1 Introduction: Affiliation, Alignment, and Familiarity in Context

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1.1 Introduction

In this volume we are concerned with the ways in which authors of written texts directed at a mass audience *co-position* members of their readership. By co-positioning, we mean the way the authorial voice represents itself while at the same time implying (a set of) readers who may or may not be "on-side" or with whom the writer may or may not share certain knowledges or experiences. Our focus is therefore on that part of discourse which Systemic Functional Linguistics (hereafter SFL) refers to as *tenor*, especially, but not limited to the interpersonal metafunctional elements of the clause, and moreover, how relationships between writers and readers are constructed or implied throughout the text(s). Our proposal is that analysts pay attention to the variety of discursive strategies which help to imply these writer-reader relationships – and how such co-positioning might be interpreted. Such positioning elements in texts can be grouped under what some SFL scholarship has lately termed *affiliation*, and the chapters in this volume use this as a portmanteau term, attending to two distinct, yet subtle ways in which affiliation may be construed or identified in texts. As will be outlined in more detail below, and illustrated in each of the chapters, we label these two types of claims to affiliation as *familiarity* and *alignment*. Under the heading of *familiarity* we are concerned with any positioning of the reader as socially connected in some specific way with the writer (e.g. via commonalities of cultural background, nationality, gender, generation, schooling, vocation, lifestyle, etc.) or, alternatively, as socially distant. Under the heading of *alignment*, we are concerned with the ways in which texts of the types being considered in this volume typically combine positioning the reader as, at some points, "likeminded" (regarding the values and attitudes being advanced by the writer as commonsensical, self-evident "givens") with positioning the reader, at other points, as "unlikeminded" (i.e. potentially querying or finding problematic the attitudinal or epistemic

postures being advanced by the writer). This means that much of the analysis of the texts in this volume refers to the Appraisal framework (Martin & White, 2005) in identifying and exploring the communication of attitudinal stances. Of course, analyses of the positioning of readers also involve reference to what the Appraisal framework classifies as resources of Engagement (the means by which writers engage dialogistically with prior speakers on the current subject and anticipate potential responses to what is being advanced).

In order to provide our own socio-historical context for the research we present in the chapters that follow, this chapter is devoted to canvassing the development of theorizing in those language studies which centre around the identification and interpretation of interpersonal relations in discourse. We set out that academic context in as much detail as space allows, with the proviso that inevitably, the selection of material for discussion will reveal our own sense of group affiliation(s) and evaluative biases. The chapter closes with some previews of the other chapters in the collection.

Solidarity

In their pioneering "Pronouns of Power and Solidarity", Brown and Gilman (1960) discuss how Shakespeare exploited variation in Elizabethan English use of second-person pronouns (*thou/you*) to indicate interpersonal relations between his characters. As is found in many languages, in Shakespeare's English, when a character uses the plural form (*you*) to address an individual character, this ascribes to that character a high(er) social standing, and when the singular form (*thou*), is used this either signals a relationship of familiarity between speaker and addressee or ascribes low(er) social standing to the addressee. But what is of particular interest for the purposes of this volume is that Brown and Gilman also note that variation in the use of these two forms can signal shifts in another parameter of interpersonal variability – a shift from a relationship of amity or likemindedness to one of antagonism or disagreement (Brown & Gilman, 1960, p. 280). Thus they note that in Shakespeare's *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (a play concerned with the Renaissance ideal of friendship), the characters Proteus and Valentine (the two "Gentlemen") typically exchange the singular "thou" (an index of their close, longstanding friendship) but when they fall out at one point over the subject of romantic love, "their address changes to the [plural] "you" of estrangement." What is key here for our current purposes is that, in this seminal work, what Brown and Gilman term "solidarity" is understood to involve multiple axes or dimensions of potential variation – the

axis of familiarity (the degree to which the language choices of interlocutors are suggestive of prior social contact and shared experience) and the axis of variation with respect to what Brown and Gilman term affectual or attitudinal "approach" and "withdrawal" – that is to say, the degree to which the language choices suggest relationships of amity and likemindedness versus antagonism or adversativeness.

Brown and Gilman didn't give labels to these two axes. For them, they both fall within the ambit of "solidarity". The authors whose work features in this volume do all clearly delineate these two axes, which, drawing on work by Don (c.f. chapter 2, this volume; 2019a), they term affiliation: alignment, and affiliation: familiarity (formerly contact or affiliation in Don 2007a 2009, 2019a). As already indicated, degrees of familiarity are associated with patterns of language choice by which interlocutors speak or write *as if* they share experiences and knowledge through prior social interactions and common cultural backgrounds or, alternatively, imply that addressees lack such shared knowledge and experience. By alignment is meant the degree that interlocutors speak as if they are likeminded or unlikeminded in terms of value judgements – i.e. share, or fail to share, affectual responses, attitudinal assessments, beliefs, and expectations – axiological "values". While the authors of this volume depart from Brown and Gilman in demarcating in this way these axes or dimensions of variability, they are obviously operating very much in the tradition of Brown and Gilman in seeing solidarity as a matter of linguistic indicators suggestive of experiences/knowledge in common with addressees (familiarity) or a sharing of values (alignment), with both relations often signalled simultaneously by the same content.

In this focus on affiliation/solidarity, the chapters in this volume are located in a scholarly tradition which seeks to relate observable patterns of language use to the social roles and identities of interlocutors and the nature of the relations between these interlocutors as they interact verbally. Work in this tradition typically presumes, or at least hypothesizes, that (1) the social roles and identities that interlocutors inhabit and the relations they enter into tend to shape (with some degree of predictability/probability) what they say/how they say things or, putting this another way, (2) by speaking about certain things in certain ways people are likely to be seen to inhabit certain (communally recognized) social roles and identities and to be entering into different types of relationships with those they address.

Typically, this scholarship focuses on two key axes along which these relations may vary: Brown and Gilman's dimensions of power, and solidarity. The metaphor of *verticality* versus *horizontality* is often deployed to conceptualize these relations. Power relations are viewed as "vertically" or

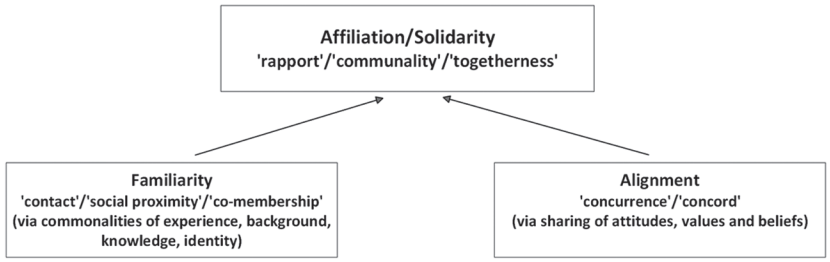

Figure 1.1 Affiliation: alignment and familiarity

"hierarchically" arranged on the basis that when power is unequally distributed, interlocutors will be located at different "heights" on a vertical scale (with the more powerful positioned above the less powerful) and when power (sometimes labelled "status") is equally distributed, interlocutors will be presented as occupying the same point on the vertical/hierarchical scale. Under this metaphor, relations of solidarity are viewed as horizontally arranged, with interlocutors who are maximally "close" located together at the left-most point on a horizontal plane. When interlocutors are maximally "distant", one will be located at the left-most end of the horizontal plane and the other on the right-most point of the plane. The horizontality conceptualization thus turns on images of closeness versus distance/separation.

In this volume, the horizontal axis (degree of solidarity/social proximity) is conceptualized as entailing the two dimensions previously mentioned – familiarity and alignment – which can be represented diagrammatically as in Figure 1.1.

This focus on horizontal relations should not be taken to indicate that vertical/hierarchical relations will not be attended to when relevant – for example, relative social status/power may well influence how horizontal relations are negotiated or expressed verbally, a possibility which will be addressed where appropriate. It may well be that power relations are always immanent in any expression of interpersonal "closeness". But the focus of the book is on the horizontal, i.e. on indicators of solidarity relations. There is, of course, an extensive research literature on these horizontal relations, which we (inevitably) briefly canvass below. But this literature has either tended (with a few notable exceptions) to focus on one or other of the twin dimensions of the horizontal – on what we term "familiarity", or on what we term "alignment" – or the distinction is not recognized or not clearly

articulated, with a single cover-term being used to reference both dimensions. Against this background, this volume offers treatments which systematically attend to, and differentiate, these two horizontal dimensions, considering both how they may be signalled linguistically and the ways in which they may be seen to apply simultaneously – and in what ways they may imply reader-writer relationships.

Writer-Reader Co-Positioning in Written Contexts

Perhaps of most significance in terms of departures from much of the more recent literature is the volume's focus on how these twinned relations may be signalled or suggested in single-party ("monologic") written texts directed at a "mass" audience. As is to be expected, it is often the case that the linguistic expression of interpersonal relations is explored in connection with dialogic, typically spoken, texts, where interlocutors interact directly in exchange structures as speakers initiate turns and respond – asserting, questioning, demanding, complying, refuting, agreeing/disagreeing, ridiculing, challenging, interrupting, and so on. However, there is a long tradition of viewing written texts (or otherwise "monologic" texts) as *dialogistic*, in that they include pointers to the author's assumptions as to what experiences, beliefs, understandings, feelings, attitudes, and expectations readers will bring to the text (see for example, Hoey, 2001; Myers, 1999; Thompson & Thetela, 1995; Bolivar, 2001). Thus, an author may write *as if* they are addressing a reader with whom they are on familiar or unfamiliar terms, with whom they share or don't share particular experiences or knowledge. Likewise, they may write *as if* they expect the reader to regard a particular attitudinal assessment or version of events as, on the one hand, beyond questioning and as self-evident or, on the other hand, as not yet settled, as controversial and hence in tension with alternative assessments and versions of events. As Thompson & Thetela observe (1995), they thus "write the reader into the text". The focus is thus on the *inter*-personal, rather than on the individual writer or reader. On the basis of analyses of these "pointers" it is possible to formulate descriptions and characterizations of the "ideal", "imagined", "virtual" or "putative" reader being implied, projected, or positioned by the text (e.g. Ewald, 1988; Harré & van Langenhove, 1999; Hasan, 1999). Obviously, these pointers may be less readily accessible to the analyst's gaze than the indicators of interpersonal relations in immediately interactive dialogic texts. They are typically "immanent" or "latent" in the text rather than overtly articulated. Nevertheless, as these prior publications on positioning, and the "ideal", "imagined" or "putative" reader have demonstrated, such

indicators are nonetheless amenable to systematic and theoretically principled analysis. The chapters in this volume contribute to this tradition, with all authors dealing with horizontal relations in single-party written texts, and offering new insights into how writers project, at different points in their texts, greater or lesser degrees of familiarity/unfamiliarity and/or alignment/potential dis-alignment onto their imagined readers.

