(Griffiths, 1988:60)

The focus of Bales's work was **not on status hierarchies per se but on the development and maintenance of equilibrium in task groups.**

(Ridgeway & Johnson, 1990:1189)

In all these examples, "but" introduces the rectification or correction of the claim denied.

On the other hand, in DENIAL-RESTRICTION, "but" conveys a *concessive* idea (Horn, 1985): *x is not usually y, but x may sometimes be y or although x is not y, x may be y (under certain conditions) e.g.:*

**Past performance is no guarantee of future success. But it's something to consider.**

(Business Week International, December 25, 1990:51)

**Egg laying in the platypus has never been seen, but it is surmised that the female platypus sits on her rump so that the eggs [...] pass directly from the cloaca to the abdomen.**

(Griffiths, 1988:63)

For further examples of DENIAL-RESTRICTION see numbers 4, 17, 26, 28, 31, 41, 67, 75, 80, 81, 186, 203, 207, 220, 245, 246.

### 3) DENIAL-RESULT

In this pattern, the second member is a result or consequence of the fact denied e.g.:

**Unlike skin or muscle, nerve cells don't regenerate. As a result, a serious injury to the spinal cord or nervous system causes irreversible paralysis.**

(Business Week International,  
March 12, 1990:85)

**Unlike syphilis and gonorrhoea, herpes is not a reportable disease [...]. As such, the frequency of established cases and of new cases per year remains unknown.**

(Journal of Popular Culture,  
vol 20, n 3, 1986:2)

Europeans also have to make technology alliances pay off, and they must be less xenophobic about taking foreign help. **Phillips didn't understand that well enough, and it—and Europe—are paying the price.**

(Business Week International,  
July 23, 1990:19)

In this pattern, the denial acts as the reason for the coming result. The connection between the two is also achieved through vocabulary 2 items such as: "as a result", "as such", etc. In the last example quoted, the connector indicating result is "and" in the sense "do this and ...". Again, putting a typical result connector in the place of "and" helps us to see the relationship

more clearly. These conjunctions are called *causal* conjunctions expressing *result* (Halliday & Hasan 1976:256).

Examples number 10, 23, 92 in the Appendix also illustrate this category.

#### 4) DENIAL-EXPLANATION

In this pattern, the denial is followed by an explanation of the fact denied or by a reason for that fact e.g.:

Whale communication has had considerable attention from marine mammalogists over the past 15 to 20 years. Whales communicate accoustically, although **the means by which they do so is not known: they have no vocal chords.** The sounds are thought to be important in sexual and social communication.

(Wursig, 1988:83)

Here the author states a fact: they know whales communicate accoustically, but they do not know what the whales use to communicate with. The explanation after the denial, although it has no conjunction indicating its relation to the previous clause, states the reason for the mystery: whales have no vocal chords, something you expect in acoustic communication.

Other examples of this pattern are:

A compulsive eater uses food as a constant coping mechanism, independent of biological hunger. She feels driven to eat and believes that food overpowers and overshadows many aspects of her life. **A compulsive eater is not necessarily identifiable by her body size because many women who eat compulsively are also compulsive dieters.**

(Hooker & Convisser, 1983:237)

The behavioural response of the mosquito to the chemical must also be studied. **We do not know the effect of repellents on the warmth sensors because those sensors have not yet been identified.**

(Wright, 1975:108-109)

The most frequent connectors are what Winter calls *vocabulary 1* items (subordinators) such as: "because". Sometimes the relationship is left implicit or signalled by means of a colon. In Halliday & Hasan's (1976:260) classification of conjunctions, those appearing in the relationship DENIAL-EXPLANATION are also called *causal* conjunctions (as in the case of DENIAL-RESULT), though they express *reason*.

Other examples of this category are numbers 22, 104, 127, 168, 181, 193 (among others).

##### 5) DENIAL-EXEMPLIFICATION

In this pattern, the denial acts as a kind of generalisation which is exemplified in the text. This relationship (generalisation-example) is noted in Hoey (1983), who presents it as one of the clause relations on the basis of which not only are clauses related but an entire discourse can be built. For example:

If a male increases his chances of reproduction through this type of cooperation because the favor is returned later on, the behaviour is referred to as reciprocal altruism. In many species reciprocal altruism appears to have evolved in response to situations where it is difficult, if not impossible, for a solitary male to successfully mate with a female.

**This interpretation is not universally accepted.** Scott Kraus and John Prescott [...] suggest [...] that the males are not cooperating but rather are competing with one another for access to the female...

(Wursig, 1988:81)

The denial is a general statement referring back by an anaphoric noun ("interpretation") to the view previously presented. The researchers subsequently introduced are one example of those who do not accept the interpretation first presented.

The connectors used in this pattern are vocabulary 2 items such as: "for example", "for instance". These connectors are considered *additives* by Halliday & Hasan (1976:248). Although the relationship generalisation-example is sometimes not made explicit by means of the conjunct *for example* or *for instance*, adding this conjunct helps us see the relationship more clearly. This can be observed in the following examples:

**Tough trade policies can no longer substitute for hard choices.** During the 1980s, antidumping penalties, local content requirements, and public-procurement policies favoring domestic makers helped fend off Asian imports. But now most Japanese companies have European plants, and Europeans have to compete with them.

(Business Week International,  
July 23, 1990:19)

...for the modern world [...], America begins with Columbus. **But he did not discover what are generally referred to as the pre-Columbian civilizations.** In the Caribbean he found not civilized peoples but savages, and in his Journal he describes them as having handsome bodies and good faces.

(Daniel, 1962:135)

This category is illustrated by examples number 69, 87, 99, 101, 130, 134 in the Appendix.

Before discussing the final pattern (DENIAL-NO FOLLOW-UP), I will consider the patterns already presented in order to see



whether they actually require the presence of the second member i.e. whether a reader would expect a second member as he reads the text.

I stated, when discussing the DENIAL-CORRECTION PATTERN, that in the case of *definitional clauses*, there is somehow a need or expectation for the second member to appear. That is, if we are told that something is not the case, we want to know what that something is. This is the case particularly when denials are expressed in a categorical manner. When somebody states that *x is not y*, this reflects the idea that the producer is 100% certain of what he is denying: it is not *x may not be y*, but *x is not y*. When you say that something *is not*, you are making a stronger claim to the truth of a fact than when you relativize your statement and claim that something *may not* be.

As the force of a categorical denial implies that the producer is sure of his claim, you expect him to provide the correct option to what is being denied: *x is not y*, then what is *x*? *X is z*. This means that when a categorical denial is produced, there is a strong expectation that the correction is to come right after the denial. If you claim, for instance,

The Celts were not the original inhabitants of Britain.

particularly at the beginning of an argument, you are expected to expand on the idea and say who the original inhabitants were or, maybe, in which stage of Britain's historical development the Celts developed their culture. If, however, the denial came at the end of an argument, in which the topic was the original inhabitants of Britain (a tribe other than the Celts) and several data were presented about their settlement, then this denial would

not create an expectation of a coming correction. It would be simply closing the topic of the paragraph, e.g.:

Thus the Celts were not the original inhabitants of Britain.

In this case, "thus" further adds to the idea of conclusion, and possibly because of this, we do not expect any expansion on the negative. Position in the text together with items signalling conclusion seem to indicate that the idea developed in the paragraph is concluded and that no further expansion will follow.

If we have a look at some other examples in which denials appear in paragraph initial position, we will see that this position makes them call for a correction or expansion to satisfy our expectation (why not curiosity?) as readers about the thing denied, e.g.:

**The earliest written documents of the Sumerians are not literature; they are not sagas, or legends of creation. They are domestic or commercial documents such as lists of deliveries of bread and beer to various people, ration lists, and lists of items delivered to temple and other officials.**

(Daniel, 1962:74)

**The Aztecs, the Maya and the Incas were not what the Spaniards were expecting. They were expecting India. But what they discovered was a lost world - a lost civilized world.**

(Daniel, 1962:141)

Perhaps we could say that a denial in an initial position *anticipates* the coming of a correction or expansion. My use of the word *anticipation* is in line with the definition provided by Tadros (1985:5-6) differentiating *prediction* from *anticipation*.

Anticipation involves guesses on the part of the reader, but prediction involves a commitment at one point in the text to the occurrence of another subsequent linguistic event. Thus if there is a signal the reader can predict what the writer will do; if there is no signal the reader may anticipate what the writer will do, making use of his own common sense, knowledge of the world, etc, and relying upon tacit assumptions of human co-operation without which no interaction can proceed.

If the reader can anticipate something in the text, this could be due to the fact that there is something in the text that provokes this anticipation, as Sinclair (1983:74) states

Anticipations, which are similar to predictions but are not commitments. The writer inserts signals which allow him, but do not commit him, to perform a subsequent act. If he takes up the option, it is interpreted retrospectively as arising from the anticipation. For example, Fruit drinks usually contain high quantities of sugar, where 'usually' anticipates, but does not predict, a subsequent contrast with fruit drinks which do not contain high quantities of sugar.

However, I would prefer to say that the reader anticipates something because in his experience of texts certain pieces of information encoded in certain ways (as could be the case of denials) are generally followed by more information (denial-correction) which, being this way, becomes an expected structure. As the knowledge of the reader and his previous experience with texts determine what he may anticipate in a text, there can be different anticipations or expectations according to the individual reader, as in the case of the example provided by Sinclair above, which would not be an anticipation I would readily make after reading the statement "Fruit drinks usually contain high quantities of sugar".

If we look at denials in end position, we see that they generally express a rounding up or closing down of the topic developed in the paragraph, e.g.:

In another experiment Daykin began with all the mosquitoes at rest on one side of the cage. When about half of those mosquitoes had moved to the other side of the cage, he inserted a partition to separate the apparently active mosquitoes from the apparently sluggish ones. He then recorded the spontaneous flights in each half of the cage and found that the resting population in each group of mosquitoes had approximately the same half-life. This showed that **there was really no inherent difference in restlessness between the two groups.**

(Wright, 1975:104)

Sometimes, a denial at the very end may be a comment on some aspect of the topic in the paragraph which needs no further development. As in

Not only would the guide need to show which databases are available, who produces them and what they contain, but it would also need to help the user on how to search each database, giving clear examples. There are many studies on environmental databases, **but no one has put the results together in a guide to environmental databases.**

(Business Information Review,  
January 1990:9)

When a denial is at the very end of a paragraph, our expectations about an expansion or explanation of the idea presented are lower than if that idea were presented at the beginning of the paragraph. To see this clearly, just imagine a paragraph beginning like this:

No one has put the results of environmental databases studies together in a guide to environmental databases.

After this opening sentence, we do expect the writer to expand on the idea presented. All this points to the fact that physical context i.e. where the clause appears in a paragraph (as opposed to the content position), has a great influence on our expectations as readers of a text and thus determines the communicative value of a sentence. This fact was also pointed out by Fillmore (1982:255) when preparing a pilot work to analyse readers' strategies

we felt that subjects might use different strategies for interpreting a sentence if they thought it was the closing sentence in a text than if they thought more was coming [...] in normal reading, we almost always know how close we are to the end, and that knowledge plays a large part in shaping our expectations and putting our interpretative faculties to work.

Now, coming back to one of the first examples, the one about the Celts, I stated that the fact that it is expressed in a categorical manner anticipates the coming of a correction; in other words, its categorical tone makes the reader expect a correction from the writer. But, what happens if the denial is not categorically expressed? Suppose our example about the Celts had a modal gloss (e.g.: *possibly, maybe, probably, perhaps, etc.*).

The Celts were possibly not the original inhabitants of Britain.

In this case, the expectation of a coming correction seems to be weaker. After a denial like this, we would probably expect an explanation or some words related to the denial, though not necessarily a correction. It seems as though the fact that the denial is not categorical i.e. is expressed with uncertainty diminishes our expectations about the correction of the thing

denied. Whenever something is expressed with uncertainty (either because the author himself is unsure or because he is reporting an uncertainty in the topic or field), we do not expect the correct answer to the thing in question. Perhaps, we just expect some comment on the reasons why it is uncertain e.g.:

The Celts were possibly not the original inhabitants of Britain.

Why?

Archaeological findings dating as far back as the Iron Age show that another people may have previously inhabited the Celtic lands.

All this points to the fact that categorical denials, particularly in paragraph initial position, require a follow-up or expansion, which in the case of DENIAL-CORRECTION is the correction of the thing denied.

However, a categorical denial of the type *x is not y* does not necessarily require a correction. Suppose our example reads like this:

The Celts were not the original inhabitants of England. Therefore, those stones could not have been placed by them.

then we have here a DENIAL-RESULT pattern. Expressed like this, the text gives the impression that the author has previously talked about the fact denied and is now taking up the idea to relate it to another one or, if he has not, the implication is that the original inhabitants are unknown, but they were the ones who put the stones, as the Celts came after that moment.

Thus, a denial can be followed by different options depending on the whole context of the text. No matter which one the option

is, a denial at the beginning of a paragraph will raise expectations which the text has to fulfill.

Expectations are strong and inevitable in the case of denials of exclusiveness, in which the negation of a limiter (*only, alone, etc.*) or quantifier (*all, everybody, etc.*) calls for the complementing of something which is then not exclusive, e.g.:

**Yet gravitational pull is not a black hole's only source of energy.** As Roger Penrose of the University of Cambridge showed in 1969, a black hole can store enormous amounts of energy in the form of rotation.

(Price & Thorne, 1988:47)

While Brazilian women as a group are disadvantaged when they enter the labor market, **not all women are equally disadvantaged relative to men.** There are significant within-class differences between men and women in Brazil.

(Neuhouser, 1989:689)

In both examples, the denials require a subsequent clause to complete their meaning.

#### 6) DENIAL-NO FOLLOW-UP

Let us now consider the last pattern found in the data, which I termed DENIAL-NO FOLLOW-UP. The "No-follow-up" refers to the fact that in this last pattern, unlike the other patterns, where denials are followed by a second member (a "follow-up"), the denials are not followed by any clause referring to them (e.g.: a correction, restriction, explanation, etc.). In order to clarify this, let us take an example of a DENIAL-NO FOLLOW-UP.

The unguent, if solid on cooling, was shaped into different forms, mostly balls or cones. The instrument for this operation is crescent-shaped, the inner rim being formed by two small semi-circles. **The method of its application is unknown.**

The Old Testament mentions both male and female ointment-compounders...

(Forbes, 1956:292)

Here the denial is not followed by any correction, restriction or explanation. It simply states that some information, which the author considered relevant and assumed that his reader would too, is missing.

Interestingly, most of the DENIAL-NO FOLLOW-UP examples in the data belong to what I classified in Chapter II as Denials expressing unfulfilled expectations (category three). Here are some more examples.

Greek furnaces occasionally, and doubtless at first accidentally, produced cast iron. Pausanias (second century A.D.) tells that one "Theodorus of Samos was the first to discover how to pour (or melt) iron and make statues of it". **Unfortunately he says nothing of the furnaces necessary to produce the high temperature required.** Cast iron figures of animals, assigned to the seventh or sixth century B.C., have been recorded from Cyprus. Such statues were probably quite small and..

(Bromehead, 1957:6-7)

My study investigated providers of environmental information for business and, in particular, how they use information sources. The main findings are that, although there is a great quantity of information, **it is not well focused to the needs of business, and it is not easily accessible.** A further problem is that much of what is available

is slanted by the objectives of the provider, and much is obtained by word of mouth.

(Business Information Review,  
vol 6, n 3, January 1990:34)



In both examples, the writers express the non-fulfillment of their (and their readers') expectations. In the first case, some information which is deemed valuable is missing and the writer reports that. In the second case, the unfulfilled expectation represents the writer's dissatisfaction (also attributed to the reader) with the results of an investigation. This dissatisfaction is presented as a problem, which is followed by another one ("a further problem"). These examples generally have an overt statement that necessary information is lacking and they express the writer's regret about that ("Unfortunately..."). The statement justifies to the reader the writer's omission of an aspect of the topic developed. Maybe, because of this, we, as readers, do not expect further information in connection to the negative.

Many DENIAL-NO FOLLOW-UPS appear in the text to express a problem or problematic situation to which a solution is provided. Unlike the ones discussed above, these denials are generally presented at the beginning of an argument, as they set the problem which will be solved and evaluated in the text. In these cases, we can consider the solution as a complementary member to the problem. Problem-Solution thus constitutes a relationship at a further level of analysis, at what we consider the macrostructure level of the text (I will discuss this in detail below). For instance:

The concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has increased from about 280 parts per million (ppm) circa 1750 to about 345 ppm in 1984 [...].

Since 1977 this interest in the global cycling of carbon has involved a controversy between terrestrial ecologists and geochemists [...]

**This argument has not been resolved satisfactorily a decade later despite a large research effort.**

In this article we describe research undertaken

to reduce the uncertainty in estimating the release of CO<sub>2</sub> caused by land use change.

(Detwiler & Hall, 1988:42-43)

DENIAL-NO FOLLOW-UPS frequently appear as explanations of, restrictions to or corrections of previous statements, e.g.:

Subjects acknowledge the lack of absolutes in some areas **but not in others**. They begin to evaluate evidence, **but do not understand that evidence entails a conclusion**. They use both unsupported belief and evidence in decision making.

(The Personnel & Guidance Journal, May 1985:564)

Although several drugs are being tested on patients, only one, AZT, has been approved by the Food & Drug Administration for general use. AZT helps slow the progress of the disease in many sufferers and prolongs lives, **but it does not eradicate the virus**, and it has toxic side effects. Treating AIDS is like trying to hit many targets at once, since the virus destroys the body's immune system and leaves the victim open to a multitude of afflictions.

(LIME, July 2, 1990:33)

The Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian kings issued coins of gold, silver and bronze, **but we do not know whether these coins were minted entirely from loot or tribute or survivals from the past ages, or from metals won by mining**. That the period saw profound changes is obvious. The greatest activity was in central Europe...

(Bromehead, 1957:10-11)

Flour was of much poorer quality in Roman times than is commonly assumed, **for the wheat was not thoroughly cleaned before the rather coarse grinding and sifting**. Our modern white flour is the product of a 70-75 per cent extraction, but most ancient flour was simply whole-grain meal, and even among the sifted flours an 80 per cent extraction was common.

(Forbes, 1957:104)

The restriction introduced to a certain statement (in these cases expressed through denials) conveys either an expectation that was not fulfilled (examples one and two), information that is not available (example three) or even a reason or explanation for a certain fact (example four). In these cases, unlike DENIAL-CORRECTION, DENIAL-RESTRICTION, etc., the denial is the second member in a relationship established with the previous clause. This can be a matching relationship e.g.:

AZT helps slow the progress of the disease in many sufferers and prolongs lives, **but it does not eradicate the virus**, and it has toxic side effects.