Outline of the Chapter

The following will be provided in the sections below – by way of locating the volume's offerings against a backdrop of the most directly related prior research.

(1) A brief review of linguistic/discourse-analytical conceptualizations and labellings of horizontal relationships, primarily focused on work in this vein within SFL scholarship. This will involve an account of how familiarity – under the heading of "contact" – has been dealt with from an SFL perspective by Poynton and Martin (Poynton, 1985; Martin, 1992), and by Don (2009, 2019a) It also includes an account of how more recent SFL-based work, largely under the label of "affiliation", has dealt with solidarity relations which turn on axiological commonality/adversativity.

(2) An overview of those aspects of SFL frequently relied on by the authors represented in this volume as they present their analyses of the ways in which, and to what ends, the texts under consideration project relations of familiarity and/or alignment onto their imagined readers. In particular, in developing these analyses, all the authors make reference to the Appraisal framework (elsewhere labelled "Appraisal Theory") (Martin & White, 2005), a theory of the options available for conveying evaluative meanings verbally and what is at stake communicatively when one option is chosen rather than another. As will be discussed, choices made by authors as to how they deploy such evaluative meaning-making resources have consequences for the nature of the horizontal relations between writers and readers being implied by the text – both with respect to implications of familiarity and of alignment. Accordingly, an overview of key aspects of the Appraisal framework is also provided below, by way of background for the chapters which follow. The chapter concludes with brief introductions to each of the subsequent chapters in the volume.

1.2 Prior Scholarship: Discourse Analytical Approaches to Textual Realizations of Affiliation/Solidarity

In order to locate the work on affiliation/solidarity represented in the volume, we review some of the key relevant scholarship and, where appropriate, scholarship from other linguistic traditions. This includes (1) work which has focused on the relations of what we are terming familiarity: interlocutors being "close" or "distant" according to the degree of their (presumed) social contact and sharing of experiences, (2) work which has focussed on relations of alignment around the values and attitudinal assessments being advanced in a communicative exchange, and (3) work which has focussed on both these relations, treating them as simultaneously implicated in textually conveyed senses of connection/disconnection or closeness/separation between participants in communicative exchanges (termed "solidarity" by Brown and Gilman (1960), "contact" in Poynton (1985) and often "affiliation" in more recent SFL-based scholarship). This brief review covers work which (1) deals with enactments of solidarity in dialogic interactions (multiparty communication) and (2) in monologic (single-party) written texts.

Poynton's Work on Social Contact: A Focus on the Familiarity Dimension of Affiliation/Solidarity

Groundbreaking work by Cate Poynton in the 1970s focused on what we here term the relation of familiarity, largely in spoken, multiparty interactive texts – what she termed "contact".[1] She was concerned with how patterns of language choice varied with the degree of social contact between interlocutors, the degree to which they had experiences and knowledge in common. At one end of this spectrum of familiarity/contact are relations between interlocutors who are actual "intimates", e.g. partners, family and friends, and at the opposite end are relations between "strangers" – interlocutors who have had no or only minimal prior contact. Falling somewhere between these end points are "acquaintances" – such as work colleagues. Poynton's work was influential in identifying patterns in language use which varied predictably and systematically, according to whether the relationship between interlocutors was "close" (e.g. friends or

[1] Note that Don (2019) extends this use of the term to also cover implied "contact", which differs from Poynton (1985), and that used by Hasan (1985, 2014, 2020) who both referred to actual, material contact.

family), "distant" (strangers), or somewhere in between (acquaintances). More specifically, she found that key language choices would vary according to (1) the frequency of contact between interlocutors (frequent contact versus rare contact), (2) the extent of the contact (brief versus extended), (3) the orientation of the contact (task related versus person-related) and so on (Poynton, 1985, p. 77). As will be clarified in more detail below, although this conception of contact might suggest that "strangers" (no actual prior interactions) would not be viewed as "affiliated" through "familiarity", all the authors in this volume operate with a wider conceptualization of contact/familiarity. Under this, degree of "familiarity" can turn on commonalities based on wider cultural, or common experiences such as, for example, commonalities of schooling, religious practice, vocation, lifestyle, nationhood, neighbourhood, and so on. Thus, the imagined reader of a written, mass communicative text can be positioned as on "familiar" terms with the writer.

Among Poynton's key conclusions were the following:

From the perspective of system, the relevant principle is *proliferation* – the degree of contact determines the predictability of meaning at risk – the less contact the fewer the choices available and conversely the more contact the more options available to be taken up. Alongside this is the process-oriented principle of *contraction* – less contact means that the realisation of the meaning has to be more explicit whereas more contact means that more can be left unsaid. Contraction is easier to illustrate from phonology where various reduction processes may make the casual conversation of intimate friends and family almost unintelligible to an outsider. Proliferation is easier to illustrate at the level of discourse semantics, where choice of subject matter for example expands considerably the more people get to know each other.

In subsequent work, in collaboration with Martin (Martin, 1992, pp. 531–2), an extensive list was provided of differences in language choice which would reflect whether the interlocutors were socially close or distant – differences with respect to phonological choices, grammar, lexis and semantics. Of direct relevance to our current concerns was Poynton and Martin's finding that high contact was associated with the reduction of syllables and low contact with full syllables, high contact was associated with the use of acronyms and low contact with full forms, high contact was associated with the use of specialized, technical terms, slang and specific lexis and low contact with core, non-technical, standard and general lexis.

Poynton's work on contact is thus fundamental to this volume. It provides one of the foundations for Don's proposals as to the relationship of

familiarity and its role in writer-reader affiliation/solidarity (chapter 2, this volume: also c.f. Don, 2009, 2019a; and Paul White, chapter 5, this volume). While Poynton's work was based on observations of how degrees of social closeness/distance were reflected in spoken, interactive language, when we turn to concerns of familiarity, we can also apply the same criteria in the context of written, non-interactive texts. We note that while the writers of the texts dealt with in this volume do not have actual "material world" relations of familiarity with those they address (what Hasan, 1985, 2014, 2020 also refers to as "contact"), they can nevertheless write *as if* they do. That is, what they write may refer to knowledge only available to those who have similar experiences in the material world, what we also refer to as *extra-textual* reference. They can write as if they expect their readers to be familiar with the particular events, people, histories, customs, locales or specialist knowledge they are referencing, or as perhaps unfamiliar – in this way, potentially positioning readers as members of an *out*-group if they are *not* "familiar" with these references.

Research on Informal/Colloquial Language and Familiarity in Written Discourse

A similar line of argumentation can be found in work on the use of "informal" or "colloquial" language choices in written, non-interactive texts, by scholars working in other linguistic traditions. Here it is proposed that the use of "informal" language in written text constructs a sense of closeness between writer and reader. (See, for example, Biber, 1986; Fairclough, 1994, 1996; Delin, 2005; Pearce, 2005; Gretry et al., 2017). Fairclough (1992) for example, concludes that the use of informal language in political speeches is the "appropriation of conversation by institutions" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 217), while Delin (2005) notes that its use can reduce the portrayed power imbalance inherent in the writer-reader relation by reducing the social distance between the two, with the writer's probable intention being to foster a trusting relationship with the reader.

Don's Multidimensional Approach to Horizontal Relations: Familiarity and Alignment

Don's multidimensional approach to the analysis of horizontal relations (in both single party and multi-party communications) is foundational for this volume (Don, 2009, 2019a). She has argued that, in order to account for textual enactments of solidarity, the analyst should reference not only

implications of attitudinal alignment (drawing on the Appraisal framework literature), but also implications of familiarity (drawing on Poynton's work on "contact" and the related work on "informal" language in written texts). Don proposes that, while it is often the case that an utterance will signal both addresser-addressee familiarity and addresser-addressee alignment, they are nevertheless potentially independent axes of variation. She proposes, for example, that communicative exchanges may simultaneously (potentially) signal (1) familiarity and alignment between addresser and addressee, (2) familiarity and dis-alignment, (3) unfamiliarity (strangerhood) and alignment or (4) unfamiliarity (strangerhood) and disalignments. Thus, in a dinner table discussion of climate change, family members are likely to signal close familiarity but may either agree (align) or be at odds (dis-align). Participants at a public meeting about climate change may signal a lack of prior social contact (strangerhood) but may either agree (align) or be at odds (dis-align). At the same time, in the latter scenario where actual strangers communicate, such strangers may also have similar experiences and backgrounds, such that they may reference cultural frames and intertextual referents which are meaningful for intimating affiliation: familiarity with each other. They may claim solidarity through referencing similar personal histories. It needs to be stressed, however, that such signals are only available when actually spoken or written, and are of course, open to individual interpretation – which, in turn is dependent on readers/analysts sharing histories, cultures, and related knowledge.

Consider the following excerpt from a newspaper article which depends on exaggeration and irony – and local knowledge – to poke fun at the typically well-to-do inhabitants of a suburb of Sydney and their football club fans. Readers are positioned as being aware of the demographics and the geography, but the humour also deflects any dis-alignment regarding the implied negative evaluation of the targeted community members as "silvertails[2]."

> Fortunately for Manly supporters, however, the stadium is relatively easy to get to by yacht. And just to be sure I am including with this piece a comprehensive set of directions: Go to Port Jackson and turn right. (Hildebrand, 2011, September 30)

[2] Australian informal: a rich and influential person. Collins dictionary online. www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/silvertail.