(LIME, July 2, 1990:33)

or a logical relationship:

Flour was of much poorer quality in Roman times than is commonly assumed, **for the wheat was not thoroughly cleaned before the rather coarse grinding and sifting.**

(Forbes, 1957:104)

Other examples of DENIAL-NO FOLLOW-UP found in the data are numbers 2, 4, 20, 25, 33, 37, 46, 49, 101, 102, 217, 232 (among others) in the Appendix.

If we take the patterns of relations between denials and their succeeding members found in the texts microstructure and relate them to the types of basic clause relationship set up by Winter (1986), we have the following correspondences:

Matching relations of compatibility (General -Particular)	DENIAL-EXEMPLIFICATION
Matching relations of incompatibility	DENIAL-CORRECTION DENIAL-RESTRICTION
Logical relations	DENIAL-RESULT DENIAL-EXPLANATION

As regards DENIAL-NO FOLLOW-UP, we can consider some of them as second members in a clause relationship established with the previous clause (matching or logical relationship) and some others as having a complementary member at the macrostructure level of the text, as is the case of denials signalling a problem in the Problem-Solution pattern. (I will discuss this below).

#### DENIALS IN THE MACROSTRUCTURE OF TEXTS

Up to now, I have analyzed denials in terms of the environment in which they appear and classified them into patterns (DENIAL-CORRECTION, DENIAL-RESTRICTION, DENIAL-RESULT, etc.). This approach implies a microstructure perspective on the text, as I simply consider the text immediately surrounding the denial. But such a perspective is certainly incomplete, if it is not complemented by a consideration of the macrostructure of the text i.e. a view considering the text as a whole.

In order to approach denials from a macrostructure perspective, I adopted Hoey's (1983) study of rhetorical patterns and tried to see whether denials play a role in the pattern organization of the texts.

Hoey (1983) states that there are some general patterns according to which texts are organized. He discusses, in particular, two of them: Problem-Solution and General-Particular.

Hoey considers the Problem-Solution Pattern to be one of the most frequent ones on which text organization is based. Within this pattern, other patterns may appear (e.g.: general-particular or matching), though whole texts based on these are less frequent. This can certainly be supported by the data analyzed, in which most of the texts can be classified as following the Problem-Solution pattern, with other types of pattern appearing within this one.

The Problem-Solution pattern consists of four basic elements (Hoey, 1983): *Situation - Problem - Solution - Evaluation*. Each of these elements is easily identified because usually there are signals in the text which allow this identification (Hoey, 1983, Jordan, 1984). That is to say, when we read a text, we identify certain lexical items signalling each of the members of the pattern: situation, problem, solution and evaluation. Actually, this structure has several combinations in which, for instance, the problem may appear as evaluation of a situation, or a problem appears and no solution is provided, or even several problems may appear in one text. Thus, when it is said that the Problem-Solution pattern contains the four elements mentioned above, this is a simplified way of representing the pattern through its basic elements.

In my data, different combinations of the Problem-Solution pattern appear. In most of them, denials are used to signal problems. Generally, the denials signalling problems express unfulfilled expectations i.e. the absence of some information relevant to the topic or the dissatisfaction with some present state of affairs; both situations are deemed problematic and needing a solution. For example:

FIFO buffers have been around for a long time. Vendors such as Texas Instruments (Dallas, Tx.) have been building shallow, fast bipolar FIFOs for years [...]

On paper, the devices look like ideal solutions to many data-flow problems. FIFOs can solve speed mismatches between communicating devices [...]. **But for some reason, despite their obvious usefulness in system design, FIFOs haven't caught on that well.**

Cypress and TI have taken complementary approaches to solving design-in problems...

(Wilson, 1990:34)

Here, the writer first presents a situation ("FIFO buffers...") and then a partial evaluation of that situation ("On paper, the devices look ideal..."). This partial evaluation is already anticipating the rest of the evaluation: when we read that "on paper the devices look ideal...", we immediately think of the coming matched element: On paper, it is like this; in practice, ... That is, we expect a negative evaluation, which actually appears in the text expressed through the denial. This, in turn, signals the problem to be solved.

In academic papers, the structure of the text is generally condensed in the abstract, where each of the elements of the Problem-Solution pattern is clearly identified. Again, the problem signalled by the denials corresponds to unfulfilled expectations by the author of the paper. Generally, the problems are presented as relevant to the field or topic, whose solution has been neglected or ignored by the scientific community, e.g.:

Advanced ESL students in science and technology have difficulties with nominalization and with the rhetoric of scientific papers, **but to date no studies have related nominalization occurrence and scientific rhetorical divisions.** This article investigates this relationship by testing the significance of the association between that-nominal frequency and four scientific research divisions - Introduction, Methods, Results, and Discussion - in 15 biological science articles.

(West, 1980:483)

Recently several models have been proposed for the origin and evolution of lowland Maya civilization. These models share a basic spatial framework, the culture area, which is logically tied to a particular theoretical approach to the emergence of lowland Maya civilization [...]. **The empirical archaeological expectations of models based upon this approach are not satisfied at the site of Cerros, a Late Preclassical center on the coast of northern Belize.** An alternative approach, the interaction sphere, better accommodates the evidence from Cerros and other Preclassic sites in the Maya Lowlands. The culture area models, the evidence from Cerros, and the interaction sphere approach and its theoretical ramifications are discussed.

(Freidel, 1979:36)

Archaeologists concerned with the initial migration of man into North America seem satisfied with the concept of a mid-continental route for movement south of Beringia, despite lack of agreement over the age of such an event [...]. **The possibility of a coastal migration route has not been seriously considered by New World specialists,** who can accept that coastal adaptations developed from prior interior bases but are reluctant to consider the opposite alternative.

The intent of this paper is to examine and compare the feasibility of late Pleistocene coastal and interior routes for man...

(Fladmark, 1979:55)

Sometimes, the denial signals a problem which appears as an evaluation of the present situation e.g.:

Teaching "research English", particularly the writing of papers, to non native speakers (NNS) has not been given the attention it needs. Available evidence points both to the overwhelming role of English as a medium of communication in the international research literature and to the low level of NNS contributions to that literature. This article outlines and illustrates an approach...

(Swales, 1987:41)

The typological schemes constructed by many archaeologists to explain the rise and fall of civilizations have neither accounted for the processual changes involved in the evaluation of social complexity nor contributed to the development of a comparative method for considering regularities and variation in social behaviour. This paper begins with a review of the foundations on which archaeologists have based their conceptions of social evolution...

(Yoffee, 1979:5)

The situation is evaluated negatively, which brings about a problem whose solution the paper addresses.

In some cases, the situation is evaluated by means of a denial, though the meaning is not negative, and hence the situation itself does not constitute a problem, e.g.:

**The idea of using newspaper clippings for language teaching/learning is not new.** However, a recently conducted survey (i) revealed that though about 60% of the teachers participating in a one day course ( on the use of non-pedagogic materials for teaching/learning of English [...]) were aware of the possible use of newspaper clippings for English teaching, only 2 out of the 80 teachers were actually using this material in their class [...]. All 80 teachers expressed their willingness to try out some of the techniques for using newspaper clippings which were demonstrated on the course.

(Bose, 1988:39)

Here, the initial denial evaluates a situation and then comes the problem.



An approach to denials which considers the macrostructure of a text, as the one here, brings more insights into how the text is constructed. In the case of DENIAL-NO FOLLOW-UP, we can see that while we say that these denials have no following related clause from the viewpoint of their surrounding environment (that is, no correction, restriction, etc.), they do have a related follow-up at the level of discourse organization: these denials signal problems whose counterpart is the solution presented in the text.

Coming back to the idea of attempting to define micro- and macrostructure, I have already noted, citing Van Dijk (1985), that a microstructure analysis deals with words, phrases, clauses, etc., while a macrostructure study implies looking at units above the local level, such as, in the case of the model chosen (Hoey's 1983), the component members of the Problem-Solution pattern. This differentiation between these two levels of analysis may give the impression that there are units which are exclusive to one level or the other. Nothing could be further from the truth. All the units at the microstructure level play a part in the macrostructure of a text. Remember that the text is a whole which can be approached from different perspectives or levels (micro and macro, for instance). What can be stated, though, is that in spite of belonging to it, not all the units identifiable at the microstructure level **signal** elements of macrostructure. This can be seen in the case of denials.

A microstructure analysis of denials shows that they can be accompanied by a follow-up e.g., correction, restriction, etc., sometimes even expected by the reader (e.g., corrections). What about the macrostructure function of denials? Some of them signal problems (or negative evaluations which constitute problems) to be

solved, because, for instance, no information is available, or a solution has been tried but evaluated negatively e.g.:

Although standard asynchronous SRAMS have been used in many systems and are the most generic memory type, they may not always be the optimal solution nor do they always extract the maximum speed. Many specialty memory designs have demonstrated significant improvements when chip designers re-examine the definition of the memory [...].

**But this simple extrapolation to asynchronous environments does nothing to improve chip performance.**

One solution to the problem would be to implement a pseudo-clock that can be generated by detecting a transition on the address pins.

(Wendell, 1990:83)

These animal studies and others demonstrated that bacterial products could indeed lead to the destruction of cancers, **but the findings by no means explained how they did so.** Test-tube studies provided a hint: neither LPS nor BCG, inhibited or killed tumor cells directly. Surely the microbial action was indirect and was mediated by something in the host.

(Old, 1988:42)

These two negatives, for instance, signal an element of the macrostructure of the text: the text being based on the Problem-Solution pattern, they signal a problem (a negative evaluation which becomes a problem).

Interestingly, these problems are introduced as restrictions to facts and the conjuncts mostly used are: "but", "yet", "however", "still". These items (vocabulary 2 items in Winter's (1978) classification) seem to anticipate a negative event, particularly when they come after positive statements. As links, they announce a contrast to what is previously said. Winter (1982:109) stated that "but" implies "the surprise of new 'facts'

to the reader", something which is unexpected. Thus, if the proposition before a "but" clause is positive in meaning, then the "but" will announce a contrast or restriction (as in the examples above). If, however, the proposition antecedent to "but" conveys a negative idea, then the "but" announces a contrast i.e. a positive aspect to be considered e.g.:

Chrysanthemus, dyed shades of blue, pink or red, have never been given a practical purpose except for button-holes. **But one member of this bud family is proving more than decorative.** Biologists at the State University of New York at Buffalo have found a mum that could help fight Chagas' disease, a lethal and incurable illness that afflicts about 20 million people [...].

(adapted from Business Week International, August 13, 1990:45)

We could perhaps say that the "but"-clause in this case signals a problem, (even though the problem is actually a positive fact). In this case, we would consider as a problem something unexpected, new or interesting that must be stated with respect to a "stable course of events or state of affairs" (Van Dijk's definition of problem, 1985:111). This would imply a broader concept of problem as a part of the text macrostructure.

Actually, in the majority of the Problem-Solution patterns in the data, especially in the case of scientific papers, the "but" clause introduces a negative idea: it represents a problem to be solved, and it is often expressed through a denial. "But" clauses introducing a positive event are much less frequent.

I have previously stated that the Problem-Solution pattern, constituted by the four basic elements, is a simplified or abstracted way of representing the organization of many texts. There may be texts consisting of these four elements, but most

texts are more complex and even when they can ultimately be summarized into the four basic members, much more information (detailed) is generally presented in relation to each member. Thus, a paper may basically deal with a search for a new solution to a problem, present it and evaluate it. This can certainly be abstracted in a few lines. But the paper may actually present the history of a trial-and-error search till the proposed solution was found, a succession which would imply a series of subproblems, solutions and evaluations, within the main problem approached in the paper. This is called "Multilayering" by Hoey (1983). Can we then say that those denials appearing in these subproblems have a macrostructure function? Certainly, they have, though we must recognize that for an abstraction of the text, we would rather consider them as detailed information in comparison to the more relevant and salient information condensed in the four members of the Problem-Solution pattern.

Summarizing both the micro- and macro-perspectives through which I have approached denials, we could say that some denials are more relevant to the structure of the text as a whole because they signal elements of the macrostructure of the text. Some others may have a role in subpatterns within the main pattern of Problem-Solution upon which the text is based. And others express detailed information (not essential to the macrostructure of the text) which would be easily left aside when abstracting a text.

In the next chapter, I will take this textual perspective together with an interpersonal one to analyze negatives having a positive form instead of a negative form like the ones hitherto considered.

## CHAPTER IV

### COVERT NEGATIVES

In the previous two chapters, I have discussed why and how denials are used and what role they play in the development of texts. So far by "denials" I have meant implicit denials having overt negative form. But, as I stated in Chapter I, there are also statements which, though having a positive form, convey a negative meaning. I have termed these statements "covert denials", in contrast to the overt denials hitherto analysed, because, to a formal analysis, they appear as positive statements i.e. the positive form disguises the negative meaning. For instance

While the more glamorous aspects of the ASIC design have held the industry captive, **testing complex ASICs for manufacturing defects has been all but forgotten [...].**

In the face of an absence of test discipline, compounded by the fact that no single design-for-test (DFT) methodology has emerged as a clear cut choice, silicon and software vendors alike are scrambling for ways to help users achieve maximum fault coverage for complex ASICs. Time-to-market, cost and performance are at stake.

(Tuck, 1990:22)

In comparison with the elaborate claims that accompanied the arrival of the language lab on the teaching scene and the more moderate but still glowing testimonials to the potential of the computer, **the steady advance of the word processor has caused little comment.**

Given the subsequent fortunes of the lab and the computer, this may be no bad thing and it may well be that in the long run the word processor will have the greater real effect. The beginnings of this can already be seen in two distinct areas.

(Maule, 1987:3)

The idea these statements convey is negative (that is, they convey a negative meaning) and could have been expressed by a formally negative statement, like those analysed as denials in the preceding chapters. For example, in the second text, the writer could have written:

The advance of the word processor has not caused as much comment as one would have expected.

That is, the meaning conveyed is one of unfulfilled expectation similar to that expressed by category three denials (Chapter II).

Is there, then, any lexical element that allows us to say that these statements are negative? Both "forgotten" and "little" carry negative connotations in these contexts. The former implies "not remembered" while the latter "not as much as was expected". Of course, we must bear in mind that it is not only these elements but also the context in which they appear that conveys the negative idea. For instance, "little" in the example above implies "not as much as desired". But in a different context, "little" may have a different connotation. Compare:

Fortunately, the steady advance of the word processor has aroused little criticism.

In this case, "fortunately" introduces a positive meaning (a welcome event). In addition, "little" (a quantifier indicating a small amount) qualifies a negative concept: "criticism", thus implying a positive idea: there has been little criticism. We can

then say that in this context "little" contributes to conveying a positive meaning.

In order to clarify the notion of "covert negatives", let us consider some more examples.

Correction is provided in the oral language classroom to help learners identify problematic areas, reformulate rules in their minds, and thus speak more accurately. **However, many correction techniques seem to frustrate and intimidate rather than enlighten.** This article reviews the literature on correction and discusses some of the shortcomings of commonly used correction techniques.

(Gainer, 1989:45)

The negative idea expressed here is conveyed by means of two words having a strong negative connotation: "frustrate" and "intimidate". The implication is: many correction techniques do not enlighten students, though they should. In

American perceptions of Korea have come a long way since the days when the prevailing image of the country came from T.V.'s MASH. In the past decade, South Korea has become an industrial giant and has begun to play a more important role in world affairs. But while we now have a sense of a more varied nation, **a dearth of literature has kept our understanding of the U.S.'s sixth largest trading partner superficial.**

Until now. In *The Shadow of the Sun: A Korean Year of Love and Sorrow*, Michael Shapira shows us a Korea beyond Hyundai cars and those shots of riot police aired by U.S. networks on slow news days.

(*Business Week*, Aug 13, 1990:6)

"inexcusably superficial" represents a strong negative claim against the literature mentioned, and thus signals a problem which readers face: the lack of good literature on the topic.

As shown by all these examples, covert negatives have one or more items which have negative connotation. They generally express an omission, an error, a disadvantage, a problem. In the data considered, the items which express negative meaning are (i) verbs e.g., "forget", "neglect", "frustrate", "intimidate", "constrain", "shape", "ignore", etc; (ii) verbal phrases e.g., "fall victim to", "do something poorly", "cast shadows on", etc.; and (iii) noun phrases e.g., "a deficiency", "a dreadful throwaway", "an all-or-nothing position", etc. "Few" and "little" appear frequently. So does "still", as a time adverbial indicating that something should have changed, but it did not e.g.:

**Much of the teaching in ELT still depends on audio-cassette exercises and dialogues with a basic "listen-and-repeat" formula.** This article considers the advantages for learners of having both a visual and aural model to copy.

(Wessels, 1988:18)

"Change" and "shift" also appear, indicating a modification which can be problematic, if things do not adapt to it e.g.:

In the past, nutritionists advised athletes to eat light pre-race meals [...]

**But that advice's changing.** Experts now say that if you want to race well, be prepared to eat more before you step to the starting line.

(Runner's World, May 1989:20)

I must make clear at this point of the discussion that the use of "covert negatives or denials" may at times seem a bit loose, as it includes instances which are not traditionally considered as negative e.g., "**But that advice's changing**". To see this utterance as a covert negative, we must bear in mind that it



introduces a contrast and conveys a meaning contrary to the expectations the reader might have at that point in the text. It is as though the writer, after providing one of the solutions to the problem discussed, felt the need to make clear to the reader that that solution is not a final or satisfactory one (in case the reader should think so) and thus "warned" him: "but that advice is no longer favoured or accepted". It is in this sense that I regard some instances of covert negatives as negative.

Many instances of covert negatives are introduced by adversatives signalling an event contrary to what was expected (e.g: "but", "however", "despite", etc.).

Many runners suffering from injuries turn to ibuprofen, a non-steroidal anti-inflammatory (NSAID), for relief from pain and to lessen inflammation. **But this drug may do more harm than good - at least to your gastrointestinal system.**

(Runner's World, October 1989:16)

Could we then argue that these adversatives are overt signals of negative ideas? In chapter III, I said that "but" certainly signals something contrary to expectation, which in most cases represents a negative idea as in the example above. But, sometimes, the idea adversatives such as "but" introduce is a positive one e.g.:

Making microchips is complex and involves some very toxic chemicals [...]  
**But a radically simpler method may be coming...**

(Business Week International,  
September 10, 1990:43)

This "but" clause certainly introduces a contrast, something contrary to everybody's expectations, but the idea itself is positive. Cases like this, perhaps, make one hesitate about considering adversatives as overt signals of negative ideas, because the idea adversatives introduce is more often negative than positive. But, as, on the other hand, "but"-clauses introducing a positive idea do appear, for the present study, at least, I will consider covert negatives "covert", i.e., having no formal or explicit marker of negation.