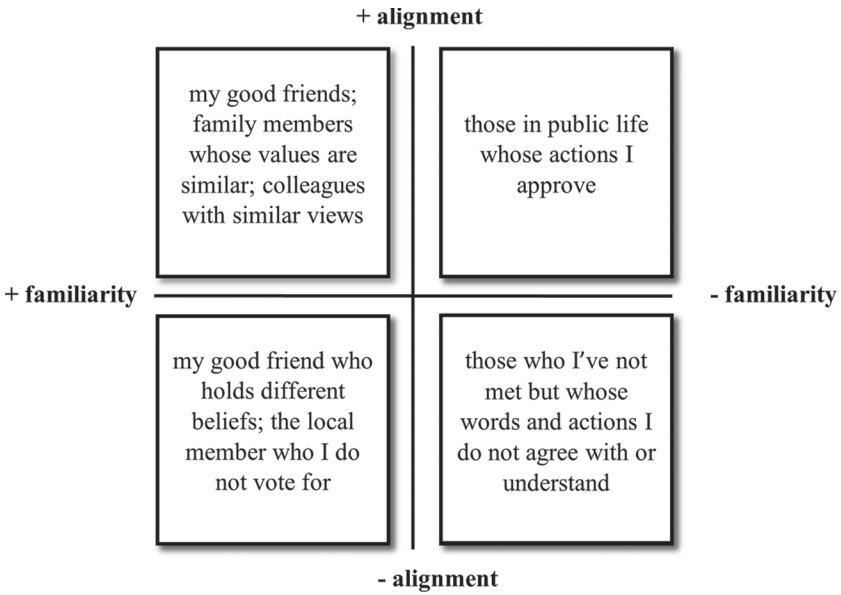

Figure 1.2 Examples of potential relations of familiarity and alignment (based on Don, 2019:8)

Figure 2.2 is a diagrammatic representation of possible settings for familiarity and alignment provided in Don (2019a).

Although the four quadrants of Figure 1.2 are only able to illustrate potential types of social relationship related to solidarity, the basic principle is that these overall horizontal relationships can be realized through both alignment and/or familiarity which interact to indicate proximity in social relationships. This solidarity based on familiarity, is signalled through the indication of "shared experiences, shared cultures, or shared histories of any kind." (Don, 2019a, p. 79). Whereas we now use the term affiliation to cover *both* aspects of claims to solidarity (i.e. familiarity and alignment), in this previous article, Don used the twin terms *affiliation* and *alignment* to distinguish between these two social contact parameters: "such a framework allows an approach to the analysis of stance-taking in discourse in which 'contact' can be analysed from two perspectives – that of both affiliation (implied familiarity) and alignment (implied sharing of values)" (2019a, p. 74).

In the same article (Don, 2019a), the dimension of the relative *status* of interactants was also canvassed (following Martin, 1992), which was

proposed to influence the language used in any interaction, spoken or written. However, while such intimations of power/status dynamics and positioning of addressees as unequal in terms of access to resources (e.g. knowledge, ability, social standing, possessions, etc.) may be observable in texts, and may act to invoke attitudinal assessments (see e.g. Li et al., 2024), these concerns are not the main focus of the chapters in this volume. With respect to enactments of familiarity in dialogic (e.g. spoken, email, online chat, etc.) interaction, Don also noted (following Locher, 2004) that relationships of familiarity are usually developed over time and are latent up to the point at which there is an encounter between two parties, at which point "these links will be reactivated, changed or maintained" (Locher, 2004, p. 50).

In the case of one-way communications such as is investigated in these chapters, we are interested in how the author uses instances of markers of writer-reader familiarity to signal anticipation of a close social connection between writer and reader – identifying how authors "write as if" they are, or are not, on familiar terms with the reader on account of shared experiences and knowledge. Of course, at the same time, they may "write as if" the reader either shares their world view (shares alignment: i.e. will find their attitudinal assessments commonsensical and self-evident) or is not so aligned attitudinally (potentially questioning or viewing the attitudinal positions being advanced as problematic or contested).

Horizontal Relations and Emergence of Affiliation as a Portmanteau Label

A foundational publication for the solidarity-oriented scholarship which has foregrounded relations of attitudinal alignments and to some degree backgrounded relations of familiarity/contact was Martin and White's 2005 monograph, *The Language of Evaluation – Appraisal in English*. The following extract from the monograph distils some of the key notions which have informed this scholarship.

> Our focus is upon certain rhetorical effects which are fundamental to the evaluative rhetoric of argumentative, mass communicative texts of this type. We are interested in understanding the interpersonal functionality of such texts as a process by which positions of potential alignment between writer and reader are constructed as the writer strategically invests the text's experiential content with the different types of attitude. Thus the actions and experiences of the social actors depicted by the text are made the grounds for the sharing of feelings,

> tastes and norms. We are referring here to what Maree Stenglin has called bonding (Stenglin, 2002; Martin & Stenglin, in press [now 2007 (eds.)]) – the investiture of attitude in activity, the resonance of attitude with events and things (abstract or concrete), around which shared reverberations we align into communing sympathies of kinship, friendship, collegiality and other of the many kinds of affinity and **affiliation**. (2005, p. 211)

To be noted in this extract are the following: Martin and White were discussing horizontal relations (solidarity) as they play out in written, argumentative texts. They refer to the *potential* alignments being constructed by the writer. That is to say, they do not suggest that such texts *effect* writer-reader alignments. Rather, they provide "grounds" for the sharing of feelings, tastes and norms. And tellingly for our current purposes, they not only write of attitudinal alignment, but also that aspect of solidarity which has a basis in what we are terming familiarity: "communing sympathies of kinship, friendship and collegiality." And, with their proposition that there are "many kinds of affinity and affiliation", they point to solidarity relations being multiple or multidimensional. (This monograph had precursors in Iedema et al., 1994; Martin, 1997, 2000, and White, 1998, 2002).

With respect to the historical evolution of this scholarship and the nomenclature it adopts, it is also to be noted that in this monograph Martin and White prefer "solidarity" as a cover-all term for relations of interpersonal convergence/divergence. On a couple of the occasions when they do use the term "affiliation", they are referencing contact/familiarity, rather than alignment. For example:

> [multiple] factors function as a basis for **affiliation** – as relatives, friends, lovers, team-mates, colleagues, comrades and so on. (Martin & White, 2005, p. 29)

Along similar lines they observe that there is an array of lexical resources by which "group affiliation" can be signalled – for example, "slang, technical and specialised lexis (and attendant acronyms) … secret scripts and pig-latins, and various markers of social dialect (accent, non-standard morphology, semantic style, etc.)" (p. 34). Significantly, they note that, in this monograph, they have only been able to pay minimal attention to this aspect of relations of solidarity.

> We have not worked much in this area and do not intend our canvas of resources to be exhaustive here. Our intention is simply to flag the

> existence of a wide array of resources that are used to negotiate group identity and so co-operate with appraisal and negotiation in the realisation of tenor relations. (p. 34)

Generally, Martin and White (2005) use the cover term "solidarity", and largely focus on how attitudinal assessments function to enact or signal relations of alignment.

Nomenclature: From "Solidarity" to "Affiliation"

It was research and a series of publications by J.R. Martin (and his PhD students) in the mid to late 2000s (e.g. Martin, 2008, 2010; Knight, 2010) which seems to have been influential in the shift to the use of "affiliation" as a label for relations of "solidarity". These were publications in which Martin introduced his notion of "individuation", a proposal for providing a place for *speakers* in the SFL model of language. Drawing on prior work by Bernstein (1973) and Hasan (2005), Martin proposed that individuals only have access to a subset of the ways of meaning (semantic styles) available in the total "reservoir" of ways of meaning (semantic styles) made available by the totality of a language – that is, individuals have their own personal "repertoire" of ways of meaning drawn from the total potential "reservoir". Crucially Martin further proposed that the extent and nature of this personal "repertoire" is determined or conditioned by aspects of an individual's social background or identity – for example, their social class, schooling/educational attainment, gender, sexual-orientation, age/generation, vocation and so on. Thus, it is through the "way they speak" (the repertoire of ways of meaning which they deploy or are able to deploy) that individuals may enact or reflect (consciously or unconsciously) a social identity and, in so doing, signal their membership in some socio-cultural subgrouping – i.e. what we propose to identify under the umbrella of references to familiarity. The notion underlying Martin's proposals, as we see it, is that via deploying or recognizing identity-related ways of meaning/semantic styles, speakers "affiliate" with, or have a sense of "affiliation" with, some identity-related social grouping. According to Martin, the social groupings with which an individual (a "persona") may "affiliate" via their ways of meaning can be located on a cline from smaller scale, more local groupings (e.g. family or circles of friends), through larger scale social groupings (e.g. those of nations or of "tribes" of various types, such as "emos," "goths," "bikies," "surfies") through to the largest scale of what Martin terms "master identities" (e.g. "generation, gender, class, ethnicity, dis/ability" (Martin, 2010, p. 24).

Martin set out his proposals visa-v-vis his notions of "individuation" and "affiliation" in some detail in a 2010 paper ("Semantic Variation – Modelling Realisation, Instantiation and Individuation in Social Semiosis"). However, the paper is sketchy in terms of the specifics of the "semantic styles" (the individual's "repertoire" of ways of meaning/semantic styles) by which "affiliation" with a master identity such as "gender", "class" or "dis/ability" might be signalled or enacted. What he does offer in this paper is the proposal that "affiliation" is enacted through interlocutors sharing or agreeing over (aligning over) what he terms "couplings of experience with evaluation" (what we term "attitudinal assessments"):

> the coupling of experience with evaluation [*the advancing of attitudinal assessments and affectual responses* – (eds.)], when shared by interlocutors, creates a bond … It is these bonds which form the basic building blocks of the individuation hierarchy, clustering into the subcultures and master identities to which community members subscribe … so individuation is a hierarchy of bonds [*shared attitudinal assessments and affectual responses* – (eds.)]. (Martin, 2010, p. 26)

What is of interest here, from the perspective of this volume, is that Martin seems to be proposing that individuals "subscribe to" or "affiliate" with particular subcultures or "master identities" through the sharing of/aligning over attitudinal assessments with other members of a particular subculture or "master identity". He thus seems to be foregrounding (and/or combining) indicators of affiliation: alignment ahead of indicators of what we term affiliation: familiarity. And this is the orientation which seems often to have been adopted in subsequent scholarship. While we don't subscribe to Martin's notion of "master identities", we do operate with the notion that affiliation/solidarity can be grounded in commonalities associated with social identities. However, as already indicated, we see such relations as entailing both interlocutor attitudinal alignment and interlocutor familiarity in social context, rather than as an "individuation". That is, we foreground relations in social context(s), where identity is a function of such relationships, rather than an individual identity viewed as independent of context.