How can we approach the study of covert negatives? From an interpersonal perspective, we can raise the same question we did when analyzing formal or overt negatives: Why do covert negatives appear in texts?

#### WHY DO COVERT NEGATIVES APPEAR IN TEXTS?

In the data analyzed, most of the negatives appear as ways of expressing unfulfilled expectations e.g.:

**Despite the emergence of these new packages, many designers are still trying to get the most out of traditional through-hole designs.**

(Bond, 1990:55)

The idea here is "many designers have not adopted the new packages yet", something the author of this text would have expected to be otherwise, as the new packages offer so many advantages. Similarly in:

Learners' dictionaries have become increasingly user-friendly in recent years, with illustrations, COBUILD's full-sentence definitions and LDOCE's communication-focused language notes. **However, there have been few significant developments in the way these dictionaries deal with pronunciation, and teachers are still faced, year after year, with the big decision. Should I teach the phonetic alphabet?**

(McMullan, 1988:9)

The implication is that there have been no significant developments or, at least, not as many as one would have expected.

Occasionally, covert negatives are used to correct or rectify a wrong idea the writer thinks the reader may entertain or infer from the text presented e.g.:

If you know Ball Corp. at all, you probably remember it for the glass fruit jars used by generations of cooks to preserve summer's bounty for the dark depths of winter. **But the company, based in Muncie, Ind., is much more than the mainstay of the jelly cupboard.** Long a minor player in aerospace, it positioned itself as a high-tech defense contractor during the 1980s, building components for the Strategic Defense Initiative and Stealth Bomber.

(Business Week International,  
August 20, 1990:38)

The covert negative here is denying an idea the reader may entertain in relation to Ball corp. : that it only produces fruit jars. The writer is telling the reader: Ball corp. produces not only fruit jars (as you may believe) but also high-tech components.

## WHAT ROLE DO COVERT NEGATIVES PLAY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF TEXTS?

From the viewpoint of the microstructure of the text, covert denials appear in similar environments to those in which formal denials appear i.e. preceding a restriction, an explanation, a result, an exemplification, or alone (no follow-up). The conjunctions used as links between the members of each category are the same as those appearing in the overt denial categories. Let us consider briefly each pattern with some examples to illustrate it.

## DENIAL-RESTRICTION

American perceptions of Korea have come a long way since the days when the prevailing image of the country came from T.V's MASH. In the past decade, South Korea has become an industrial giant and has begun to play a more important role in the world affairs. But while we now have a sense of a more varied nation, **a dearth of literature has kept our understanding of the U.S' sixth largest trading partner inexcusably superficial.**

Until now. In *The Shadow in the Sun* [...], Michael Shapiro shows us a Korea beyond Hyundai cars and those shots of riot police aired by U.S networks on slow news days.

(*Business Week International*,  
August 13, 1990:6)

Here "until now" restricts the claim stated by the disguised denial. The connection between the two members of the pattern (DENIAL-RESTRICTION) is through ellipsis and an implicit "but" which we can add to spell out the relationship:

a dearth of literature has kept our understanding [...]  
inexcusably superficial.

But this has happened only until now...

In

If you know Ball Corp. at all, you probably remember it for the glass fruit jars used by generations of cooks to preserve summer's bounty for the dark depths of winter. **But the company, based in Muncie, Ind., is much more than the mainstay of the jelly cupboard.** Long a minor player in aerospace, it positioned itself as a high-tech defense contractor during the 1980s, building components for the Strategic Defense Initiative and Stealth Bomber.

(Business Week International,  
August 20, 1990:38)

we could say that the covert denial (**But the company, based in Muncie, Ind., is much more than the mainstay of the jelly cupboard**) is a kind of covert denial of exclusiveness. It could very well be paraphrased by

But the Company, based in Muncie, Ind., is not only the mainstay of the jelly cupboard. It is also a high-tech defense contractor...

where the correlatives 'not only...but also' clearly show the denial of exclusiveness and its complementation.

#### DENIAL-RESULT

Fitness gyms, lap pools and running trails are the norm these days at many of the finer hotels where busy executives tend to stay. **But those same executives often forget to bring their athletic shoes on the road with them.**

In response, some hotels now offer "loaner" shoes to guests at no charge.

(Runner's World, January  
1989:9)

## DENIAL--EXPLANATION

**Unfortunately, many who undertake modified vegetarian diets plan meals poorly, partly because of today's hectic lifestyles, but also because they don't realize that when they reduce meat intake, they may be creating a nutrient void.**

(Runner's World, July 1989:22)

Most people carry identification with them when they travel or drive a car, **but few runners bother to carry any ID when they go for a run.** Unfortunately, such an oversight could spell disaster if an accident occurs while you're running. **That's why M. Sivore [....] created the Health Access Card, an emergency information card.**

(Runner's World, Feb 1989:17)

## DENIAL--EXEMPLIFICATION

Too many runners take an all-or-nothing position when it comes to desserts - they try to eliminate them entirely from their diet or feel guilty every time they do eat one. **Unfortunately, this approach often backfires.** "Tell someone to kill all desserts from their diet and the end result is that two weeks later they go on a binge", says nutritionist Liz Applegate, PhD. "And when they binge, they make up for lost time. We're raised to expect and to enjoy dessert, and I think it's kind of futile to fight it".

(Runner's World, Sept 1989:43)

As already stated, the conjunct "for example" or "for instance" can be inserted before the underlined part to help see more clearly the link between the general statement (covert denial) and the example provided.

## DENIAL--NO FOLLOW--UP

Despite the clearly defined health benefits of running, **skeptics continue to cast shadows on the heart-healthy effects of running** [...].

To provide runners with knowledgeable responses to such skepticism, James K Stoller, M.D. [...] performed heart beat calculations...

(Runner's World, May 1989:19)

Here the denial has no follow-up at clause level i.e. it has no accompanying correction, restriction, explanation. But it does have a counterpart at discourse level: it signals a problem to which a solution is provided ('To provide runners...').

So far, covert and overt denials seem to play similar roles in the microstructure of texts. The only difference is perhaps that no covert DENIAL--CORRECTION appeared in the data. This may be due to the fact that denials in the DENIAL--CORRECTION pattern are used for a different purpose from the one covert denials are generally used for.

As I have already stated, covert denials are mainly what I called in Chapter II denials expressing unfulfilled expectations, particularly the writer's, and occasionally (at least in the data analysed) they are used to contradict or correct a wrong idea attributed to the reader. The former is clearly seen in academic papers or scientific articles, in which the specific topic addressed for research is presented as an issue which has been forgotten, neglected or unsatisfactorily dealt with by the scientific community and therefore is put in terms of an unfulfilled expectation both for the author working on the topic and the knowledge field to which the topic belongs. This aspect of the rhetorical structure of scientific papers has already been treated by several authors. Among them, Dudley-Evans (1986)

discusses a model for the outline of scientific papers. One of the parts of this model consists in the researcher's indication of a gap in the field of research which brings about a question to be answered in the investigation presented in the paper. Dudley-Evans (1986:140) points out some of the lexical items that are used to signal this information gap, which include both overt negative items (e.g., "are not available", "no") and covert ones (e.g., "little", "few", "limited", "lack of"). This point is supported by most of the examples in the data, in which the problem raised to be investigated is conveyed by means of overt and covert negatives, generally indicating an unfulfilled expectation. We must stress the fact that to convey the idea of an unfulfilled expectation, we can use both overt and covert negatives. For instance, the authors in

In contrast to the biochemical and physiological works about the elements of presynaptic terminals, **structural data of the cytoskeleton in the presynaptic terminals, especially concerning the relationship between the cytoskeleton and membranes at a molecular level, is lacking**, although some previous studies did indicate the existence of acting filaments and microtubules in the presynaptic terminals.

(Hirokawa, 1988:112)

could also have expressed this omission in the field in these ways:

structural data is not available...

we have no structural data...

we lack structural data...

or even

we have little structural data...



that is to say, the fact that information is missing can be expressed by means of an overtly or covertly negative statement.

Now, for the second purpose for which covert negatives are sometimes used, namely to correct a wrong view, everything seems to point to the fact that overt denials negating the proposition considered wrong are more frequently used than covert ones. This is mostly the case of DENIAL-CORRECTION, especially of *definitional clauses*: *x is not y; x is z*. In this case, the complete truth or totality of a claim is denied and a response or correct version is provided. The denied claim is a proposition attributed to the reader's thinking or mind, which is brought to the text, negated (*x is not y*, where *x is y* is the proposition attributed to the reader) and finally corrected (*x is z*).

Let us consider one example. Imagine a text in which the author is writing about two species of insects but he has not made explicit the fact that they are in reality two different species. After stating several similarities between members of the species, he realizes that the reader may at that point come to think that the insects belong to the same species. Therefore, he thinks, it becomes necessary to make clear that this is not the case. In order to do so, he brings into the text the mistaken idea that the reader might have already inferred from the previously processed information ("they belong to the same species") and denies it, thus preventing any misunderstanding. The text then reads:

But these insects do not belong to the same species

or

But the species to which these insects belong are not the same.

These overt denials serve the purpose of correcting a wrong view and guaranteeing a good understanding of the text.

However, we must also consider the fact that the writer could use a covert negative too: in the case of *x is not y*, he could use: *x and y differ* or *x and y are different* e.g.:

But these insects belong to different species.  
 which is another way of correcting the reader's wrong view. However, the force of the latter as a statement correcting a wrong view seems to be weaker than that of an overt denial, maybe because the negative marker of the overt denial is an explicit signal of negation that we immediately recognize as indicating that something is not the case. But before discussing this point further, let us now examine the two types of denial (overt and covert) from a macrostructure perspective.

#### COVERT NEGATIVES IN THE MACROSTRUCTURE OF TEXTS

The data analysis has shown that, like overt denials, covert negatives are used to signal members in the Problem-Solution pattern organization of texts. Thus, covert denials frequently signal problems, as in:

Most people carry identification with them when they travel or drive a car, **but few runners bother to carry any ID when they go for a run. Unfortunately, such an oversight could spell disaster if an accident occurs while you're running.** That's why Michael Sivore [...] created the Health Access Card, an emergency information card. "The Health Access Card gives people the option of having their medical histories at their disposal, which proves useful in emergencies", says Dr Sivore. "And to make it easy, we're designing a card that can be laced to a runner's shoe".

(Runner's World, Feb 1989:17)

where the author first presents a general situation, with which another one is contrasted: "most people....." but "few runners...". The contrast introduced brings about a negative result: if most people carry ID for common activities in everyday life, then they should carry ID when they run. The denial behind this is: not all runners, though they should, carry their ID when they run. This is in itself a problem. After this comes a negative evaluation of the situation presented i.e. the possible consequences of that, which signals a problem to be solved: runners need to carry ID. The words "few", "unfortunately", "oversight", "disaster", "accident" clearly convey a negative meaning. As usual, a solution is provided to the problem: "M. Sivore created the Health Access Card...", which is subsequently evaluated: "it is useful...".

Let us consider another example.

A recent poll of endurance athletes revealed that over half ate meat less than once a week and dairy products less than once a day. **Yet few replaced these foods with vegetarian sources of protein, calcium or iron.** While these athletes typically consumed what they considered healthy diets - cereal without milk, salad, vegetables, pasta without beef, chicken, fish or cooked beans - **they fell short of ideal protein, iron and calcium intakes.**

(*Runner's World*, July 1989:23)

Here, a first problem is presented: few athletes replace the foods they stopped eating with other sources of nutrients. Then, this is reinforced by the fact that they believe they are well nourished and by the consequence of all this: they lack vital nutrients. The first disguised denial implies that while the athletes reduced their consumption of certain food, they did not make up for that.

"Yet" introduces the problem and "few" bears a negative connotation. The second denial implies that they do not have sufficient nutrients in their organism, "fell short" implying scarcity, a negative idea.

As I stated at the beginning of this discussion, the basic metastructure of the Problem-Solution pattern is *situation - problem - solution - evaluation*, though different combinations may take place, and different problems may appear either subsequently or encapsulated within one another. Sometimes, problems are evaluated and solved but then they are re-evaluated and a new solution is provided. For instance,

Runners constantly worry about what to eat - or not to eat - before a race to avoid stomach upset and hunger pains.

Some choose a small, low-sugar, high carbohydrate pre-race meal just to prevent the "munchies". Others don't eat at all before racing, fearing stomach upset. **But these low-calorie habits have a downside: skimping on food before exercise can leave you short on fuel, especially during a long race.**

In the past, nutritionists advised athletes to eat light pre-race meals [....].

But that advice is changing. Experts now say that if you want to race well, be prepared to eat more before you step to the starting line. New research [....] suggests that you'll run better if you consume lots of carbohydrates up to an hour before exercise than if you nibble on toast or eat nothing at all.

(Runner's World, May 1989:20)

The situation is a problematic one: runners do not know what to eat before a race. Some solutions are presented: some choose a small meal, others nothing. These, in turn, are evaluated negatively: they have a "downside" and therefore are not good solutions. Some past solutions are discussed but again the

evaluation is that they are not efficient. This is indicated by 'but the advice is changing', which introduces new solutions that are this time evaluated positively.

Further examples of covert negatives signalling problems are numbers 95, 115, 118, 121, 122, 123, 125, 129, 131, 133, 139, 160, 230, 239, 240, 242, 244 in the Appendix.

Looking at overt and covert denials, we can say that from the viewpoint of their function in the rhetorical organization of texts, they can play similar roles: they signal problems or negative evaluations of situations or solutions which thus constitute new problems to be solved. But, can we say that both types of denial are alike i.e. they are identical ways of expressing the same fact?

Regarded in isolation i.e. independently of their surrounding text, some of them could be considered similar e.g.:

Even conscientious runners who regularly stretch their lower bodies and backs **may be neglecting** another equally important area - their upper bodies.

(Runner's World, July 1989:28)

could have been expressed thus:

Even conscientious runners [...] **may not be paying attention** to their upper bodies.

However, in cases like this:

But some medical experts **are challenging** the theory that cutting down cholesterol is the key to a longer life

the problem is not identical to

But some medical experts **are no longer accepting**  
the theory...

Though both statements would fulfill the same function in the text organization (signal a problem) they do not convey exactly the same shade of meaning: "challenge" has a slightly different connotation from "not accept".

Or in

Too many runners take an all-or-nothing position when it comes to desserts - they try to eliminate them entirely from their diet or feel guilty every time they do eat one. **Unfortunately, this approach often backfires.** "Tell someone to kill all desserts from their diet and the end result is that two weeks later they go on a binge", says nutritionist Liz Applegate, PhD. "And when they binge, they make up for lost time. We're raised to expect and enjoy dessert, and I think it's kind of futile to fight it".

(Runner's World, Sept 1989:43)

Would we use an overt denial instead of the covert one? "This approach backfires" is certainly different from "this approach does not succeed very often". "Backfires" expresses more than the reverse of "succeed". Despite being different, these two possibilities signal in the text a problem to be solved; the choice of one form or the other may be related to the shade of meaning we want to convey.

Now, coming back to those cases in which both types of denial could be used indistinguishably, is there any reason for a writer to choose one or the other? For instance, in

Fitness gyms, lap pools and running trails are the norm these days at many of the finer hotels where busy executives tend to stay. **But those same executives often forget to bring their athletic shoes on the road with them.**

Instead of the construction with "forget", would we use the following?

But those same executives often **do not remember** to bring their athletic shoes.

In cases like this, where two forms are possible (an overt or a covert negative), without any major difference in meaning, why choose one rather than the other?

This answer could perhaps be sought in the ideational component of the forms. I have already mentioned that through the ideational function of language, the speaker/writer expresses the way in which he perceives the world around and inside him. Halliday (1973) exemplifies this mainly by reference to transitivity or the way in which we encode processes: whether an event is referred to as actor-caused (e.g., The police killed a landless activist) or no source is acknowledged (a landless activist was killed) or it is presented as a tenseless fact or nominalization (the killing of a landless activist). The ways in which an event is expressed through language have significant implications, because they represent different ways of perceiving reality. Transitivity, however, is only one example of the way we grasp and express the world through language. Fairclough (1989) points out other features which show how a text producer experiences the natural and social world (he calls this the *experiential* value of vocabulary and grammatical features). For instance, choice of words and polarity represent ways in which we express our view of the world through language.

Words reveal the way we divide up some aspect of reality and label it. For example, when we classify objects or animate beings, we generally compare them in terms of criteria or attributes which they do or do not possess. We classify beings into animate and inanimate, which implies the fact that one class has the attribute used as criterion (animation) while the other does not. When we label one aspect of reality, we are implicitly comparing it with others and extracting the characteristics defining it as a unique entity. For instance, when the writer in example No 107 labels the present day society 'the Unkempt Generation', he is building this class with reference to another: the ones constituting the 'well-kempt', well-dressed generation. Similarly, if we label a class 'the landless', 'the shirtless', we do so in terms of a class which serves as a point of reference or an object which they lack. In this case, our choice of a term to designate one aspect of reality reveals the way in which we perceive that aspect of reality: the Unkempt are then those who are not the norm; they are named in relation to those who are the norm, the 'well-kempt'. The Unkempt are designated as lacking a characteristic which is normally possessed.

At the clause level, we also make choices to express our view of the world. One of the choices is polarity: negative or positive meaning. Fairclough (1989) states:

Negation obviously has experiential value in that it is the basic way we have of distinguishing what is not the case in reality from what is the case.

In fact, saying that

The government succeeded in its campaign against AIDS

The government did not succeed in its campaign against AIDS



implies two different expressions (or evaluations) of states in the world: what is the case - what is not. It remains to be answered, though, whether the two following statements

The government did not succeed in its campaign against AIDS

The government failed in its campaign against AIDS

also represent two different views. Likewise, we can also ask whether "not remember" and "forget" imply different perceptions of an event.

Perhaps the ideational component alone would not determine the choice of one form rather than the other. Remember that all three language functions operate simultaneously and, as I showed in Chapter II, in denials the interpersonal component generally predominates: negation is used to deny a particular belief, idea or expectation attributed to the reader. Also, as I already pointed out, an overt denial seems to be a stronger denial than a covert one, as the former contains the proposition attributed to the reader plus the negative marker denying the truth of it. To see this more clearly, compare:

Overall, at least a dozen other ACE-inhibitors are in the pipe-line.

**But the current ACE-inhibitors aren't perfect.** A small percentage of the otherwise healthy people who take them develop an annoying cough. Worse yet, they are ineffective in about 30% of users.