As indicated, much work which emerged after or around the time Martin was developing his notion of "individuation" tended to prefer Martin's choice of nomenclature – to favour "affiliation" as a portmanteau term for horizontal relations. For example, in exploring attitudinal alignment in microblogging (e.g. X (Twitter) interactions, Zappavigna (2011, 2014; Zappavigna & Martin, 2018) chose to coin the terms "dialogic affiliation" and

"ambient affiliation". Similarly, Etaywe and Zappavigna (2024) chose the label "affiliation framework" for a model of resources by which written texts can enact relations of attitudinal alignment with readers.

In this later literature, affiliation is frequently said to involve the forging of "bonds" through agreement over, or the sharing of, attitudinal assessments, or what tends, as mentioned above, to be termed "couplings of attitudinal and experiential meanings", where a positive or negative assessment is said to be "coupled" with the people, objects, happenings, situations, philosophies etc. which are the targets of the assessment. Of course, the term that we have been using, "attitudinal assessment", implies the presence of a "target". Assessments are always *of* something – abstract or concrete phenomena – even when they are not mentioned in the co-text.

This recent literature was concerned either with multiparty (dialogic) discourse or single-party (monologic) discourse, and dealt both with attitudinal alignment in individual communicative exchanges and within virtual communities or social groupings which may form around constellations of shared attitudes. The key notion in this literature (e.g. Stenglin, 2004; Knight, 2010; Zappavigna, 2011, 2014) is that "bonds" may be established between interlocutors when there is mutual acceptance of the beliefs, expectations and attitudes being advanced (explicitly or implicitly) in the current communication. Thus, Stenglin states that "bonding" is about "ways of building togetherness, inclusiveness, and affiliation" and is enacted in language through "appraisals" (Stenglin, 2004, p. 22). Along similar lines, Stenglin also states, "It is … by sharing value-infused experiences [*attitudinal assessments and affectual responses* (eds.)], both concrete and abstract, that participants bond together into a community of like-minded people" (Stenglin, 2004, p. 402) – that they are thereby said to "affiliate". This applies most obviously in multiparty (dialogic) communication where such attitudinal consonance can be overtly signalled in various ways – for example, by an affirmative response to a prior attitudinal assertion, the repeating of the initial assessment by way of a response, a nod of assent, and so on. Thus, any advancing of an attitudinal assessment in a multiparty exchange can be seen as an opportunity for "bonding" (and hence affiliation), on the basis that a "bond" will be established should a second party in the communicative exchange indicate agreement with or support for the assessment being put forward.[3] Of course, should the second party in an interactive exchange

[3] In Don (2007a, 2007c) this approach to analysis was used to describe what she termed "orientation to response" as a way of determining whether contributions to a written multilogue could be treated as "supporting" propositions of other participants.

question, ignore, counter, challenge or reject the attitudinal assessment being advanced by the first party, then the opportunity for "bonding" will not be taken up – the interlocutors will not be aligned/affiliated with respect to the attitudinal position currently in play. Zappavigna observes: "Negotiating [attitudinal assessments] interactively is the discursive mechanism for forging (or breaking) social bonds." (Zappavigna, 2019, p. 57). Accordingly, in multiparty, interactive texts it is possible for the analyst to document the enactment of affiliation or disaffiliation via observation of the communicative actions of the interlocutors.

As indicated, such proposals as to bonding and concomitant relationships of affiliation/disaffiliation are most directly applicable to analyses of "dialogic" communication – i.e. multiparty communication which involves initiations by a first party and then responses to these by a second party. Such responses may be synchronous (e.g. in spoken conversational interactions or online written chat) or asynchronous (e.g. in email exchanges or online written comments and posts.). And, of course, a single posting may signal attitudinal alignment with one or more prior contributions and simultaneously dis/alignment with one or more prior postings. According to Zappavigna, in communications on microblogging sites such as X (Twitter) contributors may affiliate by "communing around an [attitudinal assessment, related grouping of attitudinal assessments] without necessarily engaging in a direct [verbal] encounter with another user (for instance engaging in a hash tagging practice)" (Zappavigna, 2019, p. 58). This means that one may dis/align with others via "association", i.e. citing something dis/favoured by other readers/hearers (see for example Don, 2019b).

Systematic analyses of points of attitudinal alignment (or its absence) in dialogic texts need to provide recognition criteria for classifying a response move as (1) affiliative: aligning – signalling agreement or support for a prior utterance, as (2) disaffiliation: dis-aligning – signalling disagreement, doubt or challenge or as (3) nondeterminative of affiliation: alignment – signalling equivocation, indecisiveness or otherwise ignoring, passing over or deflecting the proposition(s) advanced in the prior move. Such taxonomies of the options for responsive moves have been developed in the extensive prior literature concerned with exchange structures (for example, Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975; Francis & Hunston, 1992; Eggins & Slade, 1997).

Zappavigna: Affiliation/Disaffiliation in Microblogging

In her work on micro-blogging, Zappavigna (2019) has proposed a system which echoes the prior work mentioned above on exchange structure but differs in that (similarly in work by Don on email list interactions 2007a) it

takes account of the possibility that a post may receive no response at all. Attitudinal assessments advanced in such a post will therefore go uncommented on and hence possibilities for affiliation: alignment or disaffiliation/disalignment are not realized. In Zappavigna's system, posts which do respond to the attitudinal assessments advanced in prior posts are then, firstly divided into those which "support" versus those which "reject", with "support" obviously associated with affiliation: alignment and "reject" with disaffiliation: disalignment.[4] More delicate options outlined as subtypes of both "supporting" and "rejecting" are then proposed. Subtypes proposed, such as what she labels "rallying" and "adjusting" presumably contribute to "bonding" and are indicative of affiliation.

Knight: Affiliation in "Conversational Humour among Friends"

As already indicated, much of the later work which tends to take "affiliation" as its cover term draws inspiration, not just from Martin's work on "individuation", but also from work by Naomi Knight (2008, 2010, 2011, 2013). This is of relevance for this volume on account of the place Knight's work indirectly gives to social contact/familiarity. This is related to the nature of the data on which her conclusions are based. Specifically, her texts are described as "conversational humour" in the casual conversations of "friends". These are groups of university students with an extensive background of shared experiences and conviviality. In the opening to a 2013 paper, she states: "This paper explores … how friends play with evaluative meanings in their humor to achieve bonding and affiliation." Elsewhere in the paper she states: "this paper explores how friends communicate funniness together and use conversational humor and shared laughter to bond and construct solidarity." (Knight, 2013, p. 556) and then later, "It will be shown that friends … negotiate affiliations by playing with evaluations about shared experience in humorous ways." (p. 557). No specifics are given of the "friendship" status of the speakers who partake of this "conversational humour" beyond the observation that they have "shared experiences"

[4] In Don's (2007a, 2007c) work, however, she proposed that a response which took up the propositional content even if it disagreed with it, constituted a "support" move, despite the potential disaffiliation it might engender with the responded-to party. Supporting responses were then given subcategories depending on their content, including "challenge", "reject", "refute" etc. This was proposed as a means for contrasting contributions that did not garner any response ("silence"), or elicitations which were not answered ("ignore").

which provide the basis of their humour and that "friends", as a general category, are "close" and "of equal status".

For our current purposes, what is most noteworthy is Knight's view that (1) affiliation is effected and signalled in these conversations by the "particular kind of humor" in which these speakers engage (and the laughter which accompanies it) and that (2) this humour is only possible given that they are "friends", i.e. have a history of close social contact and shared experiences on which they can base their humour – or at least, use it to deflect any potential "wrinkles" in the bonds of friendship. It is not possible here to deal with the nature of the "affiliation" which Knight proposes is effected by this humour and accompanying laughter, beyond saying it is affiliation which, for example, is maintained when potential threats to amity or rapport between the friends is deflected or defused by the humour – i.e. "laughed off". The key point for Knight is that the affiliation she observes in play in these interactions is simultaneously a matter of familiarity and attitudinal alignments. In our view, the analyst must attend to both dimensions if what is going on here in terms of horizontal relations is to be understood more precisely.

Attitudinal Alignment in Single-Party (Monologic) Discourse

We turn now to this subject of affiliation in single-party, one-way texts, and specifically to reviewing the strand of scholarship which explores affiliation associated with attitudinal alignments. But before turning to deal with this, it is necessary to briefly note Zappavigna's proposals (2012, 2014, 2019) as to "ambient affiliation" (as already mentioned above). This is because the texts which Zappavigna deals with in this work (posts on microblogging sites such as Twitter) sometimes, at least superficially, have some of the qualities of single-party, non-interactive texts. This may occur when a poster initiates a new thread, potentially initiating a new conversation rather than overtly responding to any prior posts. Such social media posts might well be analysed from the perspective of addresser-addressee relations, from the perspective of what assumptions the poster seems to be making as to how subsequent posters might respond. But the context in which such posting occurs is highly interactive. An apparently "initiating" blog post may well function as a response – to the multitude of posts already submitted around the current issue. The issue is further complicated by the multifunctional communicative role played by a unique feature of microblogging platforms, the hashtag. Even without explicitly presenting a blog post as a response to prior posters, the inclusion of a hashtag which is already in play may well

cast the post in the role of a response – to any other post carrying the same hashtag. In this case the mode of affiliation is more akin to that which operates in multi-party interactive communication than to the mode of affiliation which operates in written, single-party, one-way communications. On account of these complications, we mention Zappavigna's notion of "ambient affiliation here," but do not delve further into what these posts put at stake re relations of affiliation/solidarity.

As indicated, the final key strand of relevant Appraisal framework-based scholarship is concerned with affiliation: alignment in single-party, written texts which are intended for a mass audience and are broadly speaking persuasive in orientation. Being "monologic" these texts, of course, don't typically include second-party responses to first party initiations – although these may be "simulated" by the author including what are presented as likely responses by readers to the author's attitudinal assessments – for example "I don't expect many of you will take kindly to my positive view of President Trumps tariffs.." Thus, it is not possible for analysts to document the "enactment" of alignment/dis-alignment in the same way that this was possible in the dialogic discourses dealt with above. There are no second-party responses to be observed and classified as aligning, dis-aligning, or deferring.

It is perhaps tempting to simply treat single-party texts which forcefully advance attitudinal assessments as thereby aligning readers into communities of shared belief and value. This is on the basis that, in our everyday spoken interactions, it's possible to experience the attitudinal assessments we are offered, especially those which are unequivocally asserted, as going beyond *invitations* to interpersonal alignment to being *demands* for alignment. For example, imagine you just climbed into the back of a taxi on an unseasonably cold day. Unprompted, your loquacious cabbie observes: "Gee this climate change stuff is rubbish. Thought the world's supposed to be getting hotter. Here I am freezing my butt off in the middle of summer. I reckon it's all those so-called climate experts getting on the gravy train.." The "demand" for alignment can be so strong that one may even be sorely tempted to agree, in vague terms, or to feign hard-of-hearingness or to make a desperate attempt to change the topic. But this interpersonal pressure is obviously not present for the written text. A categorically asserted attitudinal assessment may have some of the qualities of a demand but, of course, it's nevertheless entirely resistible. Consequentially it is not appropriate to treat such texts or their authors as aligning or dis-aligning their readers. Rather it is necessary to treat them as having the potential to achieve these effects and simultaneously to consider the bases on which such potential effects might or might not be realized - i.e. how the reader may be *co-positioned*.

The solution to the analytical dilemma posed by single-party, mass communicative texts, is, as touched on briefly above, to deploy the notion of the author "writing the reader into the text" and to look for signals of authorial assumptions as to the beliefs, attitudes and expectations of this "imagined", "virtual" or "putative" reader. Some suggestions for analyses along these lines were offered in Martin & White, 2005, for example, in one analysis of writer-reader solidarity in an opinion piece written in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre in New York (see Martin & White, 2005, chapter 5). This approach, which has been developed subsequently by White (2020, 2021a, 2021b) will be briefly reviewed below, once we have provided a short overview of the Appraisal framework itself and the opportunities it provides for systematic analyses of writer-reader affiliations/solidarity.

1.3 The Appraisal Framework

The Appraisal framework literature defines as "attitudinal" any expression which has the potential to position the reader to take a negative or positive view of some phenomenon: some person(s), idea, theory, proposition, system, artefact, natural object, event, action, process, situation or state-of-affairs. This takes into account the possibility that, to position a reader attitudinally, an utterance need not necessarily include any explicitly or overtly positive/negative lexis. In many cases, "neutralistic" observations about the experiential world may potentially invoke or provoke negative or positive assessments on the part of the reader, generally through *association* with wider cultural norms or insider knowledge. This effect of experiential content implying or indirectly activating positive or negative assessment is termed *attitudinal invocation*, and instances are labelled *tokens* or *invocations* of attitude. This process of attitudinal invocation will be dealt with in more detail below, but it is of particular relevance for this volume because, as well as activating positive/negative assessments, such invocations/tokens typically also signal authorial assumptions of writer-reader familiarity (See Don, chapter 2, this volume, for discussion of utterances which imply writer-reader familiarity but which are not necessarily attitudinal).

Systems of Attitude

Under the Appraisal framework, positive/negative assessments are grouped into three broad types.

Attitude: **affect**: indication of positive/negative attitudes via descriptions of emotional reactions and states (e.g. "I get angry [*negative affect*] when people try to help or comfort me." (u/stereolights, 2022); "There was an immediate outpouring of **anger** [*negative affect*] towards the health insurance industry." (Moore, 2024)

Attitude: **judgement**: positive/negative assessments of the behaviour and character of human entities (individuals, groupings, companies, institutions, governments, nations etc.) by reference to social norms, ethics and other codes of behaviour – notions of what is right/wrong, laudable/illaudable (e.g. "Are we really so divided, so used to **dehumanizing** [*negative judgement*] one another, that people are out here openly celebrating the **cold-blooded murder** [*negative judgement*] of **a hardworking** [*positive judgement*] family man?") (Tolentino, 2024).

Attitude: a**ppreciation**: positive/negative assessments of entities, happenings, processes, states-of-affairs, ideas/concepts/philosophies/policies by reference to aesthetics and social value – for example, attractiveness, appeal, impact, harm/benefit, danger/safety, efficiency, soundness, healthiness. appropriateness, workability, prominence etc. (e.g. "The US healthcare system is indeed a **catastrophe**." [*negative appreciation*] (Hildebrand, 2024)

Judgement and Appreciation versus Affect

While the Appraisal framework offers this this three-way classification (*judgement*, *appreciation* and *affect*) it is necessary, for our current purposes, to make a note of differences in the interpersonal workings, on the one hand, of instances of judgement and appreciation and, on the other hand, instances of affect (both the author's own affectual responses and the reported or observed affectual response of third persons.) The writer-reader affiliations made possible by both judgements and appreciations are of a different order from those associated with instances of affect.

To explore this, let's begin by examining what is potentially at stake when the attitude being advanced is either a judgement or an appreciation on the part of the speaker/writer.

> [judgement] Anthony Albanese [*Australian Prime Minister*] and Penny Wong [*Foreign Minister*] have **ambushed** [*-ve judgement*] the Australian population with a 180-degree turn from our [former policy] towards our allies, voting "yes" to permanent Palestinian sovereignty (Haber, 2024) [appreciation] The day Australia voted at the UN will forever remain **a day of infamy** for the nation. (Macek, 2024)

In both cases, the negativity which the reader is invited to share with the writer is presented as attached to, or inhering in, some external phenomenon – i.e. as a feature or quality of the Australian Prime Minister's behaviour (judgement) in supporting the UN vote on Palestine or the "day" when this occurred (appreciation). The reader is thus positioned as having membership with the writer in some wider community of shared value which totally rejects Palestine's right to sovereignty. In contrast, this is not the case with instances of authorial affect. As observed by Thompson (2008):

> [In the case of instances of affect] … the act of appraisal is represented in its most 'natural' form, as the appraiser's process of internalised, subjective reaction directed towards, or stimulated by, some entity or state of affairs, [in the case of instances judgement or appreciation] it is represented as a quality ascribed to or inhering in the [behaviour], entity or state. Whereas affect therefore involves explicit reference to the source of the appraisal, in judgement and appreciation the source is not an inherent part of the figure: the reaction is, in a sense, [disconnected from its source] and transferred to the thing appraised. (p. 171)

To better understand what is at stake here, consider the following instance of authorial (first person) affect

> I get **angry** when people try to help or comfort me. I don't know if this is a CPTSD [Complex Post Traumatic Stress Disorder] thing. Maybe it's my ADHD, or my autism, I don't know. All I know is that whenever I **don't feel good** and someone, namely my partner, tries to help, I just get **frustrated**/ (u/stereolights, 2022)

Obviously, the reader is not being invited to "share" the author's negative affectual reaction to people trying to be helpful and comforting. There is no suggestion that the writer is referencing some wider community of those who similarly get angry in such circumstances. Here the appraisal is fundamentally individual and subjective. There is no proposition here on the part of the writer with which a compliant reader might agree or a resistant reader might disagree. Rather than being invited or positioned to concur with the writer, the reader is invited to sympathize with them, to recognize and feel concern for their distress. The affiliation or solidarity on offer, therefore, is one of emotion, rather than axiology. If there is any wider community of shared value in play here, it would have to be one constituted of those who

would similarly "sympathize" with the writer over his experiencing of this untoward emotional reaction.

However, it does need to be noted that the above case is somewhat unusual, in the sense that what is presented as the trigger for the writer's negative reaction (people trying to help and comfort him) is counter-indicated. Usually, negative reactions are triggered by what are viewed as bad/unpleasant/unwelcome phenomena and not by, as in this case, behaviour which would almost universally be praised. Likewise, positive affectual reactions are typically triggered by positively viewed stimuli, not negative. More typical would be, for example, "I was overjoyed when I saw council workers had been sent out to remove the graffiti from the laneways in Newtown." Here, of course, we have an attitudinal conjunction, a dependency between a positive affectual response by the writer and a report of some human behaviour which is potentially to be viewed positively (depending on one's attitude towards graffiti). The council arranging to have the graffiti removed is both the trigger and the justification for the positive affectual response. Accordingly, we can say that the text is signalling authorial anticipation that writer and putative reader will aligned in (1) sharing this positive view of the council's actions and (2) in regarding the writer's affectual response as valid or being supportive or sympathetic vis-a-vis this.[5] Authorial affect is thus of interest analytically in that it typically presents two interconnected points of possible writer-reader alignment/dis-alignment, involving both emotional and axiological values.

One further issue needs to be addressed with respect to instances of affect and potentials for writer-reader alignment. We have just been dealing with instances of *authorial affect* or *first-person affect* – where the writer reports their own affectual responses. But of course, writers may report the affectual reactions of third persons – what is termed *vicarious* or *observed affect*. For example:

> Many Australians are becoming **wary** [observed -ve affect] of what can appear to be social engineering carried out by governments.
>
> There was an immediate outpouring of **anger** [observed -ve affect] towards the health insurance industry.

Obviously, instances of observed affect are different from authorial affect in terms of potential writer-reader relations. At least on the face of it, the writer

[5] Of course, this anticipation of writer-reader alignment is likely to be an affront to any "actual" reader who values graffiti as street art and who therefore would not sympathise with the writer's positive affectual response.

simply reports on how others have reacted, with the report offered either on the basis of observation or perhaps surmise. The author is not (obviously) personally invested in the evaluation which has been put into play. Thus, observed affect need not put writer-reader solidarity at risk. There is no authorial signalling of an expectation of empathetic convergence between writer and reader. We note that, reasoning along similar lines, Thompson proposed that it is questionable whether instances of observed affect should, indeed, be treated as instances of appraisal at all:

> The issue that arises is the status of such third-person emotings in the model. They clearly do not construe the negotiation between the writer and reader directly. Should they then be included as expressions of appraisal or not? (2008, p. 175)

This is a complex question which, to our knowledge, remains unresolved in the literature. This, however, is not the place to seek to weigh up arguments for or against. We do, however, note that instances of observed affect may act as attitudinal tokens when the co-text is such that there is a potential for the observed affectual response to be interpreted as unmotivated, inappropriate, excessive, or otherwise untoward. In these cases a negative judgement of the "third-person emoter" is likely to be invoked.