(Business Week International,  
November 20, 1989:102)

Overall, at least a dozen other ACE-inhibitors are in the pipe-line.

**But the current ACE-inhibitors have some deficiencies.** A small percentage...

Or

Both human and animals produce organic waste. **But the amount each produces is not the same.**

Both human and animals produce organic waste. **But the amount each produces differs.**

Naturally, I am talking about cases in which an overt negative has a covert counterpart, that is to say, there exist two forms of expressing approximately the same negative meaning.

There are certainly cases in which overt negation seems to be the only possibility, or at least the best one, as in some denials of exclusiveness, in which you want to deny a generalization (all x are y) e.g.:

**But the influences are not all one way.**

**Not all gang members deal drugs...**

The idea conveyed by this last example, for instance, is not the same as "Some gang members deal drugs" or "Some gang members do not deal drugs". Both are no doubt implied in "Not all gang members...", but the intention in producing "Not all gang members deal drugs" is to negate the generalization or totality of a fact (*all x are y*).

Overt denials also seem to be the predominant form in DENIAL-CORRECTION, particularly in definitional clauses (*x is not y; x is z*) where the contrast between the two clauses is explicitly marked by the repetition (*x*) and replacement (*z* for *y*) of information, e.g.:

Unlike a cold, a fever is not an illness. Rather, it's a symptom that may indicate anything from a minor self-limiting infection to a quickly fatal illness like toxic shock syndrome.

(*Runner's World*, June 1985:44)

In the case of a definition, such as this one, to express the contrast between what is not and what is by means of a covert denial would be difficult, if not impossible. There may be cases, however, in which the same idea can be expressed both by an overt and a covert denial e.g.:

*x and y are not the same*

*x and y differ*

*x and y are different*

but the overt form still strikes one as being the most marked or strongest form, maybe because of the "not" which is an explicit signal of denial of an idea.

Nevertheless, if we regard both possibilities ("not be the same" and "be different" or "differ") from the perspective of their power to anticipate the coming matched member (the correction), we see that both forms can be said, in a way, to be anticipating the following correction or explanation. "Different" and "differs" are items which anticipate or predict something to come in the text (Gil, forthcoming). Let us imagine the reader's questions or expectations after the following quoted lines in the form of a dialogue between the text (the writer) and the reader.

Case one

Text **But the purposes for which overt and covert denials are used are not the same.**

Reader Which are they then?  
Why?

Case two

Text **But the purposes for which overt and covert denials are used are different.**

Reader: Which then are the purposes for which each one is used?

That is to say, in both cases, either after an overt denial (definitional clause type) or a covert one with "differ" or "different", the reader will probably have similar expectations about what should come afterwards in the text. Hence, we could state that both overt denials of definitional clause type and their covert counterparts using "differ" or "different" *anticipate* what the coming text will probably present. Now, as to whether these two forms are equally chosen and interchangeably used, the question remains unanswered.

The explanation I have provided in this chapter may partly account for the choice of an overt or covert denial, especially where the aim is to correct a wrong view. However, in cases where the aim is to express an omission, deficiency or problem, which can be done both through an overt or covert denial without any major difference, the choice of one or the other may be influenced by other considerations. Perhaps the answer is related to preference i.e. which form is the preferred one in a particular context. For example, would we say that something **has been not considered** more frequently than something **has been ignored** or

**neglected?** On which occasions would we use one rather than the other? Also, would we write that something **has not been remembered** or **kept in mind** or that something **has been forgotten?**

An analysis of the frequency of use of each form may lead us to state the existence of preferred choices or forms most likely to be used in particular contexts. Maybe **forget** is the most usual way of saying that something is **not remembered**. Such an affirmation requires a survey of the frequency of each form (overt and covert) in texts, and the determination of the contexts in which these forms usually appear. This task can no doubt be accomplished with the help of a computer database which would enable us to list all the occurrences of a given form in the stored data. Then, an analysis of the contexts in which one form appears repeatedly would reveal characteristics about the use of that form and could lead us to formulate generalizations like, whenever an omission is expressed, "forget" is the verb most frequently used.

At present these are all conjectures and, as a study of preferred or more frequent choices among negatives would require a detailed analysis of a large corpus and would be worthy of a whole dissertation, I will not discuss this question further here.

## CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In the preceding chapters I have explored the pragmatics of negatives from three perspectives.

The first ("Why do denials appear in texts?") focused on denials in the interaction between writer and reader i.e. in the process by which the writer builds his text in accordance with the image he has of his ideal reader. Seen in this perspective, denials appear as ways of ensuring that the reader gets to a correct interpretation of the text and of the topic dealt with in it. Or, in other words, they are the means the writer uses to prevent any misunderstanding or wrong idea on the part of the reader.

The process by which denials are produced is directly related to the assumptions the writer has about his ideal reader's beliefs and expectations. These assumptions play a vital role in text production, as they guide the writer in the construction of his message. When the writer believes his reader entertains a wrong idea about the topic being developed, he will probably deny it and provide what for him is the correct one. Also, if the writer thinks his text can be wrongly interpreted by the reader, he will probably deny the wrong interpretation, thus making sure his message will be correctly received. Besides this, the writer anticipates his reader's expectations as to the information already received or to be received, and whenever these will not be fulfilled either because that information is unknown to the writer or because he does not intend to provide it in the current text, he states so by means of negatives.

The second approach to denials ("What role do denials play in the development of texts?") focused on the way denials interrelate with their adjoining clauses and how their meaning is complemented by the following member. The categories found correspond to the basic clause relations pointed out by Winter (1986) (see correspondances in Chapter III:76). This approach also regarded denials at the macrolevel of the text, in the rhetorical pattern of Problem-Solution analyzed by Hoey (1983). Within this macrostructure unit, denials appeared as signals of problems or negative evaluations of situations or solutions which represent problems to be solved.

The third perspective on denials, this time differentiating between formally negative or overt and formally positive or covert negatives, was intended to raise some questions as to whether the two forms represent identical ways of expressing the same state of affairs in the world and why one would be used rather than the other. Although no definite answer to these questions can be provided at this stage, the analysis of overt and covert negatives seems to suggest that the use of one form instead of the other may be related to preferred choices in a given context, an issue which needs to be investigated and supported by a substantial amount of data.

These three focuses on negatives represent three angles from which we can approach this topic. They clearly complement each other and together constitute a pragmatic account of negation, in the sense that the meaning of negatives is seen in relation to the "speech situation" (Leech 1983) i.e. in relation to the producer and receiver of the denial, to the context of the utterance, to the producer's intention in uttering a negative and its effect

upon the receiver. Also, beyond the notion proposed by Leech, denials are regarded in the network of interrelationships making up a text, in which the topic of the text is developed through basic clause relations interacting with higher structures or basic text structures (rhetorical patterns) which organize the message conveyed by the text as a whole (Winter 1986).

I had stated at the beginning of this dissertation that negation constitutes a valuable source of research on text production. I have tried to illustrate this by looking at why denials arise in the text and how they are integrated with it.

Whenever we write, we do so for a purpose (to convey a message) and for an audience or ideal reader we have in mind, whose background knowledge, expectations and inferences condition or shape the way our message is conveyed. For example, the fact that at a certain point in the text we believe our reader may make a wrong inference from the text already processed may lead us, writers, to pause in our discussion of the topic and correct the potential, wrong inference. In this way, we guarantee the reader's accurate interpretation of our message. Also, as writers, we can predict or anticipate the reader's expectations after a denial and thus provide an expansion or follow-up whenever we feel the reader may expect so (as is almost always the case in DENIAL-CORRECTION).

Several authors (Winter 1978, 1982, 1986, Hoey 1983, Jordan 1984, Tadros 1985, Francis 1986) have looked at the process of text production, especially from the point of view of the producer and within an interactive conception of writing. These studies have approached different aspects of the text (predictive items, anaphoric nouns, rhetorical patterns) and have brought about valuable insights into the process of text construction.



Hopefully, my analysis contributes to this. Although negatives are just one part of the whole which is the production of texts, they reveal significant aspects of the interaction between producer and receiver underlying any written message.

I should like to state here, before finishing this dissertation and illustrating one of the uses of denials dealt with in my work, that this dissertation does not purport to be a comprehensive analysis of the topic selected. Quite the contrary, this may be considered the initial stage in a research that can be further extended and improved. "Why do denials appear in texts?", "What role do denials play in the development of texts?" and "What are covert negatives?" are some of the questions that can be raised when approaching negation from a pragmatic perspective. The answers provided here, too, are some of the responses to those questions and are open to further discussion.

Negation is a wide and fertile topic for research, many aspects of which can be addressed. I have already introduced one in the last chapter: the choice of and preference for overt or covert negatives, and raised some points for its discussion. A study of this kind could show whether such preferences do exist in text production and what conditions them.

Another area which deserves attention is negation in oral interaction. It would be interesting to see if what was pointed out for negatives in written text also holds for those in conversations.

An ampler investigation could be a comparison of the uses of negation in other languages, in order to see whether the uses of negatives in English are peculiar to English or whether they are

common to all languages which share similar conventions for the construction of texts.

Studies of this kind can be significant additions to those already done in the field of Text and Discourse Analysis, all of which can contribute to a general theory of text production that is yet to come.

## APPENDIX

- 1) Whale communication has had considerable attention from marine mammalogists over the past 15 to 20 years. Whales communicate acoustically, **although the means by which they do so is not known**: they have no vocal chords. The sounds are thought to be important in sexual and social communication; they also keep individuals in loose herds of whales in contact with one another, and they possibly signal danger.

(Wursig, 1988:83)

- 2) Male humpbacks sing primarily during the breeding season, and at the beginning of the season they all sing the same song. Katherine Payne of Cornell University found that as the season progresses, however, the song gradually changes, and by the end of winter the one they are all singing is no longer recognizable as the one sung at the beginning. **Little or no singing takes place during summer feeding at higher latitudes**, away from the breeding grounds. When humpbacks return to the breeding grounds the following year, they stand with the same song they were singing at the end of the previous season.

(Wursig, 1988:83)

- 3) Although play behaviour has been observed in dolphins, **it is not often exhibited by terrestrial adult mammals** (chimpanzees and human beings are an exception), **and the adaptive value, if any, is unclear**. It seems possible to me that the whales are simply having fun in an otherwise featureless ocean.

(Wursig, 1988:85)

- 4) Sexuality is probably the major source of conflict for dating couples, as Makepeace's (1981) results suggest [...]; **yet recent sociological studies have not questioned subjects about this aspect of their courting relationships**. And although Straws's scales examines conflict along a spectrum of increasing intensity, **it does not go so far as to probe sexual aggression and violence**. To explore this issue, we...

(Lane & Gwartney-Gibbs, 1985:45)

- 5) **Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan are not known for holding similar opinions on questions of national policy;** but on the subject of the energy crisis both presidents shared the view that conservation was a remedy that necessarily demands a decline in living standard.

(Rosenfeld & Hafemeister, 1988:56)

- 6) To control the development of a plant, light must have some effect on the developmental blueprints, the genes. Yet whereas the biochemical reactions involved in photosynthesis have been described at length, **it is not at all clear how light influences the expression of plant genes.** Six years ago we set out to clarify the biochemical basis for photomorphogenesis by beginning with the light-responsive genes themselves.

(Moses & Chua, 1988:64)

- 7) Bowheads are also believed to feed at the bottom (usually at depths of less than 60 meters), **but it is not clear how, equipped with long and finely fringed ballen, they are able to do so.** We have seen bowheads surfacing with muddy water streaming from the sides of the mouth, a behaviour that in gray whales is clearly associated with bottom feeding. Although signs of substrate disturbance such as the pits made by the grays have not been found where bowheads feed, analysis of stomach contents have revealed bottom-dwelling prey.

(Wursig, 1988:79)

- 8) Several whales sometimes bubble net at the same time, **but whether their behaviour is cooperative or simply a response to an abundant food supply is not known.**

After feeding, whales migrate to lower latitudes, where much has been learned about their social behaviour.

(Wursig, 1988:81)

- 9) If a male increases his chances of reproduction through this type of cooperation because the favor is returned later on, the behaviour is referred to as reciprocal altruism. In many species reciprocal altruism appears to have evolved in response to situations where it is difficult, if not impossible, for a solitary male to successfully mate with a female.

**This interpretation is not universally accepted.** Scott Kraus & John Prescott [...] suggest [...] that the males are not cooperating but rather are competing with one another for access to the female.

(Wursig, 1988:81)

- 10) I must emphasize that although different mating strategies may indeed coexist, **none of them has been proved in right or other whales**, and so they remain intriguing hypotheses in need of further study.

(Wursig, 1988:81)

- 11) The physical structure of general relativity's dark bodies is radically different from that of the 18th century dark bodies, however, and wonderfully richer. **They are not made of matter**, although they have mass and might be created from stellar matter by a process of gravitational collapse. Once formed they consist of curved spacetime, wrapped upon itself so tightly that it holds in light.

(Price & Thorne, 1988:46)

- 12) In dealing with the gravitational pull of a black hole, then, the astrophysical failings of the curved spacetime paradigm could be avoided.

**Yet gravitational pull is not a black hole's only source of energy.** As Roger Penrose of the University of Cambridge showed in 1969, a black hole can store enormous amounts of energy in the form of rotation.

(Price & Thorne, 1988:47)

- 13) **But Bart doesn't illuminate why Kerkorian does what he does.** He offers a few anecdotes about Kerkorian's gambling habits, but **the financier never comes alive.** Bart seems content with his conviction that the MGM boss lives simply to be a trader and is not a manager. "The longer you stay, the more the odds work against you", the billionaire tells a studio executive one time in Las Vegas.

(Business Week International,  
July 23, 1990:8)

- 14) **Solar technology may never eclipse conventional power sources.** But it already promises the children of Africa a brighter future.

(Business Week International,  
July 23, 1990:15)

- 15) Europeans also have to make technology alliances pay off, and they must be less xenophobic about taking foreign help. **Phillips didn't understand that well enough**, and it - and Europe - are paying the price now.

(Business Week International,  
July 23, 1990:19)

- 16) **Tough trade policies can no longer substitute for hard choices**. During the 1980s, antidumping penalties, local content requirements, and public-procurement policies favoring domestic makers helped fend off Asian imports. But now most Japanese companies have European plants, and Europeans have to compete with them.

(Business Week International,  
July 23, 1990:19)

- 17) An unprecedented wave of kidnappings of well-off executives is sweeping Rio de Janeiro, adding to fears already heightened by an economic slump and the government's inflation-busting austerity plan. In the past four months, close to 30 Brazilian executives have been ransomed for amounts ranging as high as \$8 million. **No one has yet been harmed, and no foreign managers have been swept up yet**, but many are taking on body-guards and stepping up their security.

(Business Week International,  
July 23, 1990:23)

- 18) The management of time among the unemployed comes up against obvious social, economic, psychological and institutional obstacles. Except in some pioneer studies, **the use of time among the unemployed has not been adequately examined**. Surveys show that they tend to depreciate the time available to them (as does the general public) especially because of the prevailing social norms concerning work; they are often reduced to mass consumers of the various media. Still, projects for time management among the unemployed must not be construed as a remedy for the lack of work. Practical experience has underlined the importance of ensuring that activities directed toward these people coincide with the activities of the general population, so as not to reduce those out of work to further marginality.

(Provonost, 1989:91)

- 19) Until recently the journal *American Birds* annually published over 200 breeding-bird censuses of North American habitats [...]

For tropical habitats **we do not have comparably detailed information on avian community structure.**

The paucity of information is particularly acute in the case of mature tropical forests [...]. Although the literature contains a number of reports on the structure of tropical forest bird communities, **most of these accounts do not meet standards of comprehensiveness and precision that are routinely attained in studies conducted in the temperate zone.**

Several reasons account for the slow development of an accepted census methodology for tropical habitats [...]. For all these reasons, reliable quantitative information on the structure and composition of tropical forest bird communities is scarce and sorely needed.

...Here we report the results of this census, presenting, for 245 species, data on population densities, territory sizes, biomasses, and other parameters of interest.

(Terborgh et al, 1990:214)

- 20) For the past twenty years, it has been recognized that body size is convergent among solitary species of *Anolis* lizards endemic to different island banks of the Lesser Antilles. Community ecologists have assumed that this "solitary size" is an optimal size, **yet the basis behind such optimality has not been shown.** Our goal in this study was to explore the existence of an energetic basis of an optimal body size in these lizards.

(Nagamuna & Roughgarden, 1990:239)

- 21) The concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has increased from about 280 parts per million (ppm) circa 1750 to about 345 ppm in 1984 [...]

Since 1977 this interest in the global cycling of carbon has involved a controversy between terrestrial ecologists and geochemists [...]

**This argument has not been resolved satisfactorily a decade later despite a large research effort.**

In this article we describe research undertaken to reduce the uncertainty in estimating the release of CO<sub>2</sub> caused by land use change.

(Detwiler & Hall, 1988:42-43)

- 22) Laird, who retested his subjects after a delay, found a similar pattern of results to that from the immediate test. However, Laird used a delay of only 40 minutes and, because of this short delay, time of recall was necessarily confounded with time of presentation [...]. A more recent study of children's text memory (Folkard, Mark, Bradbury and Rosenthal, 1977) demonstrated that, when recognition memory is tested after a delay of one week, memory is better when the original presentation was in the afternoon rather than the morning. However, **a direct comparison between Laird's results and those of Folkard et al. is not possible** since the two studies used recall and recognition measures of memory, respectively.

(Okhill, 1986:420)

- 23) Culturally, ours has traditionally been a man's world, but **men do not seem to be prospering personally** (David & Brannon, 1976). It seems that **power and perquisites do not ensure happiness, satisfactory adjustment, or many of the qualities that go into making a well integrated, ably functioning individual.** Therefore, counselors have ample reasons to use their skills to assist men toward more satisfying lives.

(Scher, 1981:199)

- 24) Another important point to remember is that **sexual orientation is not completely permanent.** Especially in adolescence, but also throughout adulthood, sexual orientation can change.

(Coleman, 1981:217)

- 25) The Bush Administration, though, is diverted on the foreign front. It is concentrating almost exclusively on developments in Europe, where countries are moving in the opposite direction: from separation to unity.

**No U.S. working group has been established to consider Canada's crisis; no studies have been commissioned. Not even to ponder what effect a split might have on the nearly \$200 billion in annual trade that makes Canada the biggest U.S. trading partner by far.** Quebec separatists say that if the province goes its independent way, good relations will survive. But the view from Washington is that the links would be horribly confused.