Explicit (Inscribed) Attitude

In the above discussion we have been dealing with instances where the conveying of the attitudinal assessment is via explicitly attitudinal lexis – lexical items such us as "outraged," "dehumanizing" and "catastrophe". This is termed "inscribed" attitude, involving lexis which has a largely stable attitudinal value across multiple contexts of use.

Such "inscribed" attitudinal assessments are conveyed by a diversity of grammatical classes. For example, instances of affect typically involve verbs of emotion, related nominalizations or adjectives/adverbs of emotion: e.g. "This carefully planned murder has **alarmed** CEOs across the US" (verb of emotion); "Such acts of violence are deeply **troubling**." (derived adjective of emotion); "Such acts are **a cause for concern**" (nominalized verb of emotion). Assessments of judgement and appreciation are also frequently conveyed via verbs, though, unlike instances of affect, these verbs are "external" rather than "internal" – that is to say, they describe some material action which is coloured attitudinally. We can say that these verbs entail simultaneities of experiential and interpersonal meanings – for example, "dehumanize" in: "we are so used to dehumanizing one another". Simultaneously,

"dehumanizing" is what SFL would classify as a "Material Process" (a type of action represented as occurring in the experiential world) with a subjective assessment of the morality of that material process by which the speaker's attitude to that action is conveyed. Attitudes may also be conveyed by nouns, adjectives or adverbs which entail the positive or negative characterization of some action or behaviour or the "character" of some attitudinal target. For example: "Trump campaigned dishonestly" (adverb); "Trump is a fraud" (noun); "Trump is dishonest" (adjective). Subtypes of attitude, then, entail, or are generally identified by the kind of target they evaluate, rather than the grammatical class of their wordings.

Invoked Attitude ("Tokens" of Attitude)

As touched on earlier, the Appraisal framework also recognizes as "attitudinal" any content which implies or indirectly activates positive or negative assessments, even while not including any of the explicitly attitudinal lexis just discussed. This process of indirectly positioning the reader to adopt a negative or positive viewpoint re some attitudinal target is termed "attitudinal invocation", with instances of such also given the label "token of attitude". For example:

> **Inscribed (explicit) Attitude: judgement**: "The secret service agent **bravely** [positive judgement] took a bullet for the President."
> **Invoked (implied) Attitude: judgement**: "The secret service agent was shot when he leapt between the gunman and the President" [positive judgement potentially activated by the utterance as a whole].

The potential for these attitudinal invocations/tokens to position addressees to positively/negatively view phenomena is both a function of the wider co-text (how the current proposition relates to other attitudinal material in the text – elsewhere addressed under "attitudinal prosody"; "intra-textual reference"; "burnishing and tarnishing moves"), the cultural frames being referenced, and also the addressee's own reading/value position. It may be that these factors will determine whether an expression is in fact interpreted as attitudinal at all (evaluative or not) or whether it is evaluatively positive or negative. Consider the example of the attitudinal invocation just provided. The following are two possible (invented) textual contexts.

> [positive] "The secret service agent was shot when he leapt between the gunman and the President. What a **wonderful** display of **courage** and **sense of duty**."

> [negative] "The secret service agent was shot when he leapt between the gunman and the President. What a **fool**! Who in **their right mind** would risk their life for a politician."

In the second invented example (secret service agent evaluated negatively), the cultural frame is one of disrespect or contempt for politicians generally.

We mention again a key point of significance for this volume. Invocations/tokens of attitude at the "end" of the "invocation spectrum" (Don, 2016) typically signal authorial assumptions of writer-reader familiarity. That is to say, the potential of the invocation to convey a negative or positive attitude is dependent on the writer and reader having certain specific knowledge or experiences in common – having access to the same cultural frames, and associations. This means that audiences/readers may be positioned as unfamiliar and not able to retrieve certain intertextual meanings – whether evaluative or not – when references are made to events, persons, ideas which only a select group of "insiders" may be privy to. This then becomes potentially an implication of group membership – rather than necessarily a call on axiological alignment.

Consider Figure 1.3, an illustration of a tee-shirt design seen on the street. In this case, although the design incorporates wording which can be classed as inscribed negative appreciation of an activity ("futile"), the whole phrase has been taken from a TV series ("Star Trek: Next Generation") – something which the viewer of the design on the street would need to be aware of to be able to retrieve the reference – as well as to appreciate its humour, rather than its superficial evaluative charge. In turn, the wording "futile" in this social context does not actually evaluate the superficial target "resistance" in this meta-instance. Instead, it functions as a call on recognition (i.e. familiarity), rather than value judgment. And, in order to retrieve the whole phrase from this television series, the viewer would also need to be familiar with the representation of electric circuitry, where the wording "resistance" needs to be supplied by the viewer since it is rendered as a circuitry diagram. Of course, viewers' interpretation of this design may potentially invoke attitudinal alignment regarding the merits of the television series so referenced – a target of evaluation not explicit in the text. Firstly, however, it calls on familiarity and in-group identity: it hails those who are both aware of how electronic circuity is visually rendered and who also enjoy this particular sci-fi series – people who wish to signal their "nerd" credentials.

Once more, under appraisal, whereas phrasing using inscribed attitude can be easily recognized as carrying either negative or positive charge in

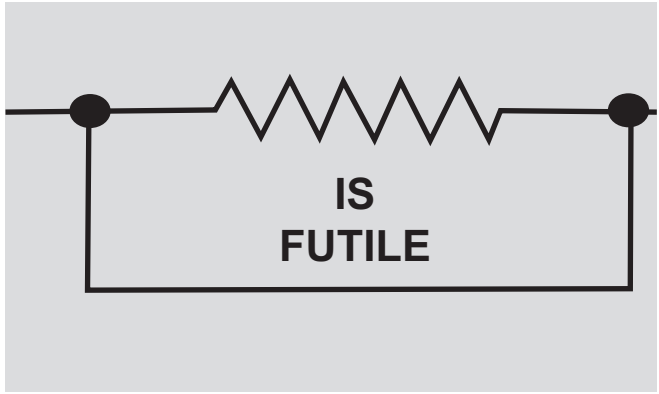

Figure 1.3 Invoking familiarity via t-shirt design: "resistance is futile"

a wide range of contexts, invoked attitude relies on either local co-textual signals ("flagged" attitude) or intertextual referents which readers need to recognize in order for the evaluation to "work" ("affording" attitude).

1.4 Dialogistic Perspectives on Writer-Reader Relations of Alignment: The "Putative" Reader

So far in the previous section on appraisal and attitudinal meanings, we have been dealing in fairly general terms with how single-party, written texts can be interpreted as construing relations of writer-reader alignment. We have made the point that there is no principled basis for treating such texts as actually effecting the alignment or dis-alignment of readers, or of "forging bonds" (or "severing bonds") with them. Rather it is necessary to treat such texts as having the potential to achieve these effects and simultaneously to consider the bases on which such potential effects might or might not be realized – i.e. how readers may be positioned as accepting or rejecting any evaluative stances. Drawing on prior scholarship (Martin & White, 2005; White, 2020, 2021a, 2021b) we have introduced into the discussion the notions of the author "writing the reader into the text" of the imagined or putative reader and of compliant or resistant readings. In what follows, we explore these and related notions further. We outline how they provide for insights into the "dialogistic" options available for the creators of these "monologic" texts as they vary the terms under which writer-reader affiliation may be implied.

As noted above, a core proposal of the "putative reader" scholarship is that persuasive, written texts of the type being considered in this volume (and single-party texts in general) include signals of authorial anticipation as to this "putative" reader's beliefs, knowledge, prior experiences, expectations and attitudes. Thus, these beliefs, knowledge, attitudes and values are seen to be "projected" onto the putative addressee. This "projection" is typically covertly or implicitly signalled, via signals of authorial anticipations of how a reader might respond to the propositions being advanced at that point in the text, or forms of recognition that the text's anticipated readership may be divided over the claims currently being advanced.

Occasionally, of course, an author of a single-party text may directly address the reader – via the use of the second-person pronoun – and explicitly attribute beliefs, attitudes and expectations to them, thereby suggest that the reader is attitudinally aligned or dis-aligned. For example:

(1) "It will come as no surprise to **you** that the movie's ["12 Strong"] plot is a mere shadow of the book's plot." (theZombieRoom, 2018)

(2) "It may surprise **you** to find that the older one gets the more we appreciate the wisdom of those we did not think possessed it." (Ludwig Guru, 2014)

In Althusser's terms, these formulations "interpellate" or "hail" a reader who shares (or may not share) the writer's viewpoint, implying their membership of the same similarly aligned group "out there". But the deployment of such formulations is generally limited to a context in which the writer has, or presents as having, an ongoing relationship with some regular, "devoted" readership with whom they have had, or could have had, some direct communication in the past – for example, in the form of letters from readers or comments added to articles posted online. The writer presents as if taking into account such prior communication, communication which provides them with knowledge of how their readership is likely to respond to what is currently being advanced, i.e. a text directed to "actual" readers rather than a "putative" one. They simulate person-to-person communication (hence the use of "you") rather than, strictly speaking, being instances of communication between a writer to an unknown/diverse readership. These types of address are often found in advertising.

Broadly speaking, the signals of authorial anticipation which are our current concern may variably imply (1) **writer-reader alignment** – the reader will accept the attitudinal assessment currently being advanced, viewing

it as commonsensical or self-evident, or (2) **writer-reader unalignment** – the reader may view the attitudinal assessment as open to question, at issue, controversial or in tension with alternative viewpoints or (3) **writer-reader dis-alignment** – the writer signals that the reader may hold a view or expectation which is counter to that of the writer.