(LIME, June 18, 1990:27)



- 26) As the journal entry makes clear, **recognition of the association between depression and the onset of winter is not new.** But in recent years there has been growing interest in SAD and in two behavioural disorders, carbohydrate-craving obesity (CCO) and premenstrual syndrome (PMS), that share some of its symptoms.

(Wurtman & Wurtman, 1989:50)

- 27) **Why snacking takes place at certain times for CCO patients is not clear;** its cyclic occurrence, which is monthly in PMS or seasonal in SAD, may reflect the actions of ovarian hormones or melatonin on the brain, **but no such relationship has been established for CCO.**

(Wurtman & Wurtman, 1989:53)

- 28) While Brazilian women as a group are disadvantaged when they enter the labor market, **not all women are equally disadvantaged relative to men.** There are significant within-class differences between men and women in Brazil. Ironically, a 1970 study of five major Brazilian geographic regions found that the more educated a woman was, the less she earned in comparison to men with equal schooling. In the impoverished Northeast, for example, women who were illiterate received 96 per cent of what illiterate men received, while college educated women were paid only 36 per cent of what their male counterparts were paid.

(Neuhouser, 1989:689)

- 29) Gangs have existed in Los Angeles since the turn of the century, but they have been turned into small armies by drugs and money and the violence that goes with them. Combat has changed from bare knuckles and knives to random shots at an enemy who is tracked from a distance, is usually faceless and is therefore all the easier to gundown without remorse. **Not all gang members deal drugs, just as not all drug dealers belong to gangs,** but the flow of drug money has infiltrated every crevice, creating a hyperinflation of shooting.

(ILME, June 18, 1990:21)

- 30) He was carrying the .25 when the cops arrested him on the street the following day. **He wasn't wearing colours**; few members do so anymore, since gang emblems are as open an invitation to arrest as carrying a semiautomatic rifle. But just the fact that he was dressed in low-slung black trousers, Nikes and Pendleton shirt gave him away.

(LIME, June 18, 1990:22)

- 31) If the so-called sex debates have been generating so much heat in feminist gatherings during the last few years, **this is not only because sex is a taboo and therefore hot topic**. It is also because the debates on pornography, censorship, feminist erotica, sexual ethics, sadomasochism, and related topics involve some of the basic questions of women's liberation.

(Valverde, 1989:237)

- 32) **This article attempts not grand solutions** but rather a clarification of some of the theoretical differences between two major camps in the current debates, recognizing that in these debates political commitments often precede and determine theoretical positions.

(Valverde, 1989:237)

- 33) In England, where the physicians became organized only much later, it was not until 1421 that a petition was put before Parliament requesting, among other measures to ensure the physicians' hegemony, "that no Woman use the practyse of Fisyk [medicine] undre the same payne of long imprisonment" and a fine of forty pounds. **That this measure was ultimately ineffectual does not diminish the fact that the desire to prohibit women's medical practice was obviously real.**

Interestingly, the one area of medicine generally thought of as "women's work", midwifery, was affected by the trend towards licensing only at the very end of the Middle Ages.

(Green, 1989:449)

- 34) **Design is not art. It is also not engineering, and it is not science.** It is time to recognize this and distinguish the differences. **Design is not separative,** it is integrative. One of the hallmarks of design is its penchant for integration.

(Owen, 1989:4)

35) Because design is integrative, design education needs firm grounding in the subject matter of the arts, the sciences, technology and the humanities. To strengthen this *position of balance*, the ideal location of a design program is not (as is now typically the case) in a college of art, engineering, sciences or humanities, but in an independent college or school devoted to the integrative use of all those reservoirs of knowledge.

(Owen, 1989:4)

36) Vegetation makes up the most conspicuous element in the non-urban landscape. It profoundly influences processes operating at the interface between the atmosphere and the lithosphere (e.g. microclimates, soil properties). Plants are good site indicators and modify many habitat factors, creating a background or environment for the associated animal communities. **But the influences are not all one way:** plants and animals interact and influence each other in a most complex matter.

(Pears, 1985:5)

37) The purpose of this short section (and similar sections following each chapter in this book) is to explore a few points prompted by material in the main part of each chapter [...]. **No attempt is made to be comprehensive** and some comments are concerned with areas marginal to the main themes.

(Pears, 1985:9)

38) The other guests at the party keep their distance, respecting the privacy of the actor. The Princess of Wales is probably asleep by now - **princesses don't get invited to post-premiere parties** - but at least she stayed awake during the film.

(The Sunday Times, 22 April 1990:1)

39) **Getting income from your money is not as daunting a task as it may at first seem** - by taking the time to consider your tax position and the type of income you actually need (whether you want it paid monthly or yearly, for example) you can cut out much of the leg-work that might otherwise have you wading through the financial press searching for the best rates of return.

(What Investment, April 1990:13)

- 40) Also to learn. **Chamorro owes her election not to any natural gift for leadership** but to her married name. Though graced with regal poise and an engaging personality, she has had little experience in public life.

(LIME, March 12, 1990:11)

- 41) It is the text and not some super-sentence that is the relevant unit for stylistic studies; this is a functional-semantic concept and is not definable by size. And therefore **the "textual" function is not limited to the establishment of relations between sentences;** it is concerned just as much with the internal organization of the sentence, with its meaning as a message both in itself and in relation to the context.

(Halliday, 1973:107)

- 42) **The idea of using newspaper clippings for language teaching/learning is not new.** However, a recently conducted survey (i) revealed that though about 60% of the teachers participating in a one day course (on the use of non-pedagogic materials for teaching/learning of English [...]) were aware of the possible use of newspaper clippings for English teaching, only 2 out of the 80 teachers were actually using this material in their classes [...]. All 80 teachers expressed their willingness to try out some of the techniques for using newspaper clippings which were demonstrated on the course.

(Bose, 1988:39)

- 43) **Teaching research English, particularly the writing of papers, to nonnative speakers (NNS) has not been given the attention it needs.** Available evidence points both to the overwhelming role of English as a medium of communication in the international research literature and to the low level of NNS contributions to that literature. This article outlines and illustrates an approach...

(Swales, 1987:4)

- 44) **The typological schemes constructed by many archaeologists to explain the rise and fall of civilizations have neither accounted for the processual changes involved in the evolution of social complexity nor contributed to the development of a comparative method for considering regularities and variation in social behaviour.** This paper begins with a review of the foundations on which archaeologists have based their conceptions of social evolution...

(Yoffee, 1979:5)

- 45) Recently several models have been proposed for the origin and evolution of lowland Maya civilization. These models share a basic spatial framework, the culture area, which is logically tied to a particular approach to the emergence of lowland Maya civilization [...]. **The empirical archaeological expectations of models based upon this approach are not satisfied at the cite of Cerros, a Late Preclassical center on the coast of northern Belize.** An alternative approach, the interaction sphere, better accommodates the evidence from Cerros and other Preclassic cites in the Maya Lowlands. The culture area models, the evidence from Cerros, and the interaction sphere approach and its theoretical ramifications are discussed.

(Freidel, 1979:36)

- 46) Archaeologists concerned with the initial migration of man into North America seem satisfied with the concept of a mid-continental route for movement south of Beringia, despite lack of agreement over the age of such an event [...]. **The possibility of a coastal migration route has not been seriously considered by New World specialists, who can accept that coastal adaptations developed from prior interior bases but are reluctant to consider the opposite alternative.**

The intent of this paper is to examine and compare the feasibility of late Pleistocene coastal and interior routes for man...

(Fladmark, 1979:55)

- 47) Learners' dictionaries have become increasingly user-friendly in recent years, with illustrations, COBUILD's full-sentence definitions and LDOCE's communication-focused language notes. **However, there have been few significant developments in the way these dictionaries deal with pronunciation, and teachers are still faced, year after year, with the big decision. Should I teach the phonetic alphabet?**

(Mc Mullan, 1988:9)

- 48) **Much of the teaching of pronunciation in ELT still depends on audio-cassette exercises and dialogues with a basic "listen-and-repeat" formula.** This article considers the advantages for learners of having both a visual and aural model to copy, and goes on to describe how teachers can make their own pronunciation video to teach the sound-system of English.

(Wessels, 1988:18)

- 49) The most significant departure in the CEELT examination is that video recordings are used in the Oral and Listening Comprehension section. These are clips from actual lessons **and not specially scripted.** For the Oral test the clip acts only as a stimulus to interactive communication in groups of three.

(Fried-Booth & Robertson, 1988:43)

- 50) **In this article I do not intend to sum up all the advantages of this musical authentic aid in language teaching, nor do I want to discuss the various ways of how a song can be integrated in our lessons.** I just want to illustrate how pop songs can be a natural and highly motivational device for listening comprehension.

(Stevens, 1982:17)

- 51) **The idea of using the telephone directory is not, of course, new.** Already in the 19th century, Kellner was using an early edition of the first (20-page!) German telephone directory as a means of oral and written communication. Although today his methods may appear simplistic (i), there can be no doubt that his influence was considerable. Frank Plimsoll [...] quotes Kellner: "...any thoroughgoing didactic approach to language acquisition must take into account the full range of the speaker and/or learner's needs". It is from this point that I wish to start.

(Duff, 1982:19)

- 52) While all systems share common basic features, they vary according to the nature of their components and according to the processes which link these components together. Apart from mechanical systems, we can recognize three principal types of natural systems on the basis of their main components: physical (inorganic), biological (organic) and social (human) systems.

Each of these can be further subdivided into smaller and smaller systems. **However, no system, as far as we know, can exist as a completely independent unit.** All systems are open; that is to say, the outputs from one can become the inputs to another.

(Tivy & O'Hare, 1981:10)

- 53) Obviously the amount, type and distribution of animal biomass will be affected by that of plants. The more complex and species rich the plant biomass, the greater the number of different animal species it can accommodate [...]

**However, the distribution of animal biomass is not always directly related to that of plant biomass.** In all terrestrial ecosystems a very high proportion of the above and below ground living plant material is not eaten by grazing animals. A large proportion either dies or falls to the ground surface as litter or, in the case of roots and underground organs, exists in the soil.

(Tivy & O'Hare, 1981:16)

- 54) Figure 2.4 shows characteristic trends for plant productivity, respiration and plant biomass accumulation.

From this it should be carefully noted that **a large biomass does not necessarily mean that the role of either gross or net productivity will be correspondingly high.** Normally after a certain age plant productivity (gross or net) declines although the biomass may continue to increase.

(Tivy & O'Hare, 1981:21)

- 55) In the process of eating and being eaten, energy flows through the ecosystem, passing from one trophic level to the next. **However, food webs do not normally have more than five or six levels.** This is because the process of energy transfer is not very efficient.

(Tivy & O'Hare, 1981:22)

- 56) Further, it has been implied, mostly by vegetarians, that if the tremendous biomass of livestock (14405 million PE units) were removed, the earth could feed that many more people. Although substantial increases could be accommodated it should be kept in mind that **livestock do not always compete directly with humans.** Domestic ruminants can digest plant ingredients such as cellulose, hemi-cellulose and other materials with which the human gastric system cannot cope.

(Tivy & O'Hare, 1981:81)

- 57) **These days, information systems don't just support your business.** They are your business. And without them, you're out of business.

(Business Week International,  
May 14, 1990:9)

- 58) **May 1, International Labor day, isn't an official holiday in South Korea.** But this year, some workers commemorated it with a vengeance. A week of strikes, riots, and police raids touched off panic selling on the Seoul stock exchange, causing a record one-day drop of 4.4% in the index.

(Business Week International,  
May 14, 1990:16)

- 59) The head of each Volvo company is responsible for implementing the environment care program. And every year several companies will be closely monitored by central environment auditors to check on progress.

**It won't all happen overnight; we cannot become perfect by tomorrow.** Yet everything Volvo does, or fails to do today, will be decisive if the next generation is to have any future.

(Business Week International,  
May 14, 1990:49)

- 60) **To us, customer service isn't just a label.** It's answering every question and fulfilling any request you could possibly have.

(Business Week International,  
May 14, 1990:51)



- 61) Analysis of chapters on sport in the eight most widely used first year German textbooks in American colleges has revealed that in terms of both sociocultural and linguistic acquisition there are serious shortcomings. **Cultural meaning is not discussed** and differences are minimized.

(Language Teaching, Jan 1989:15)

- 62) A study of 12th-graders released last February by the National Assessment of Educational Progress found that **"most students did not demonstrate an understanding of the basic concepts of physical and cultural geography"**. More than 20 percent, for example, incorrectly responded that removal of vegetation would increase wildlife populations, and a similar proportion attributed the greenhouse effect to increased incidence of solar flares on the sun.

(Business Week International,  
June 18, 1990:13)

- 63) **The state courthouse in Beaumont, Tex., isn't normally a hotbed of excitement.** But on Sept 14, attorneys gathered...

(Business Week International,  
October 9, 1989:73)

- 64) FDA surveys show tremendous confusion over saturated fat, unsaturated fat, and cholesterol, and where they're likely to be present. **And food makers haven't always been helpful.** 'No cholesterol' labels have sprouted on everything from cookies to bread to cooking oils, though **many of these items by definition have none** because they are all vegetable oils.

(Business Week International,  
October 9, 1989:120)

- 65) To cut cholesterol - and, they hope, the risk of fatal heart disease - Americans have replaced bacon and eggs with oat bran muffins, shunned red meat, and sworn off rich desserts.

**But some medical experts are challenging the theory that cutting down cholesterol is the key to a longer life.** The debate, which has been simmering in the medical community for several years, was thrust into the public eye by an article in the September issue of The Atlantic.

(Business Week International,  
October 9, 1989:128)

- 66) But finding out what foods really have in them can be tough. **Roughly half the products we buy, from bologna to cookies, don't come with any nutritional information on their packages at all.** And the information we do get is often unclear.

(Business Week International,  
October 9, 1989:128)

- 67) In scenes reminiscent of Tehran and Saigon, worried foreigners besieged airline offices and mobbed airport ticket counters to secure flights out of Beijing. Others wept openly in the lobbies of once-comfortable hotels as troops of the 27th Army rolled down the streets outside. **It wasn't clear whether Deng Xiaoping had ordered the troops to crush the pro-democracy movement on June 4, or whether aging but still powerful military leaders had staged a coup.** But it was plain, one American executive commented as he prepared to leave, that "those old men have just ruined the nation".

(Business Week International,  
June 19, 1989:29)

- 68) **There is no consensus concerning the cause of runner's diarrhea. Not all runners who experience frequent bowel movements have symptoms of the same severity or frequency.**

Some researchers feel that the cause of runner's diarrhea is the reduction of blood flow (by as much as 80 percent) to the gastrointestinal tract during vigorous exercise. **This theory, however, doesn't explain why cyclists, cross-country skiers, swimmers and other involved in vigorous exercise rarely experience exercise - related diarrhea.**

(Runner's World, March 1987:20)

- 69) A compulsive eater uses food as a constant coping mechanism, independent of biological hunger. She feels driven to eat and believes that food overpowers and overshadows many aspects of her life. **A compulsive eater is not necessarily identifiable by her body size** because many women who eat compulsively also are compulsive dieters.

(Hooker & Convisser, 1983:237)

- 70) To clarify the concept, distinctions have been made between job burnout and the experience of tedium and stress associated with one's work. Van Slyke [...] points out that some individuals who complain of burn out during work hours have a high energy level once the work day is complete; **this does not constitute burnout**. Job burnout tends to be more pervasive, involving a lack of energy and enthusiasm at both home and the office.

(Watkins, 1983:305)

- 71) Vegetarians face risk because of the quality of the protein they eat, **not the amount**.

(Runner's World, January 1987:18)

- 72) One reason is to help you learn new, permanent eating patterns. While restricting your calories certainly will help you lose body fat, **weight loss and dieting cannot go on forever**. They are merely temporary therapeutic measures to help you attain a desirable body composition.

(Runner's World, January 1987:36)

- 73) The men lost increasing amounts of body fat, and within six months each was eating an average of several hundred calories more per day than when he started, a trend that continued throughout the program. In this study, the men were simply asked to exercise by running. **They made no deliberate attempts to diet or lose weight**.

(Runner's World, January 1987:39)

- 74) While bottled waters have long had an aura of health about them, **there are actually no medicinal qualities unique to prepackaged water**. Some bottled waters, though, drunk regularly, can supply an athlete with key minerals needed for optimum performance.

(Runner's World, June 1987:70)

- 75) **Mineral waters, however, should not be viewed as a superior source of minerals**; your diet is still the primary source.

(Runner's World, June 1987:70)

- 76) The Environmental Protection Agency views seltzers, club sodas, mineral waters and sparkling waters as soft drinks - **they are not subject to the same strict regulations as public drinking water.**

Many of us drink bottled waters not only because we're pursuing a refreshing taste, but because we're concerned with chemical purity. But some mineral waters have been found to have high levels of naturally occurring arsenic and fluoride - potentially toxic minerals that would be unacceptable in our drinking water.

(Runner's World, June 1987:71)

- 77) The U.S. Department of Agriculture says that the United States is the second largest food producer in the world, yet according to our government, **many of us still don't manage to eat a well-balanced diet.**

It's obvious that **there isn't a deficiency in our food supply**, but simply in our ability to choose food properly.

(Runner's World, May 1990:1)

- 78) Since high cholesterol is one of the most important treatable factors in the development of coronary heart disease (CHD), and since CHD is far and away the nation's number one killer, it could be argued that this report is the most crucial public health document in the United States. In it, **the word "exercise" does not appear at all.**

I would never have noticed this disturbing fact had not the report fallen under fierce criticism last fall, when [...] the public's attention came to light on cholesterol.

(Runner's World, May 1990:64)

- 79) So I re-read the long and strident article in The Atlantic [...] and again came up empty: **No one, neither Moore's supporters nor detractors, was talking seriously about exercise and weight loss as a fundamental part of the cholesterol-control equation.** The discussion was only about diet and drugs.

(Runner's World, May 1990:64)

- 80) "Relatively few people have applied for studies in the exercise line", says Wood. **"The number's not negligible,** but proportionately it's rather small. Drugs are ridiculously overrepresented, and that has to reflect the importance of the drug companies.

(Runner's World, May 1990:68)

- 81) **"Oat-bran muffins alone aren't going to save you.** Eat a high-fiber diet with a variety of foods. Emphasize vegetables, fruit and whole grains.

(Runner's World, March 1990:68)

- 82) It is simpler to say where fiber is found than precisely what it is. **Scientists are still not in complete agreement as to exactly what constitutes fiber, nor do they concur on how much is really needed and how lack of fiber relates to cancer and other diseases of the colon.**

Fiber is present only in plant food in conjunction with the complex carbohydrates. **There is no fiber in dairy products and none in meat,** no matter how tough and fibrous it may seem. Fiber in plants is similar to the skeletal parts of the body: it provides structure to stems, leaves, fruit and seeds.

(Runner's World, December 1980:76)

- 83) For the past generations, lifestyle was the leading pharmacopeia. **They had no antibiotics, no cures for infectious disease.** They had to rely on their manner of living to preserve their health.

(Runner's World, February 1990:16)

- 84) **Finally, women, who are more likely to develop iron deficiency anemia, aren't completely safe from iron overload.** But they develop it less frequently and at later ages than men, since regular iron loss through menstruation offers some protection.

(Runner's World, February 1990:18)

- 85) The body depends on a good blood supply to heal any kind of injury. **Unfortunately, tendons don't have very good vascular flow.** In fact, the Achilles tendon [...] has just about the worst blood supply in the body. So it's not surprising that injuries to the Achilles heal slowly.

(Runner's World, February 1990:24)

- 86) **Fortunately, the knee injuries runners suffer most often are not the sudden explosions of cartilage and ligaments that plague football players, skiers and the like,** but inflammations, dull aches that tend to come on with time.

(Runner's World, February 1990:39)

- 87) Amenorrhea is common in competitive women runners, **but running probably won't affect the menstrual cycle.**

Women who run two to three miles three to four times a week are unlikely to change their menses [...]. Women who were classified as high-intensity runners [...] had a greater chance of experiencing irregular periods or amenorrhea. **The reasons are unclear, but it doesn't seem to affect fertility.** Menstrual changes were significantly related to the intensity, **not the activity,** of running.

(Runner's World, June 1985:29)

- 88) **Fortunately, you don't have to become a vegan to reduce your risk of cancer and heart disease.** Just substitute chicken, fish and pasta for some red meat and eggs, and eat more salads, fruit and whole-grain breads and cereals.

(Runner's World, June 1985:43)

- 89) **Unlike a cold, a fever is not an illness.** Rather, it's a symptom that may indicate anything from a minor self-limiting infection to a quickly fatal illness like toxic shock syndrome.

(Runner's World, June 1985:44)

- 90) Feminist Theory  
**The feminist therapy will not assign specific traits to the traditionally defined client solely because the client is a woman.** Feminists look at women and men as having similar roles, not determined by anatomy ...

(Dworkin, 1984:302)

- 91) One of the (classical) questions Dascal addresses is how to tell semantics from pragmatics. **We are not going to reproduce the entire argument here,** but only recall that there are no reasons to propose that a strict conception of semantics based solely on the notion of truth may give to an "extended" conception of the domain of semantics...

(Dascal & Francoso, 1989:6)

- 92) Furthermore, **food composition data often are not current;** thus they fail to reflect changes in the nutrient composition resulting from new processing technology and manufacturing practices.

(Park et al., 1981:17)

- 93) **The basis of the vegetarian diet is not just "vegetables" as the name would imply;** rather there is a heavy reliance on whole grains, legumes, nuts, seeds, sprouts, and health food supplements.

(Freeland-Graves et al., 1980:651)

- 94) Business books keep getting hotter. A trio of them currently crowds the top of The New York Times best seller list [....].

**Unfortunately, the majority of new business titles are dreadful throwaways containing a handful of disposable ideas.** So the busy executive is left in a quandary. Are there business books that should be read? BWI surveyed the literature of management to come up with a bookshelf of indispensable reading...

(Business Week International,  
March 5, 1990:7)

- 95) **Gathering up old newspapers and plastic pop bottles for reuse isn't just a do-gooder cause.** The more garbage we recycle, the more precious landfill space we preserve.

(Business Week International,  
March 5, 1990:60)

- 96) While debates rage over what chemical farming may be doing to our farmlands over the long term [...], **there is no scientifically demonstrated difference between products grown with chemical fertilizers and those grown organically.** A bell pepper grown one way is the nutritional equivalent of a bell pepper grown the other way and even a scientist could not tell you which was which. Neither could your body. Actually, both organic and chemical fertilizers have their advantages and drawbacks and farmers generally use a combination of the two.

(Runner's World, March 1983:43)

- 97) Although several drugs are being tested on patients, only one AZT, has been approved by the Food & Drug Administration for general use. AZT helps slow the progress of the disease in many sufferers and prolongs lives, **but it does not eradicate the virus**, and it has toxic side effects. Treating AIDS is like trying to hit many targets at once, since the virus destroys the body's immune system and leaves the victim open to a multitude of afflictions.

(LLME, July 2, 1990:33)

- 98) **It's not just how long you age it.** It's what you age.

(LLME, November 27, 1989)

- 99) Overall, at least a dozen other ACE-inhibitors are in the pipeline.

**But the current ACE-inhibitors aren't perfect.** A small percentage of the otherwise healthy people who take them develop an annoying cough. Worse yet, they are ineffective in about 30% of users.

(Business Week International,  
November 20, 1989:102)

- 100) Investors loved IMM - **but it isn't selling many phones.**

(Business Week International,  
June 12, 1989:68)



101) Copies of all those documents [...] were dutifully filed away on computer disks, **but that really didn't help.** How, for instance, could a lawyer locate relevant information buried in documents created years before? Who could possibly grasp the contents of so much verbiage well enough to cross-index it all successfully?

(Business Week International,  
June 18, 1990:139)

102) To my knowledge, **no one has investigated the effects of such differences in the organization of English expository prose on the reading comprehension of ESL readers of varying linguistic [...] backgrounds.** We do not know whether different groups of ESL readers possess the appropriate formal schemata against which to process these various rhetorical structures, nor do we know whether there is a differential impact of these various rhetorical structures on different ESL readers. This study investigated these questions.

(Carrel, 1984:449)

103) ESL composition texts commonly treat paragraph development according to the traditional rhetorical categories of description, process, comparison/contrast, cause/effect, and so on [...]. **The suspicion thus arises that the conventional classroom models do not provide a completely accurate explanation of the ways in which real paragraphs may be structured.**

(Weissberg, 1984:486)

104) Sudbury Valley is a private school, **but it is nonselective.** It admits anyone who applies, age 4 to adult...

(Phi Delta Kappan, May 1984:609)

105) **At Sudbury Valley there is no curriculum. There are no academic requirements. There is no evaluation of students except when requested, no grades or other devices to rank them from best to worst. There is no school-imposed segregation of any kind - not by age, not by sex, not by ability.** Students are free to move about at will, using the school's laboratories, workshops, library, playground, and other resources [...]. The school employs a staff knowledgeable in all the

traditional academic subjects...

(Phi Delta Kappan, May 1984:609)

- 106) The school employs a staff knowledgeable in all the traditional academic subjects and in many others not often available in primary and secondary schools. **But staff members have no authority to enforce their ideas about what students should learn.** On the contrary, the school seeks out teachers who will pursue their own interests in vigorous, robust ways, while maintaining absolute respect for each student's right to map out his or her own activities.

(Phi Delta Kappan, May 1984:609)

- 107) Anyone with a passion for hanging labels on people or things should have little difficulty in recognizing that an apt tag for our time is the Unkempt generation. **I am not referring solely to college kids.** The sloppiness virus has spread to all sectors of American society. People go to all sorts of trouble and expense to look uncombed, unshaved, unpressed.

(LIME, April 2, 1990:46)

- 108) WHY MOSQUITO REPELLENTS REPELL  
**They are not substances that a mosquito somehow finds distasteful.** They jam the mosquito's sensors so that it is not able to follow the warm and moist air currents given off by a warm-blooded animal.

(Wright, 1975:104)

- 109) In another experiment Daykin began with all the mosquitoes at rest on one side of the cage. When about half of those mosquitoes had moved to the other side of the cage, he inserted a partition to separate the apparently active mosquitoes from the apparently sluggish ones. He then recorded the spontaneous flights in each half of the cage and found that the resting population in each group of mosquitoes had approximately the same half-life. **This showed that there was really no inherent difference in restlessness between the two groups.**

Daykin went on to show that...

(Wright, 1975:104)

- 110) There have been many suggestions that a special skin odor guides the mosquito, **but no such odors have yet been unequivocally identified.** Some people are more attractive than others to mosquitoes, but an optimum combination of warmth and humidity is more attractive than the most attractive arm or hand.

(Wright, 1975:104)

- 111) Although a mosquito may use its eyes to locate an object, **vision alone does not tell it whether the object is an inanimate one or a potential host.** Convection currents appear to be the clue that enables a mosquito to distinguish between lifeless objects and warm, living animals.

(Wright, 1975:107)

- 112) There are receptors on the antennae of mosquitoes that respond to chemical stimuli, including chemicals that are repellents, such as dinnethyl phthalate, and those that are non-repellent, such as acetone. **The fact that a receptor responds to a certain chemical does not tell us what the biological function of that receptor is.** The behavioural response of the mosquito to the chemical must also be studied. **We do not know the effect of repellents on the warmth sensors** because those sensors have not yet been identified.

(Wright, 1975:108-109)

- 113) The mechanism assumed is sexual selection based on female choice in a polygynous species. **This is not to suggest that sexual selection has been unimportant in monogamous birds [...].** Nor should one forget that most species of birds, including the well-studied white crowned sparrow, are **principally monogamous.** Thus, although my approach is in line with most theoretical work on sexual selection [...], the results presented here may have limited validity when applied to the evolution of bird songs in general.

(Aoki, 1989:599)

114) Despite many years of intense interest in the forces responsible for molecular evolution and polymorphism, **we are still without an adequate model that places natural selection as the primary force.** The obstacles to such a theory have included the difficulty of choosing a biologically compelling model from the infinity of possibilities and the intractable mathematics associated with selection models. This paper develops an approach that offers a solution to both of these problems. It leads to a model of molecular evolution that is in remarkable agreement with the available molecular data on the variation within and between species.

(Gillespie, 1989:638)

115) Pertussis was a major cause of childhood morbidity and mortality in the world until the introduction of a whole-cell vaccine in the 1940s which produced a dramatic decrease in the incidence of the disease. **Yet today, pertussis is still a major health problem in third-world countries, where it is a leading cause of childhood mortality.**

(Friedman, 1988:365)

116) Fitness gyms, lap pools and running trails are the norm these days at many of the finer hotels where busy executives tend to stay. **But those same executives often forget to bring their athletic shoes on the road with them.**

In response, some hotels now offer "loaner" shoes to guests at no charge. For example, the ritzy River Place Alexis Hotel in Portland, Oregon, stocks washable Nike cross-training shoes, as well as warm-up suits. "We started the program in March," says Nelson Ferris [...], and it's been so successful we're talking with three major chains about putting our shoes in their hotels..."

(Runner's World, January 1989:9)

117) Most people carry identification with them when they travel or drive a car, **but few runners bother to carry any ID when they go for a run. Unfortunately, such an oversight could spell disaster if an accident occurs while you're running.**

That's why Michael Sivore [...] created the Health Access Card, an emergency information card. "The Health Access Card gives people the option of having their medical histories at their disposal, which proves useful in emergencies", says Dr Sivore. "And to make it easy, we're designing a card that can be laced to a runner's shoe".

(Runner's World, February 1989:17)

- 118) Every champion swimmer practices with a coach who spends at least few minutes of each session simply studying technique. The coach observes the swimmer's form, then points out and corrects mistakes. This feedback system identifies stroke problems.

**But if your access to coaching is limited, a videocamera can help fill the void. "To improve technique, nothing beats seeing yourself swim," says Sherry Ruth, a former All-American swimmer.**

(Runner's World, February 1989:26)

- 119) "There seems to be no end to the contradictory statements made about human obesity," writes Jules Hirsh, M.D. and Rudolph Leibel, M.D., [...] "Here are a few. Obesity is the result of a metabolic defect; no, it is no more the unfettered drive for pleasure derived from eating. Obesity is genetically determined; no, it is the consequence of an abundance of foods and a sedentary lifestyle. Obesity can be reversed by sensible changes in lifestyle; no, five-year treatment successes are practically non-existent".

**Mind you, those contradictory conclusions are based not on a casual viewing of the human population by an untrained eye, but on systematic scientific research.**

(Runner's World, February 1989:34)

- 120) Add arthritis to the long list of ailments regular running can help prevent. In fact, **lifelong runners generally don't develop arthritis**, and evidence continues to mount in support of weight loss and regular exercise as keys to protection against developing degenerative osteoarthritis.

(Runner's World, March 1989:20)

- 121) Marathoners have long known that weather conditions strongly influence performance, and experts assume that air temperature and relative humidity are the two most important variables. **However, a new study of Boston Marathon times leads to a different conclusion.**

(Runner's World, May 1989:10)

- 122) Despite the clearly defined health benefits of running, **skeptics continue to cast shadows on the heart-healthy effects of running [...]**

To provide runners with knowledgeable responses to such skepticism, James K Stoller, M.D., [...] performed heartbeat calculations [...] "While these calculations are not based on scientific research, we believe that the numbers do support the benefits of regular conditioning and allay concerns about the risks of literally 'running your heart out', says Dr Stoller.

(Runner's World, May 1989:19)

- 123) Runners constantly worry about what to eat -or not eat- before a race to avoid stomach upset and hunger pains.

Some choose a small, low-sugar, high-carbohydrate pre-race meal just to prevent the "munchies". Others don't eat at all before racing, fearing stomach upset. **But these low-calorie habits have a downside:** skimping on food before exercise can leave you short on fuel, especially during a long race.

In the past, nutritionists advised athletes to eat light pre-race meals [...]

**But that advice's changing.** Experts now say that if you want to race well, be prepared to eat more before you step to the starting line. New Research [...] suggests that you'll run better if you consume lots of carbohydrates up to an hour before exercise than if you nibble on toast or eat nothing at all.

(Runner's World, May 1989:20)

- 124) **Unfortunately, many who undertake modified vegetarian diets plan meals poorly,** partly because of today's hectic lifestyles, but also because they don't realize that when they reduce meat intake, they may be creating a nutrient void. Those who follow strict vegetarian diets and eliminate meats, eggs and dairy products are fully aware that they need to replace any lost nutrients by eating grains, beans, soymilk and green leafy vegetables for their protein, B vitamins, iron and calcium.

(Runner's World, July 1989:22)

125) A recent poll of endurance athletes revealed that over half ate meat less than once a week and dairy products less than once a day. **Yet few replaced these foods with vegetarian sources of protein, calcium or iron.** While these athletes typically consumed what they considered healthy diets - cereal without milk, salad, vegetables, pasta without beef, chicken, fish or cooked beans - **they fell far short of ideal protein, iron and calcium intakes.**

(Runner's World, July 1989:23)

126) Olive oil is better suited for salads or dishes in which you desire the heavier olive flavor. Or try "light" olive oil, which offers the benefits of monounsaturated fats without the heavy olive taste. Don't be confused by the word "light". **These oils are not lower in fat or calories,** since only the olive residue has been filtered out, leaving a lighter color and flavor.

(Runner's World, August 1989:25)

127) Despite all we have learned in recent years about heatstroke, **runners continue to fall victim to it in races.** Heatstroke can be a catastrophe, but it need not be. First we must take the necessary precautions to avoid heatstroke; and second, when it does occur, it must be managed correctly.

(Runner's World, July 1989:16)

128) All this seems to have become such a common practice that the number of heat injuries sustained in race declines each year. **Nevertheless, in every race some runners push too hard or don't stop for water because they may lose time.** Most of these people are highly motivated recreational runners or newcomers to the sport. And they are the ones who collapse with heatstroke.

(Runner's World, July 1989:16)

129) While a modified vegetarian diet sounds quite promising, keep in mind that **a diet that includes very little meat is not necessarily better for you than a diet that regularly includes meat.** A poorly planned modified vegetarian diet can actually be worse for you than a conventional meat diet because the indiscriminate omission of meat, fish, poultry and dairy products can leave you short on protein and other key nutrients.

(Runner's World, July 1989:22)

- 130) **The single greatest mistake runners make when self-treating an injury is to use heat on the affected area.** In nearly every instance, you should apply ice to soft tissue injuries rather than heat. Why? Consider that a damaged tendon or muscle is usually inflamed, and inflammation is heat. When you apply additional heat to the injured area, you direct more blood flow to that area, increasing the swelling and pain.

(Runner's World, July 1989:24)

- 131) **Even conscientious runners who regularly stretch their lower bodies and backs may be neglecting another equally important area - their upper bodies.** And runners who swim, golf or play tennis or volleyball will especially benefit from regular upper body stretches.

To stretch the shoulder, chest and upper arm muscles, start by grasping your hands behind your back with fingers interlaced...

(Runner's World, July 1989:28)

- 132) Nearly all runners know that dehydration leaves body fluids too concentrated and that they must replace water lost during a hard workout. **But few realize that body fluids can become too dilute.** This occurs when you sweat out large quantities of salt, while taking in large quantities of pure water.

(Runner's World, July 1989:80)

- 133) Last, and certainly least desired, are saturated fats. They boost blood cholesterol levels [...]

**Not all saturated fats, however, are bad.** For example, stearic acid, found in beef fat, the cocoa butter in chocolate, butter and other animal fats, may actually lower blood cholesterol levels.

(Runner's World, July 1989:25)

- 134) **Many runners don't take walking too seriously as a fitness activity.** However, race walking, or even fast walking, might help you run better.

(Runner's World, July 1989:32)



- 135) Too many runners take an all-or-nothing position when it comes to desserts - they try to eliminate them entirely from their diet or feel guilty every time they do eat one. **Unfortunately, this approach often backfires.** "Tell someone to kill all desserts from their diet and the end result is that two weeks later they go on a binge", says nutritionist Liz Applegate, Ph.D. "And when they binge, they make up for lost time. We're raised to expect and enjoy dessert, and I think it's kind of futile to fight it".

(Runner's World, September  
1989:43)

- 136) While fat is clearly a bad guy, **sugar isn't. That's a hard notion for many runners to accept.** Sugar is an empty calorie, after all. **It doesn't contain any nutrients.** And we all know sugar has no friends among dentists. But nutritionists have come to see sugar in a new light, at least for active people who crave desserts and don't have a serious weight problem.

(Runner's World, September  
1989:44)

- 137) Many runners suffering from injuries turn to ibuprofen, a non-steroidal anti-inflammatory (NSAID), for relief from pain and to lessen inflammation. **But this drug may do more harm than good - at least to your gastrointestinal system.**

(Runner's World, October  
1989:16)

- 138) Training has become so much more than miles of running, circles of speedwork and waves of hills to build strength. In the never-ending search for better performances, we consume large quantities of carbo-loading pasta, pop vitamins every morning, swill a cup or two of nerve-zinging coffee before a race. We try carbohydrate-loading drinks, protein-replacement beverages, energy loading snacks. Some runners even swallow spoonfuls of bee pollen. **Unfortunately, the effects of many of these attempts are questionable or minimal at best.**

Aside from illegal and dangerous stimulants, steroids and blood doping, what can a runner do to improve performance? The answer may be minerals, specifically phosphorous, chromium and iron. Recent research shows that these simple substances may enhance athletic ability.