In the Appraisal framework, these resources are taxonomized as options in the system of Engagement. Under the influence of the Bakhtinian/Voloshinovian (Bakhtin, 1981; Voloshinov, 1973) view that all verbal communication (both monolog and dialog) is "dialogistic" and "heteroglossic", this system assists in capturing the means by which speakers/writers engage dialogistically with what is presented as having been asserted previously on the matter at hand or what are potential responses to what is currently being proposed. On account of the space limitations, we offer only a brief overview.

Anticipations of Writer-Reader Alignment

Signals of anticipations of writer-reader alignment include bare/categorical assertion of the author's attitudinal assessments (in the absence of any "grounds" being offered for these assessments), and the presupposition of the author's attitudinal assessments, the framing of authorial attitudinal assessments with concurrence indicators (e.g. *of course, obviously*, *as you know*) and "rhetorical questions" which assume the reader will necessarily supply an answer which concurs with an author's viewpoint.

In the Appraisal framework's Engagement system, "bare" or "categorical" assertions (i.e. declaratives which are unmodalized or unqualified in any way) are categorized as "monoglossic". The notion here, under Bakhtin's influence, is that all propositions are in tension with, and enter into relations with, the alternative propositions which are inevitably in play in the heteroglossic background against which the proposition operates. Thus, to choose not to acknowledge the possibility of these alternatives (i.e. to "barely" assert) is interpersonally and epistemically loaded. To "monogloss" in this way is a communicative decision which ignores or dismisses the text's heteroglossic context and stands in contrast to alternative engagement options which "heterogloss", i.e. acknowledge the subjective contingency of the proposition and its potential tension with alternatives. For example:

> [**monogloss**] Anthony Albanese [*Australian Prime Minister*] and Penny Wong [*Foreign Minister*] have ambushed the Australian population with a 180-degree turn from our former policy towards our allies, voting "yes" to permanent Palestinian sovereignty.

versus (invented alternative version)

> [**heterogloss**] I believe it's not going too far to say that Anthony Albanese and Penny Wong have as good as ambushed the Australian population. I don't recall them providing any advance notice they were considering voting "yes" to permanent Palestinian sovereignty – arguably a complete 180-degree turn from our former policy towards our allies.

Accordingly, "monoglossing" an attitudinal assessment can be interpreted as choosing to present it as not at issue, as uncontentious, as self-evident and thereby to signal anticipation that the reader will regard it similarly – otherwise, the assessment would be modalized or justified in some way.

By way of further exemplification, consider the following extract from the "manifesto" of Brenton Tarrant (see also Paul White's chapter this volume, and Etaywe & Zappavigna, 2024 for their treatment of this text). This manifesto was released onto the internet just minutes before Tarrant launched an attack in 2019 on two New Zealand mosques, killing 51 people. Tarrant sought to motivate support for the "great replacement" theory – i.e. there is a conspiracy by Western elites to undermine Western "White" culture and replace "Whites" with migrants from "non-White" countries. In the manifesto, Tarrant called for all non-White immigrants (whom he terms "invaders") to be forcefully removed from Western countries. At one point he offers:

> Sadiq Khan, The current mayor of London at the time of writing, [is] an open sign of the disenfranchisement and ethnic replacement of the British people. (Tarrant, 2019, no pagination)

Note the categorical (monoglossed) negative assessment of Sadiq Khan's mayorship – the proposition that it is an effect of the parlous state of the British nation is baldly asserted, without any justification or recognition of its contentiousness. Through this formulation, the author projects a reader who will also find this to be an unproblematic assessment, an assertion which needs no qualification, justification, or explanation.

Presuppositions function in a similar way. They treat as "givens" (established "fact" or knowledge) what otherwise might be presented as contestable propositions. Consider again the extract from the Tarrant manifesto. Here, through nominalization, he presupposes (i.e. treats as a "given") a strongly negative assessment of conditions in Britain, that the "British people" have been disenfranchised and ethnically replaced. In this presupposition (this

"taking for granted"), therefore, the author signals an expectation of the reader, that they too will regard these as givens – will naturally share the author's negative view of the UK.

A particular type of rhetorical question, often termed a "leading question" (one which anticipates a particular answer from the addressee) serves a similar purpose – i.e. signalling anticipation of reader concurrence. Consider this invented example: "Isn't Sadiq Khan's lamentable election to mayor of London an open sign of the disenfranchisement and ethnic replacement of the British people?" Similarly, for "concurring" formulations such as "Of course Sadiq Khan's lamentable election to mayor of London is the result of the disenfranchisement and ethnic replacement of the British people."

It might also be said that when authors do repeatedly take for granted writer-reader alignment, they are positioning the reader as having membership in a meta-textually oriented community of shared value, one where such taking-for-grantedness is viewed as a positive, as, perhaps, indicative of laudable authorial forthrightness, honesty or even courage. It can also be concluded that when authors do consistently project "likemindedness" onto the putative reader, they up the ante, so to speak, in terms of ultimate writer-reader solidarity. The author risks alienating any readers who would not only query or reject their assessments but would also resent the author's signalled assumption that these views are unproblematic and universally held.

The Unaligned but "Persuadable" Putative Reader

As just indicated, alternatively, the author may signal anticipation that the reader may not share their viewpoint, may view it as "at issue" or as otherwise problematic. Consider the following (invented) variation on Tarrant's proposition, as cited above.

> In my view, the British people are progressively being disenfranchised and ethnically replaced via mass immigration. I believe you need look no further for evidence for this than to the lamentable fact that Sadiq Khan could be elected mayor of London.

Unlike the formulation in the manifesto, the text here overtly acknowledges the subjectivity and contestability of the proposition that *British people are being disenfranchised and ethnically replaced*. Through "in my view" the contingent view of the author is offered as just one possible position among a diversity of alternative views. Accordingly, there is no signalling of anticipation by the author that the reader will necessarily share this negative

assessment of the current state of Britain, no projection of likemindedness onto the reader vis-à-vis this assessment. White (2020, 2021a, 2021b) proposes that the reader being "written into the text" by such formulations is one who may well not align with the author, who may "legitimately" have a different view.

Gestures towards winning over the unaligned reader include the use of the "dialogistically expansive" formulations just dealt with, and also the frequent inclusion of "justifications" (see White, 2003): materials which provide explicit reasons for, or evidence in support of, the contentious attitudinal assessment(s) currently in play. This is exemplified in the above altered version of the utterance taken from Tarrant's manifesto. The attitudinal proposition as to the British people being replaced is "justified" by the subsequent proposition that the election of Khan is evidence for it.

Anticipations of Writer-Reader Dis-Alignment

There is not space to offer more than a few words on the means by which the author may signal dis-alignment with the putative reader. (For further discussion see chapters 5 and 6 this volume.) The primary mechanisms for implying or indirectly signalling anticipated writer-reader dis-alignment are options in the Appraisal framework's Engagement system, what the framework terms "denial" and "countering". With respect to denial, the putative reader may be positioned as dis-aligned when the author both negates some proposition (for example some attitudinal assessment) and signals the assumption that this denied proposition may be a viewpoint which the reader subscribes to. With respect to "countering", the reader may be positioned as holding a view or as entertaining an expectation which the author then characterizes as unfounded or mis-informed. Consider the following example from a website which offers advice to people interested in trading in crypto currencies such as Bitcoin.

> **Although** Trump's tariffs are the primary cause of sleeplessness among Bitcoin traders, it's important to remember how his pro-crypto stance has breathed new life into the crypto sphere in the past year. (Trading View, 2025)

Here the author signals an anticipation that the reader may have formed a negative view of US President Trump on account of his imposition of worldwide tariffs, which is then "corrected" when the author "reminds" the reader of the benefits which have accrued to crypto currency traders under Trump.

Often these denials and counters have only minimal consequences for writer-reader solidarity in that they can be read as helpful correctives to minor errors of thought on the part of the reader or understandable mistakes resulting from lack of information or the false claims of others.

Familiarity Again

It should also be noted that, in addition to offering ways into the analysis of attitudinal alignment in such texts, this "putative reader" approach also attends to relations of writer-reader familiarity – how this "putative reader" can be constructed as sharing aspects of group identity with the writer. For example, in an analysis of the above extract from Tarrant's manifesto, it would be noted that the author projects onto the reader crucial shared knowledge about Sadiq Khan – specifically that he is a Muslim with a Pakistani family background. Or, if not knowledge of such specificity, then at least the shared knowledge that, in a UK setting, someone with the name "Sadiq Khan" is likely to have a Pakistani and Muslim background. Writer and reader are thus constructed as sharing the experiences from which such knowledge is derived, with the writer then relying on this shared knowledge for the "justification" that Khan's election is evidence that "British people" are being disenfranchised and replaced.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has provided a review of the literature which proposes writer-reader relations of affiliation which usually need to be treated as latent rather than inscribed in monologic texts of this type – as potentials rather than actualities. In the multi-party texts, relations of writer-reader alignment, of course, are enacted through communicative interactions (c.f. for example Don, 2009). In one-way texts, however, the analyst has no such enactments to observe. Rather it is to signals of authorial implication of points of writer-reader alignment or familiarity that the analyst should attend – and specifically to patterns with respect to whether there is anticipation of writer-reader alignment, unalignment or dis-alignments and/or writer-reader familiarity or disassociation.

Texts, of course, consist of multiple instances of writer-reader alignment/unalignment/dis-alignment and of writer-reader familiarity/distance. It is often the case that writer and reader are co-positioned as aligned over certain attitudinal assessments and un-aligned over others, or as having certain aspects of their social-identities in common and being

disassociated re other aspects. The reader is likely to be positioned as having membership in a range of different wider communities of shared value and/or belief.

The analysts interested in the overall communicative and rhetorical workings of such texts need to attend to all this diversity of affiliation. In what arrangement or sequence are these different points of potential affiliation staged? How pervasive are assumptions of writer-reader alignment or un-alignment? What are the targets of the assessment which are presented as shared by writer and reader and what are the targets of those assessments which are presented as potentially not shared? How central to the text are signals of writer-reader familiarity? Just what is the nature of the social-identity grouping in which the reader is represented as having membership?