(Runner's World, October 1989:18)

- 139) As for physical benefits, research has shown that a dose of caffeine before exercise can enhance performance...**but not in everyone**. Besides acting as a stimulant, caffeine also hastens muscle contraction and affects energy use.

(Runner's World, November 1989:23)

- 140) But O'Melia cautions people about sticking fast to idiosyncrasies. "Be flexible. A lot of your success has to do with your diet throughout your training period, **not just what you eat the night before a race**".

That's not to say you should discount the value of the last hit of food you eat before a race. Suppose, for example, you get at 6 a.m. for a late-morning marathon. Feeling excited and not particularly hungry, you skip breakfast. Just about the time is everyone is gathering at the starting line, it hits you: you haven't eaten anything in 14 hours.

If, however, you've eaten an English muffin before the race, you know that you compensated for some of the glycogen your body used while you were asleep.

(Runner's World, November 1989:42)

- 141) In theory, the energy equation looks simple. If you burn calories on one side, you must add them on the other side to make things equal. More exercise means you burn more calories and therefore need more calories, right? Not quite. **The energy equation isn't that simple**. Research shows that some athletes eat less than their sedentary friends despite exercising at levels that would theoretically boost their caloric needs by 50 per cent.

(Runner's World, December 1989:22)

- 142) Correction is provided in the oral language classroom to help learners identify problematic areas, reformulate rules in their minds, and thus speak more accurately. **However, many correction techniques seem to frustrate and intimidate rather than enlighten**. This article reviews the literature on correction and discusses some of the shortcomings of commonly used correction techniques. It then goes on to describe how certain features of the cloze procedure can be adapted into a simple correction procedure which is effective in eliciting self- and peer-corrections from students.

(Gainer, 1989:45)

- 143) There is a growing body of opinion that effective second-language learning is greatly facilitated by interactive language use. Summarizing recent research in this area, Pica (1987:4) concludes that "the learning environment must include opportunities for learners to engage in meaningful social interaction with users of the second language if they are to discover the linguistic and sociocultural rules necessary for second-language comprehension and production". Similar claims have been presented by Allwright (1984), Heath (1986), Long (1981), Strevens (1987), and many others. **An important aspect of these claims is that the second-language teacher's typical classroom interaction with learners is probably not the best form of meaningful social interaction from which learners might benefit.** As has been argued by Doughty & Pica (1986) (...), the type of interaction normally found in the language classroom is often structured around the simple fact that the teacher's role is that of expert, evaluator and, no matter how informal, ultimately the one in control. **The effect on interaction is essentially that the learner's participation is shaped and constrained, in specific ways, by the teacher.** Awareness of this effect has led to many suggestions for overcoming it (...), and we would like to add another, based on our experience of attempting to meet the spoken English needs of a particular group of learners.

(Yule & Gregory, 1989:142)

- 144) Thickens controllably. **Won't over thicken. No cooking necessary.** Dissolves easily. Neutral taste. Helps hydrate patients. **Won't bind fluids.** Contributes calories but low in sodium.

(Journal of the American Dietetic Association, July 1990)

145) Doctors have warned about the dangers of high blood pressure for nearly a century, ever since U.S. brain surgeon Harvey Cushing and others noted that measuring blood flow was a good way of determining how much stress the heart was under. **But exactly what physicians mean by "high" has shifted over the years.** Now it appears that the danger point may be lower than previously thought.

Dr Michael Horan, associate director of cardiology at the U.S. National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute, agreed: "The message is that borderline patients should no longer be neglected. These people could already be in trouble".

**The definition of borderline is not clear-cut.** In general, scientists see blood pressure as a continuum: the higher the reading, the greater the risk of stroke and heart disease.

...But in this study of nearly 1000 patients, the researchers found that even people with a mean blood pressure of 130/94 already showed the warning signs of cardiovascular problems. The muscle in their hearts had become less elastic, and failed to relax completely between contractions.

Horan stressed that **the findings do not mean that all patients in this blood-pressure range should immediately start taking hypertension medication,** but he did recommend life-style changes aimed at bringing the numbers down.

(TIME, July 30, 1990:45)

146) **You don't have to read the fine print.** Just tell your GE Tech Rep what you need. He'll be there, doing everything he can to keep your engines flying on-time and profitably.

(Business Week International,  
August 13, 1990: cover)

147) American perceptions of Korea have come a long way since the days when the prevailing image of the country came from TV's MASH. In the past decade, South Korea has become an industrial giant and has begun to play a more important role in world affairs. But while we now have a sense of a more varied nation, **a dearth of literature has kept our understanding of the U.S.'s sixth-largest trading partner inexcusably superficial.**

Until now. In *The Shadow in the Sun: A Korean Year of Love and Sorrow*, Michael Shapiro shows us a Korea beyond Hyundai cars and those shots of riot police aired by U.S. networks on slow news days...

(Business Week International,  
August 13, 1990:6)

- 148) Based on more than 150 interviews, Working for the Japanese provides a richly detailed view of a Japanese plant as seen from the line. Readers share in the workers' search for descent jobs, pride in making the cut after the long application process, and gradual disillusionment on the job. Most of the plant's woes have been reported before - **but not with such power.**

(Business Week International,  
August 20, 1990:6)

- 149) Still, Working for the Japanese too often fails to place events in the broader context of the international auto industry; it never discusses, for example, how Mazda is doing in the market. David Gelsanliter's Jump Start sets out to deliver the missing context by assessing the impact of the Honda, Nissan, and Toyota plants in America. **But the anecdotes he collects tell little about the state of the industry, Japanese or American.**

(Business Week International,  
August 20, 1990:6)

- 150) Jump Start relates how, when safety became an issue in the Nissan union vote, Nissan chose to pay a fine rather than comply with state law and release its injury records. **But we never learn whether the Smyrna plant was more dangerous than other plants or than management claimed.** It's just one of several unsatisfying segments in a book that skips from plant to plant, issue to issue.

(Business Week International,  
August 20, 1990:6)

- 151) If you know Ball Corp. at all, you probably remember it for the glass fruit jars used by generations of cooks to preserve summer's bounty for the dark depths of winter. **But the company, based in Muncie, Ind., is much more than the mainstay of the jelly cupboard.** Long a minor player in aerospace, it positioned itself as a high-tech defense contractor during the 1980s, building components for the Strategic Defense Initiative & Stealth Bomber.

(Business Week International,  
August 20, 1990:38)

- 152) **In the linguistic literature the notion of concession has never been dealt with in any great depth.** A plausible reason for this is that by no means an easy task to characterize this semantic concept. Linguists have analyzed the relation between the matrix clause and the adverbial concessive clause differently (...)

The thesis of this paper is that concession can not be defined in a simple and straightforward way.

(Aaarts, 1988:39-40)

- 153) Customers' complaints about food temperatures are concerns common to managers in all foodservice settings. **Foodservice managers trying to avoid such complaints will find little information in the literature on consumers' temperature preferences for food at point of consumption [...]**

A series of research studies was undertaken to determine the temperature preferences of three age groups for a ...

(Brown et al., 1985:1339)

- 154) Yet the greatest exposures to airborne combustion products, volatile toxic chemicals and radioactivity are typically **not outdoors** but inside residences, offices and other nonindustrial buildings - settings that traditionally have been neglected by pollution-control agencies.

(Nero, 1988:24)

- 155) These animal studies and others demonstrated that bacterial products could indeed lead to the destruction of cancers, **but the findings by no means explained how they did so.** Test-tube studies provided a hint: **neither LPS nor BCG inhibited or killed tumor cells directly.** Surely the microbial action was indirect and was mediated by something in the host.

(Old, 1988:42)

- 156) Health professionals long have urged their patients to eat a complete breakfast as part of a healthy diet. **Still, many people start their day with little more than a cup of coffee.** This insert reviews the reasons why breakfast is important.

(Journal of the American Dietetic Association, July 1990, ad)

- 157) Perhaps rather surprisingly, **beef has no more cholesterol than chicken.** Even roast chicken without skin.

That was the finding of a new USDA study on beef nutrient composition.

(Journal of the American Dietetic Association, October 1985)

- 158) **Prior to 1958, no commercial low-phenylalanine formulas were available for treatment of PKU.** Knowledge of foods to include in the diet was limited, and most patients were treated after mental damage had occurred. Lofenalace <sup>®</sup> became commercially available in 1958, and for the first time it was possible to manage a low phenylalanine diet successfully in the United States. Still, most patients had impaired mental development because of late diagnosis. Mass screening for PKU among newborn infants began in the early 1960s. Now infants affected with Pku are identified and treated during the neonatal period, and the risks associated with untreated PKU have been reduced significantly.

(footnote) **Brand names are used in this article not as an endorsement for the products but rather for the sake of clarity.**

(Hunt et al., 1985:1338)

- 159) In these works, the word "citation" has been understood to mean "work cited", yet "citation" refers not only to the work cited but also to the action of citing [...]

The analysis of a cited work typically involves properties suggested by its bibliographic description - author, title, place, and date of publication - a description which is relatively standardized. In the analysis of the action of citing, however, **no such convenient indicators exist to enable us to distinguish between different categories of citation activity.** Data about the motives, purposes, and functions of citations must be inferred from the context in which the citations appear.

(Frost, 1979:399)

- 160) Data about the motives, purposes, and functions of citations must be inferred from the context in which the citations appear. The relationship of the cited work must be determined from clues given by the citing author. Although conventions exist for describing what is being cited, **explicit guidelines as to when and why a citation is made are conspicuously lacking.**

(Frost, 1979:400)

- 161) So I thought it might be interesting to find out whether any of the organizations in the study used GreenNet. The result was disappointing, with only Greenpeace actually connected and Merlin and New Consumer thinking about it. **Even Greenpeace did not make much use of it in the U.K.** It seems that GreenNet is more widely used in America. This illustrates a general finding of the study: **good sources of information will not emerge independently of strong demand for them.**

(Business Information Review,  
January 1990:8)

- 162) Not only would the guide need to show which databases are available, who produces them and what they contain, but it would also need to help the user on how to search each database, giving clear examples. There are many studies on environmental databases, **but no one has put the results together in a guide to environmental databases.**

(Business Information Review,  
January 1990:9)

- 163) Its feet are webbed and, although it has mammary glands with which it suckles its young, **it does not give birth** but lay eggs that are incubated and hatch outside the body.

(Griffiths, 1988:60)

- 164) **Egg laying in the platypus has never been seen**, but it is surmised that the female platypus sits on her rump so that the eggs, which are covered with a sticky secretion, pass directly from the cloaca to the abdomen.

(Griffiths, 1988:63)



165) Because only females that have laid eggs produce milk, studies of milk let-down provide a gauge of how many females in a given year are breeding. In this way investigators have determined that **female platypuses do not breed every year.**

Monotreme milk, like the milk of marsupials, differs from that of placental mammals...

(Griffiths, 1988:64)

166) The division of labor checklists and adjustment are described below. **The interview will not be described** because it was largely exploratory and was used in this report to derive background information (e.g., length of marriage, maternal employment status).

(Goldberg et al., 1985:487)

167) Although studies having to do with the consequences of divorce were in abundance, there were few addressing the question of who and why. **The limitations in quantity, however, were not reflected in the quality or innovation of the work that is being done.** The articles in this issue attest to that observation.

(Booth, 1985:251)

168) It has been estimated that nearly 50% of recent marriage cohorts will experience marital dissolution (National Center for Health Statistics, 1980a). **However, these figures do not necessarily signal a massive rejection of marriage and family life,** as most individuals who experience marital dissolution eventually remarry.

(Teachman & Heckert, 1985:185)

169) For women in the intermediate ages, children are less important because a greater proportion of all women are mothers, **but not such a large proportion as to define a childless woman as deviant.**

(Teachman & Heckert, 1985:185)

170) **What Lithuania is experiencing, therefore, is not betrayal, nor is it appeasement.** It is tragedy.

(LIME, April 16, 1990:52)

171) But his invasion nearly ended in disaster, and although, in the following year, he succeeded in pushing north of the Thames with the help of some British tribes, **he effected no conquest and rapidly withdrew.** In Rome, Cicero made scathing remarks about the paucity of the treasure that resulted from Caesar's foray, while in Gaul, Vercingetorix seized the moment to launch a revolt against Roman rule.

(Mountfield, 1978:8)

172) The disparaging eye of the Roman invader saw the British as a race of primitives, barbarians who painted their bodies blue with woad. But in this case Caesar exaggerated. **The British were not savages, nor were they entirely unfamiliar with Latin culture.** The Belgae, a Celtic people who settled in Britain only one or two generations before Caesar's invasion, were closely in touch by Roman customs, while trade contacts between Britain and the Mediterranean world dated from a much earlier time.

(Mountfield, 1978:8)

173) **The Celts were not the original inhabitants of Britain,** although people now living in the so-called "Celtic fringe" (Scotland, Wales and Southwest England) sometimes talk as if they were. Like the Romans themselves, the Celts were merely one of a succession of invaders who moved into Britain from the east.

(Mountfield, 1978:8)

174) Place names in most of England today testify to the permanence of their settlements.

**Not only the names of places but the Anglo-Saxon language itself survived,** to form the basis of modern English (though Anglo-Saxon is incomprehensible except to students of it).

(Mountfield, 1978:15)

175) **Alfred's greatness does not rest on his generalship alone.** A highly intelligent, humane and pious man, he sought to raise the standard of civilization among his people by means of education, religion and just laws.

(Mountfield, 1978:19)

- 176) **This type of society was not alien to England.** The seeds of it at least existed in pre-Norman times, and though Norman customs were different, for instance in the essentially military character of feudal relationships, all the Normans had to do was to release potentials already present.

(Mountfield, 1978:27)

- 177) **Not everyone, even in the 11th century, worked on the land.** There were fishermen and sailors and, under the Norman kings, town life grew rapidly.

(Mountfield, 1978:27)

- 178) **The great advances in law and administration during the 12th century were not inventions of King Henry II;** but Henry, whose fierce energy imposed a greater degree of peace and stability on his kingdom, provided the environment in which they could take firm root.

(Mountfield, 1978:31)

- 179) **The use of juries, the best remembered aspect of the judicial and administrative progress in the reign of Henry II, was, again, nothing new.** The data gathered by William I's agents when Domesday Book was being compiled were provided by juries...

(Mountfield, 1978:31)

- 180) The British constitution in the 18th century was the object of almost universal commendation, earning the praise of Montesquieu and Voltaire among others. Englishmen complacently believed that they had found the way to reconcile law and liberty.

**The Crown was by no means bereft of power:** government was still the king's government and the king chose his ministers.

(Mountfield, 1978:78)

- 181) These signs of growing prosperity undoubtedly attracted Roman attention, though Caesar and his officers would not have been impressed by what is for us the most exciting aspect of ancient British culture - Celtic art, with its bold, abstract designs, especially in bronze and enamel work. **Caesar made no comment on Celtic art** (perhaps he did not see any) and he was predictably scornful of Celtic religion, dominated by a powerful priestly caste, the Druids, who controlled justice and education, just as they were.

(Mountfield, 1978:10)

- 182) **The Roman retreat [...] did not mean an immediate collapse of Romano-British society**, but it did leave the British in a very difficult situation.

(Mountfield, 1978:14-15)

- 183) **The economic slump of the 1870s was not confined to Britain**, but its results were more significant there than anywhere else.

(Mountfield, 1978:102)

- 184) **However Britain, like other countries, is no longer master of its own destinies - if it ever was.** The future really depends on factors far outside British control, perhaps out of anyone's control.

(Mountfield, 1978:123)

- 185) Any discussion of status and socioemotional behaviour in task groups must begin with Bales (1950, 1953; Bales and Hare 1965). **The focus of Bales's work was not on status hierarchies per se** but on the development and maintenance of equilibrium in task groups. Nevertheless, his work set the stage for contemporary approaches to face-to-face status processes.

(Ridgeway & Johnson, 1990:1189)

- 186) Because of a better informed public, a greater social awareness on the part of the students, and the instant dissemination of news by the mass media, graffiti became more literate, more self-conscious, more concerned with political and social issues. **The coarseness, the bawdiness, the vulgarity, the puns, the humor, did not disappear.** But more and more they were being used as techniques in the service of satire or polemics.

(D'angelo, 1976:103)

187) **The battle isn't over** but we are winning.

(Journal of the American  
Dietetic Association, 1987:8)

188) The pioneer promoters of English colonization were two aristocrats, both of them friends of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his half-brother Sir Walter Raleigh. **Neither of them, however, succeeded in founding a permanent colony.**

(Current & Goodwin, 1975:9)

189) Originally the London merchants intended to start a trading post, **not an agricultural settlement.** They planned to ship out English manufactures for barter with the Indians and to bring back goods received from the Indians in exchange, as well as goods produced by their own employees.

(Current & Goodwin, 1975:9)

190) Making friends with the neighbouring Indians, he argued that the land belonged to them and **not to the king or to the Massachusetts Bay Company.** The Massachusetts government decided to deport him as a dangerous character.

(Current & Goodwin, 1975:12)

191) Colonial shipowning merchants came to dominate the overseas commerce that developed. Some of them invested part of their gains in timberlands, sawmills, shipyards, and other profitable properties. As they got rich, these businessmen might remain good Puritans. **The Puritans did not necessarily disapprove of worldly success.** Indeed, it might even seem like a sign of God's favor.

(Current & Goodwin, 1975:14)

192) Every American is an immigrant or a descendant of immigrants. This has always been true, **for human life did not originate in America.** Its peoples came from Asia, Europe, or Africa.

(Current & Goodwin, 1975:31)

193) **The word "Indians" does not accurately describe the aborigines of the New World, since they had nothing to do with India or the Indies, despite Columbus' belief. The term "Native Americans" is no more precise, however, for everybody born in America - whatever the ethnic background - is a native American.**

(Current & Goodwin, 1975:31)

194) **In contrast to other Latin American nations, Argentina has not been confronted with the problem of integrating and economically elevating a large Indian population.** Her middle class is the largest in Latin America, comprising from 40 to 50 per cent of the population of approximately 24 million, and roughly 90 per cent of that population is categorized as being effectively literate.

(Goldwert, 1972:XI)

195) **The necessary political concensus was absent; there was no agreement of political parties on how power was to be used and how it was to be transferred.** Political hate, destined to become a permanent feature of Argentine life, developed between the oligarchy and the middle class.