It is with a view to offering examples of analyses which attend to such questions that the remaining chapters in the volume are offered.

1.5 Chapters in This Volume

All of the chapters in the collection use as data, texts from a publicly available media – websites/blogs, mass emails, newspaper articles. Their contexts are thus somewhat similar in terms of what SFL terms *mode*, but differ slightly in *tenor* and *field*. However, the global context in which they appear is always one in which corporate and commercial interests are at play. The analyses offered in the following chapters do not attend to this aspect of their contexts in any overt, critical discourse analytic way. Instead, the contributors to this volume focus on how writers of these texts attempt to position their readers as members of an "in-group" (or potentially an "out-group"), with all the attendant implications that such group membership entails. With a few exceptions, all of the texts examined, and the analyses presented, leave opaque this backdrop of commercial pressure by brands, corporations, and personae to advance their causes through the generation of profit. Chapters 2 and 4 in particular examine reviews of fashion and luxury goods, showing how writers try to position readers as knowledgeable consumers and brand connoisseurs, leaving to one side an acknowledgment that: "As well as inviting a false sense of equality, ignoring the link between fashion consumption and class ignores material circumstances in favour of theories of identity" (Hoskins, 2014. Kindle location 943). We also need to acknowledge that the analyses presented here do not attend to the underlying exploitation that First World consumerism and

consumption depend on, but that nevertheless, this awareness contributes to our interest in these texts and the global "community" of consumers that they address.[6]

Having excused ourselves from a more critical stance on the texts under scrutiny, we now turn to a brief review of each of the chapters in this volume.

The choice of the texts in Don's chapter 2 has been made, not only because of an interest in the construal of identity and affiliation in the social context of fashion journalism, but also due to these texts' repeated use of certain linguistic "strategies", especially the use of invoked attitude, but also strategies which imply group affiliation with readers. With respect to invoked attitudes, in Don (2016) the means for implying or invoking attitudinal stance towards targets was characterized as a spectrum of sometimes interweaved strategies, with inscribed attitude at one end of the spectrum, and use of irony and sarcasm off the scale at the other. Many of these so-called strategies are also common in other argumentative genres – for example what the Appraisal framework locates under Engagement, and identifies as "attribution" (c.f. White, 2012), a stylistic element typical of newspaper reporting in general. Throughout Don's chapter, attribution was noted to employ what Humphrey describes as "burnishing" (and "tarnishing") moves (Hao & Humphrey, 2012, Humphrey, 2015). Don's study therefore also noted – by way of reference to the intra-textual chaining of evaluative implication – the linguistic resources of attribution and how they contribute not only to the evaluation of artefacts (styles, clothing) and people (designers, wearers), but at the same time act to claim affiliation with readers as members of the fashion-conscious cognoscenti – often through strategies of "burnishing" sources. Many of the excerpts she uses rely on the "burnishing" of sources in order to activate the author's stances towards targets which appear later in the same text, while also implying that readers will respect (align with the merits of) the proffered credentials in legitimizing the sources quoted. Humphrey (2015) expanded on this notion in relation to how academic arguments are typically constructed, and Don (chapter 2) also notes how fashion opinion pieces also use this device to advance (usually) positive attitudes towards their targets in the rest of the piece. The following extract from Humphrey encapsulates one

[6] See for example "Chocolate: The Backstory" (*Rear Vision* podcast, ABC Radio. 20 April, 2025) www.abc.net.au/listen/programs/rearvision/chocolate-the-back-story-the-worlds-most-seductive-treat/105119030.

of the most common uses of burnishing in fashion opinion pieces, what is termed "iconisation":

> Burnishing of sources may also be achieved through charging entities with evaluative meaning in a process known as iconisation (Martin & Zappavigna, 2013) … 'institutionalized feelings', such as Judgements of the prominence or capability of a particular researcher or Assessments of credibility or reliability may be invoked from a source name. In the Performance Studies texts, for example the representation of the semiotic entities (i.e. theories and schemas) as 'belonging' to a named source (e.g. *McAuley's schema*, *Victor Turner's theories*) suggests that these are people recognised in the field as experts. (2015, p. 54)

This way of promoting the legitimacy of sources is one way of positioning addressees to accept whatever the source has to say.

All of the chapters in this volume are interested in how monologic texts engage their imagined or projected ("putative") readers, through positioning them in various ways in the service of argument. This may entail that readers are positioned as (dis)affiliated through alignment or through familiarity – or both. Many of the positioning strategies identified in the texts of the chapters in this volume note a link between the presence of invoking attitudinal assessments and an implication of familiarity with ideas, events, and a type of "insider" knowledge. The function of invoked attitude changes according to co-text and social purpose, so that in some senses it appears to imply solidarity and in-group membership, while in other cases it becomes a means of stepping back from direct evaluation – especially in cases of positively judging the self/the author.

Miller and Bevitori (chapter 3) note that elements of the text which would tend to invoke an attitude could also be seen to invoke further (positive) assessments of the authors themselves. This was also noted in Don's (2007a, 2007b) analysis of poster identities on an email list, where posters would sometimes discuss their own activities using culturally positive terms, rather than positively evaluate themselves directly. In Miller and Bevitori's data, comprised of Corporate Sustainability Reports, regular positive self-assessments when addressing an audience of stakeholders seem an obvious requirement in promoting the legitimacy of their claims, and their analysis reveals how such subtle self-evaluation has been managed in this social context. Their chapter represents a contribution to research on register in SFL by offering insights into addressee-management through noting the artful

construal and enactment of meanings which have the potential to engender alignment with writer positioning in corporate reporting, problematizing the dynamics of writer engagement with their stakeholders in the socially contextualized discourses of sustainability. Their study also exploits Hasan's cline of dynamism (1985/1989, p. 46), White's recent work regarding the "putative addressee" (2021a, 2021b) and Don's work on both invoked appraisal and addressee affiliation (2016, 2019a). They note that: experientially, the texts implied a markedly asymmetrical speaker-addressee power hierarchy, coupled with substantial interpersonal projection of speaker's values/beliefs onto their addressees via monogloss, "warrants" (i.e. unstated assumptions on which an argument depends – Toulmin, 1958/2003), as well as invoked evaluation and its intra-and inter-textual propagation.

Hommerberg and Lindgren in chapter 4 draw on their recent study of online reviewer discourse of what they term "experience-based luxury", specifically wine, perfume and chocolate (Hommerberg & Lindgren, 2023). In this chapter, they show how affiliation between expert reviewers and their addressees is enacted discursively in reviews of wine, perfume, and chocolate. Given the opposing forces of social status and social contact associated with consumption of experience-based luxury, they focus on the means by which the reviewers position their addressees as affiliated with the reviewers themselves as well as with those who are already "acculturated". They thereby imply a community of like-minded consumers, familiar with luxury expertise and sharing the appreciation of luxury experiences drawing on elite cognizance. These reviews make extensive use of technicality and naming, projecting the reviewer and addressee as equally familiar with production details and producers, implying reader closeness with the reviewer's expert role. Rather than evaluating their perceptions explicitly, other strategies they use incorporate relying on joint reviewer-addressee familiarity with perceptual components of the goods they evaluate, thereby assigning to the addressee an equal role as expert appraiser. The reviews furthermore project the reviewer and addressees as aligned regarding general consumption values, such as *affordability* and *exclusivity*.

Paul White's chapter (5) in this volume demonstrates how insights into reader-writer relationships can be highlighted by focussing on how affiliation may be implied through both references to values (alignment) and references to familiarity. Similarly to work by Etaywe and Zappavigna introduced above, he looks at some of the strategies of reader engagement used in the terrorist incitement discourse of Brenton Tarrant (2019) comparing these strategies with those in campaign e-mails sent by Greenpeace UK – in the process, revealing how each is able to position their addressees as part of an

in-group. Along with analysing markers of attitude, the chapter also considers how various engagement markers, particularly *disclaim: deny* (Martin & White, 2005, pp. 118–19; White, 2020; Don, 2017), have an impact on the construed degree of writer-reader familiarity. He notes how Tarrant uses forceful attitudinal lexis in monoglossic clause complexes to construe the reader as being aligned ("likeminded") while also using first-person plural pronouns to invoke a sense of writer and reader as belonging to a larger social movement, thus positioning the reader as being highly affiliated – that is, as familiar with each other as members of the same social group. However, Tarrant also positions himself as a figure of authority through the use of disclaim: deny, claiming a marked distinction of social power/status between himself and the reader and/or third parties. While Greenpeace also uses forceful attitudinal lexis in monoglossic sentences to imply reader alignment, it also construes the writer-reader relationship as one of familiarity partially through markers of informal discourse in their online written texts.

In chapter 6, Peter White deals with relations of affiliation/solidarity (both familiarity and alignment) in a collection of journalistic opinion pieces and news reports which were triggered when the high profile, much celebrated captain of the Australian women's football team, Sam Kerr, was charged in London in January 2023 for "racially aggravated harassment" of a police officer. This provoked an outpouring of news reporting and journalistic commentary in the UK, Australian and the US, firstly when Kerr's arrest was first reported and then when the case came to trial in early 2025. In analysing extracts from these opinion pieces, White develops further the lines of analysis outlined earlier in this chapter and demonstrates how they can be applied in investigations of writer-reader relations in mass communicative texts of this type. He proposes that such texts not only position the putative reader as likeminded or unlikeminded vis-à-vis the author's attitudinal assessments but also with respect to the "versions of events" offered to the reader. He explores the issue of whether categorically asserted tokens of attitude (as opposed to inscribed attitudinal assessments) should be interpreted as signalling putative reader likemindedness and probes how argumentative justifications of authorial assessments may ultimately position the putative reader as sharing with the writer key ideologically laden assumptions and beliefs. Through the chapter, he addresses how such analyses can provide for principled conclusions as to the potential "persuasiveness/unpersuasiveness" of such texts which can be derived alongside an analysis of the bases or conditions under which a text has the potential both to convince the reader of the merits of the writer's viewpoint, and equally to fail in this regard.

We hope readers will enjoy the following chapters and find much to both align with and to recognize as familiar to them – as much as we, the contributors of the chapters in the volume have enjoyed wrestling with the ideas and concepts we present.

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