(Goldwert, 1972:XV)

196) **The military coup which overthrew Yrigoyen in 1930 marks the rise of modern militarism in Argentina. And yet most of the army officer-corps, middle class, nationalistic, and pro-Radical, did not participate in the coup.** It was minority factions of the Argentine army that toppled the Radicals at a time when that party showed signs of moving leftward into the areas of economic nationalism and social welfare.

(Goldwert, 1972:XVI)

197) **Perón was never the complete master of the Argentine army.** From the very outside of his regime, the officer corps of the army was divided into three groups: those who had supported his candidacy; those who had opposed him to the point of seeking his resignation and retirement from the army; and those, probably the majority, who had remained neutral in the struggle.

(Goldwert, 1972:100)

198) True, the U.S. ban on importing coal and agricultural products cost South Africa more than \$400 million in lost trade (much of it replaced by increased sales to Asia), and the suspension of most new investment from abroad has reduced the country's economic growth rate by about 30%, to the current 2,2%. **But such statistics by themselves do not add up to success.**

(LIME, February 5, 1990:23)

199) Today most whites are eager to end the pain and regain a place among civilized nations. Yet they are also angry and resentful, blaming Americans in particular for what they see as rank hypocrisy. Many insist that the U.S. has lost, **not gained**, leverage over South African policies.

(LIME, February 5, 1990:27)

200) Conversation is a social activity, one that always involves two or more people. **Talking to oneself is not conversation**, whatever else it is. Conversation is therefore a cooperative endeavour.

(Wardhaugh, 1985:49)

201) Endings become a particularly delicate matter. **They cannot be arbitrarily imposed by one party on another:** They must be negotiated in some way.

(Wardhaugh, 1985:49)

202) Cooperative behaviour is also sharing behaviour. **You cannot monopolize a conversation:** you must offer others the opportunity to say something even though they may decline that opportunity.

(Wardhaugh, 1985:50)

203) **Learning another language is not just learning how to say something in a new way;** it is also knowing what can be said and exactly how to say it 'right'.

(Wardhaugh, 1985:51)

- 204) **Past performance is no guarantee of future success.** But it's something to consider.

(Business Week International,  
December 25, 1990:51)

- 205) In particular, we shall insist on the principle that it is speakers and writers who have topics, **not texts.**

(Brown & Yule, 1983:68)

- 206) As a way of characterizing the type of feature which will be required in a topic framework, we shall examine a fragment of conversational discourse and try to determine what is "being talked about". **The fragment, presented as (5), is not a constructed piece of text,** it is taken from a recorded conversation.

(Brown & Yule, 1983:75)

- 207) **The process gain  $K_p$  is not dimension-free.** It can however be made dimension free by multiplication with a suitable controller gain.

(Aström et al., 1989)

- 208) In Frankle & Markosian (1985), Expert System Adaptive Control (ESAC) is described. The system consists of a self-tuning regulator augmented with three different expert system modules: the system identifier, the control system designer and the control implementation supervisor. **A real-time version of the system has not been implemented.**

(Automatica, 25, 6, 1989:815)

- 209) Fundamental theoretical work concerning the amount of process knowledge that is needed to stabilize a process has been carried out by, e.g. Nussbaum (1983) and Martensson (1986). **The resulting control algorithms have, however, not yet proved practically usable.**

(Automatica, 25, 6, 1989:815)



- 210) The sacred hymns of the aryas were transmitted orally **and were not written down until the eighteenth century A.D.** They contain references to the aborigines or indigenous population in India whom they confronted as conquerors: they called them the *dasus* or *Dasyus* and described them as small, dark-skinned and flat-faced. **The Dasus did not speak an Aryan language** and were described as "hostile-speaking" by their conquerors who regarded them with a mixture of contempt and fear.

(Daniel, 1968:96)

- 211) These oracle records show that the Shang kings resorted to scapulimancy in all sorts of matters such as sacrificial ceremonies, natural phenomena (weather and harvests), crops and general agricultural queries, wars and military expeditions, [...]. **Unfortunately [...] they do not give us a full and clear picture of the Shang civilization.** Their value is further restricted by the fact that some of the Shang kings were not devoted to scapulimancy. Those who were are exemplified by King Wuting.

(Daniel, 1968:130)

- 212) Greek furnaces occasionally, and doubtless at first accidentally, produced cast iron. Pausanias (second century A.D.) tells that one "Theodorus of Samos was the first to discover how to pour (or melt) iron and make statues of it". **Unfortunately he says nothing of the furnaces necessary to produce the high temperature required.** Cast iron figures of animals, assigned to the seventh or sixth century B.C., have been recorded from Cyprus. Such statues were probably quite small...

(Bromehead, 1957:6-7)

- 213) The Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian kings issued coins of gold, silver and bronze, **but we do not know whether these coins were minted entirely from loot or tribute or survivals from the past ages, or from metals won by mining.** That the period saw profound changes is obvious. The greatest activity was in central Europe.

(Bromehead, 1957:10-11)

214) Flour was of much poorer quality in Roman times than is commonly assumed, **for the wheat was not thoroughly cleaned before the rather coarse grinding and sifting.** Our modern white flour is the product of a 70-75 per cent extraction, but most ancient flour was simply whole-grain meal, and even among the sifted flours an 80 per cent extraction was common.

(Forbes, 1957:104)

215) a) Cider and Perry. Other plants besides barley and vines yield decoctions suitable for fermentation. Early attempts, on apples and pears in particular, often failed because of too low a sugar-content. Though wild pears and apples grew in prehistoric Europe, **no appreciable amount of alcoholic drinks was produced from them.** Cultivated apples [...] were introduced from the east by way of the Mediterranean, and the Romans knew many kinds.

(Forbes, 1957:139)

216) Improvement in cereal cultivation introduced a wider variety of farinaceous foods. Meat was now mainly obtained from domesticated animals; the chase tended to become the pastime of the rich, though fishing still supplied food for the masses. With the coming of writing, we can supplement the data from excavations, **for climates generally do not allow the survival of foods.**

In Egypt, cereals formed a substantial proportion of the diet.

(Forbes, 1956:271)

217) As far back as the Pyramid age the saddle-quern was raised on a base inclining slightly away from the miller, thus enabling him to grind more energetically. The millstone carried on its farther side a cup in which the flour collected. **There is no trace of rotary querns in Egypt before Hellenistic times.**

In Mesopotamia, several forms of handmills were known by the end of the Upper Palaeolithic.

(Forbes, 1956:275)

218) We thus have different names for date-wines prepared from exactly the same dates, dried figs, and raisins, but of widely differing tastes. The high alcohol-content made subsequent fermentation impossible, hence such a beverage could be stored for a year or so. **There was no knowledge of distillation in antiquity.**

The intoxicating drink of ancient Palestine bears a name that seems closely related to that of the Mesopotamian date-wine.

(Forbes, 1956:277)

219) The maltose is an important factor in the specific sweet taste of the beer. **Malting was not invented for brewing**, and is older than the baking of loaves of bread: it was intended to make cereals and other seeds or fruits more palatable. Such foodstuffs can be made pleasanter and more digestible by the germination...

(Forbes, 1956:278)

220) In later times, the dregs of a previous fermentation were added to the mash of beer-bread. For Egypt, there is evidence that a pure, or almost pure, yeast was available by 1500 BC. **There is no evidence for Mesopotamia**, but leavening was known about the same time all over the Middle East.

(Forbes, 1956:279)

221) Documents that show or describe the manufacture of incense are few, and often represent the artist's impressions rather than technical details. **No form of distillation was used.** The only three processes available for producing perfumes from flowers, fruit, and seeds were enfleurage, maceration, and expression.

(Forbes, 1956:289)

222) The unguent, if solid on cooling, was shaped into different forms, mostly balls or cones. The instrument for this operation is crescent-shaped, the inner rim being formed by two small semi-circles. **The method of its application is unknown.**

The Old Testament mentions both male and female ointment-compounders.

(Forbes, 1956:292)

- 223) **Your sympathy cannot help a refugee.** But it is a beginning.

(ILME; November 27, 1989:49)

- 224) **Taking the Celtic island as a whole, agriculture was not the preoccupation it became in Saxon and medieval times.** Hunting, fishing, herding, weaving, bee-keeping, metal work, carpentry, and, above all, fighting occupied most of the time and thought of a small population scattered wide over a land not yet drained and deforested.

(Trevelyan, 1977:27)

- 225) Objection may be taken to the word "Nordic", as to all terms invented in after times for historical purposes. But to give a just conception of British history, a single word must sometimes be employed to cover the German, the Anglo-Saxon, and the Scandinavian peoples of the Fifth Century.

(footnote) **This use of "Nordic" does not imply the ideological meaning of the word in Nazi Germany which is founded neither in history nor biology.**

(Trevelyan, 1977:37)

- 226) While the more glamorous aspects of the ASIC design have held the industry captive, **testing complex ASICs for manufacturing has been all but forgotten [...].**

In the face of an absence of test discipline, compounded by the fact that no single design-for-test (DFT) methodology has emerged as a clearcut choice, silicon and software vendors alike are scrambling for ways to help users achieve maximum fault coverage for complex ASICs. Time-to-market, cost and performance are at stake.

(Tuck, 1990:22)

- 227) FIFO buffers have been around for a long time. Vendors such as Texas Instruments (Dallas, Tx) have been building shallow, fast bipolar FIFOs for years [...]

On paper, the devices look like ideal solutions to many system data-flow problems. FIFOs can solve speed mismatches between communicating devices [...] **But for some reason, despite their obvious usefulness in system design, FIFOs haven't caught on that well.**

Cypress and TI have taken complementary approaches to solving the design-in problems...

(Wilson, 1990:34)

- 228) Those little credit card-sized memory cards have been floating around for several years, promising great things for small, portable, ruggedized and embedded systems - and even desktop systems. **But they haven't yet had a huge impact on mainstream system design.** The little cards come in quite a variety [...]. But for these possibilities to become realities, there have to be some standards. Toward that end, the Personal Computer Memory Card International Association [...] is working with the Japan Electronic Industries Development Association [...], to develop a standard for memory cards to be used in small systems.

(Williams, 1990:50)

- 229) Despite the emergence of these new packages, **many designers are still trying to get the most out of traditional through-hole designs.** "Space on through-hole boards is a major problem today", says Suneel Rajpal [...]. "As a result, manufacturers must use larger boards or design very dense gate arrays. But it's hard to get around the size of traditional glue logic". To avoid this limitation, Quality has introduced a zigzag incline package (ZIP)...

(Bond, 1990:55)

- 230) **The latest generation of semiconductor technology and system architecture has far outstripped the capabilities of today's standard bus architectures.** To meet the demands of 33- and even 50-MHz microprocessors, multiple levels of fast cache memory, and complex multiprocessing schemes, leading bus architects have been moving in two directions.

(Andrews, 1990:67)

- 231) Although standard asynchronous SRAMs have been used in many systems and are the most generic memory type, **they may not always be the optimal solution nor do they always extract the maximum speed.** Many specialty memory designs have demonstrated significant improvements when chip designers re-examine the definition of the memory [...].

**But this simple extrapolation to a synchronous environment does nothing to improve chip performance.**

One solution to the problem would be to implement a pseudo-clock that can be generated by detecting a transition on the address pins.

(Wendell, 1990:83)

- 232) The central arguments about the formation of the U.S. welfare state view it as a product of class struggle driven by conflicts between labor and capital over problems of production. **The emphasis on class struggle as the central dynamic has led class analyses to ignore a defining feature of social provision: its organization around race and gender.** The historical case study of Richard Nixon's proposal for a Family Assistance Plan (FAP) to provide a guaranteed annual income to the working poor demonstrates that welfare programs not only mediate relations between classes but between politically dominant and politically repressed groups [...]. The analysis suggests that while social policy may be used to increase female dependence [...] social policy may enhance gender and racial equality.

(Quadagno, 1990:11)

- 233) Advanced ESL students in science and technology have difficulties with nominalization and with the rhetoric of scientific papers, **but to date no studies have related nominalization occurrence and scientific rhetorical divisions.** This article investigates this relationship by testing the significance of the association between that-nominal frequency and four significant research divisions - Introduction, Methods, Results, and Discussion - in 15 biological science articles.

(West, 1980: 483)

- 234) This article seeks to make a case for what I call process evaluations of ESL programs. **It does not, however, advocate process evaluation as the sole procedure** but rather as an essential supplement to the usual product evaluation of those programs' most important outcome, ESL development. The process/product distinction is compared with that between *formative and summative* evaluation [...], **but it is not intended to replace it.** The two reflect different, **not competing**, perspectives.

(Long, 1984:409)

- 235) The first healthy toothpaste  
**no saccharin, no preservatives, no dyes.**

(Runner's World, August 1985:21)

- 236) Making microchips is complex and involves some very toxic chemicals [...]

**But a radically simpler method may be coming...**

(Business Week International,  
September 10, 1990:43)

- 237) The study of female athletes has increased in recent years. Several reports on female gymnasts, basketball players, and runners have appeared in recent literature [...].

In many of the aforementioned studies, subjects were young teenage females, and in several cases were gymnasts, a sport not known for high energy expenditure [...]. In all the studies, diet information was obtained either by 24-hour food recall or by 3-day diet records. **No blood values were obtained on any of the subjects except for the Duster et al. study. To date, few or no dietary data have been collected on the consumption patterns of competitive female cyclists.**

The purpose of this study was to determine the dietary intake of a group of highly trained female cyclists and compare the data to appropriate Recommended Dietary Allowances (RDAs) and dietary guidelines for athletes.

(Keith et al., 1989:1620)

- 238) The postglacial migration patterns of white spruce across North America have been reconstructed recently [...]. **By contrast, little is known about the migration patterns of black spruce.**

(Kam-bi Lu, 1990:206)

- 239) Recent years have seen much discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of pair work and group work in the language class. Whilst many teachers of a traditional frame of mind undoubtedly still need convincing, it is probably true to say that for the majority of teachers today, especially of adults, pair and group practice have become part of their established methodology. **Nevertheless, even the most convinced and enthusiastic teachers will encounter problems with organizing pairs and groups.** This article concentrates on one such problem - getting the student into pairs or groups before they actually start on the task.

(Pye, 1983:8)

240) Punctuation teaching is often done on an ad-hoc basis, relying heavily on the students' own mistakes in written work and on the 'testing' device of getting students to punctuate un-punctuated prose. While both of these have a place, **they over-emphasize whether something is either right or wrong and only rather randomly develop the knowledge of when an item of punctuation is used, when it isn't used and what it is used for.**

(Gower, 1983:24)

241) Speaking activities in second-language learning usually involve language functions which are common in native speakers' use of the language outside the classroom. **However, in most cases they differ from these "outside" activities in that they contain features that are there to make them successful classroom activities.** Here, these features are called *roles, outcomes, procedures, split information* and *challenges* [...].

The following description of the various forms that each feature can take is intended to show how each feature can affect a speaking activity, and how teachers can make use of the descriptions in order to construct and improve their own speaking activities.

(Nation, 1989:24)

242) The current preoccupation is with discourse analysis, or 'text linguistics', and it is sometimes assumed that this can be carried on without grammar - or even that it is somehow an alternative to grammar. **But this is an illusion.** A discourse analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text.

(Halliday, 1985:XVII)

243) A text is a semantic unit, **not a grammatical one.** But meanings are realized through wordings.

(Halliday, 1985:XVII)



244) It seems appropriate for this volume to offer a piece on the relation between a language and its literature. The main deficiency of present descriptive apparatus is an overall theoretical framework within which approaches which are essentially linguistic and those which are essentially literary can both be accommodated and indeed integrated, so that they relate to each other not as alternatives but as complementary studies, meeting in the acceptance of major categories.

(Sinclair, 1988:70)

245) The king was not necessarily or often the most powerful ruler in France. But he was sacred because...

(Brogan, 1960:31)

246) France was not only politically united to a far greater degree than any other state on the continent of Europe. She was more and more culturally united.

(Brogan, 1960:31)

247) The chief barrier to expansion of local power in France is not the veto of the prefect or of the other central agents, but money.

(Brogan, 1960:48)

248) When we turn from local to national politics we are not turning to a totally different world. There is an endless web woven between the two.

(Brogan, 1960:48)

249) Yet the Communist party today is not what it was. It is aging.

(Brogan, 1960:52)

- 250) The important thing is to narrow down the meaning of "authentic materials". Yet, it is obviously a worthwhile thing for students to have meaningful experiences in the classroom, to make language learning an educational process of self development and discovery as well as the learning of a language tool. **But this has little or nothing to do with authentic materials.** For using authentic materials simply means using examples of language produced by native speakers for some real purpose of their own rather than using language produced and designed solely for the classroom.

(Cook, 1981:3)

- 251) In comparison with the elaborate claims that accompanied the arrival of the language lab on the teaching scene and the more moderate but still glowing testimonials to the potential of the computer, **the steady advance of the word processor has caused little comment.**

Given the subsequent fortunes of the lab and the computer, this may be no bad thing and it may well be that in the long run the word processor will have the greater real effect.

(Maule, 1987:3)

- 252) Many Analysts, Transformational Grammarians, Generative Semanticists and Ethnomethodologists alike, often use *sentence* and *utterance* interchangeably; **in what follows these and the other terms will not be in free or elegant variation.**

(Coulthard 1977:10)

- 253) New facts about fat: the National Academy of Sciences "Designing Foods" report stresses that **reducing fat does not mean simply eliminating animal products.**

(Journal of the American Dietetic Association, November 1989)

- 254) About three fourths of the U.S. population is concentrated in urban areas. People growing up in the inner city often have little exposure to or opportunity for leisure/recreation experiences in a natural environment. Adult urbanites, however, are more likely than rural residents to be recreation leisure users of public outdoor areas. **Yet, they were not provided the opportunities during youth to learn the skills and knowledge which would allow them to understand the dynamics of the natural environment.**

(Atkinson 1990:48)

- 255) Cereal of choice for restricted diets.  
**No added sugar. No added salt.**

(Journal of the American  
Dietetic Association, March 1989)

- 256) And, it's convenient to use. Serve up the flavor from its easy-to-handle one-gallon container. **No need to refrigerate.** And the butter flavor of this healthy alternative holds up under heat.

(Journal of the American  
Dietetic Association, March 1989)

- 257) Recent studies indicate that a low-fat, low cholesterol diet isn't the only way to significantly reduce a patient's cholesterol levels.

Research now points to soluble fiber as one of the keys to a healthy heart.

**But soluble fiber isn't the only reason to recommend beans for good health.** Beans are also loaded with protein, iron and magnesium.

(Journal of the American  
Dietetic Association, March 1989)

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