STUDIA PHILOLOGICA JYVÄSKYLÄENSIA 18

SONJA TIRKKONEN-CONDIT

ARGUMENTATIVE TEXT STRUCTURE AND TRANSLATION

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ABSTRACT

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This study proposes a method for describing the structure of argumentative texts. Two sample texts are described, and the descriptions are used as tools in translation quality assessment. The method contains problem-solution analysis, interactional and illocutionary analysis, and macrostructure analysis. The texts are shown to be hierarchical organisations of minitexts, in which the 'PS-components' of situation, problem, solution, and evaluation are identified. The problem alone can constitute a minitext. The text is looked at as an implicit dialogue in which an imaginary reader is assumed to challenge the writer. Therefore the problem component has an assertive illocution: the reader's agreement is not taken for granted. The problem component conveys the writer's thesis and its justification. The solution component has a directive illocution: it conveys a recommendation or a proposal. These features of the problem and solution are presented as text type markers. The relations inside and between minitexts are hypotactic or paratactic along the principles suggested by Grimes (1975). Macrostructure analysis organises the content of the texts into typologically distinct sets of macropropositions, which constitute summaries of the PS-components. The descriptions of the sample texts are used to assess translations of extracts from them. It is tentatively suggested that success or failure in the conveyance of the structure highlighted by the method may account for overall impressions of translation equivalence. It is also suggested that access to the entire text may help translators to perceive such structure and to convey it in the translation. Experiments are outlined for the testing of these hypotheses.

discourse analysis. text linguistics. argumentative text structure. translation. translation quality assessment.

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My interest in textlinguistics and translation stems from my work at the Savonlinna School of Translation Studies. Translation is an area which offers a never-ending rande of research problems. The present work is an attempt to clarify the role of text structure in translation.

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I wish to dedicate this work to my parents, Aino and Aarne Tirkkonen. In their youth, they did not have an opportunity for academic education, but they have left love for education as an inheritance to their children.

Savonlinna
March, 1985

S.T.-C.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The purpose of the study

This study has a twofold purpose. It describes the overall structure of two authentic texts, which have been judged as typical representatives of the argumentative text type on intuitive and linguistic grounds. By using the description of the two texts and other 'similar' texts as a starting point, it aims at producing a method for the structural description of other authentic argumentative texts. Its second purpose is to show that a knowledge of the overall structure of the text has consequences for the interpretation of a part of the text. A text extract cannot be fully comprehended without access to the entire text. Neither can a text extract be adequately translated without access to the entire text.

The method was developed through a kind of discovery procedure in the course of attempts to describe the structure of the two sample texts with the tools provided by literature in text linguistics. The main text-linguistic tools were the problem-solution description applied to relatively short authentic texts by Hoey (1979 and 1983); the description of some typical sequences in argumentative texts in Aston (1977), and the ideas on macrostructure and superstructure presented by van Dijk (1980). These tools were at first used each in isolation, with the result that there were three different preliminary plans for the description of the texts. The insight that the plans could in fact be united into one method grew gradually as each of the originally isolated descriptions progressed. Without the challenge presented by the necessity to describe the concrete texts, however, this insight would hardly have been possible and the tools would have remained separate. The concrete task of describing the texts revealed inadequacies in the tools, and while the tools were sharpened to fit their task, they were at the same time made mutually compatible. Thus the method seems to have developed through a discovery procedure: discoveries made of the texts helped to develop the method. The extent to which the method has general applicability remains to be verified by further research.

The need to describe the structure of texts derives from the problems encountered in translator training especially in the area of argumentative texts. Of all factual prose texts, argumentative texts have turned out to be the most difficult to translate. And the problems related to the translation of these texts are mostly other than those of linguistic proficiency in English. They are rather problems related to the comprehension and interpretation of this kind of text in general, whether in the mother tongue or in a foreign language, which in turn may be due to a lack of experience in reading argumentative texts. This is one reason why the present study is concerned with argumentative text structure: it aims at sheding light on aspects of comprehension.

A thorough comprehension of a text is a necessary condition for the production of a reliable translation, summary, abstract, or review of the text, or just for the designation of a title for it. It is also a necessary condition for the assessment or marking of a translation, summary, etc., or for the selection of a text extract for a translation exercise or translation examination. The evaluator of translation equivalence must have an overall picture of the source text and its translation as a basis on which to assess aspects of equivalence.

It is assumed in this study that the production and comprehension of a text includes knowledge of the overall design, or structure, of the text (cf. Bühler 1979). Thus the author and the addressees who comprehend the text have a knowledge, however intuitive, of the text structure. This knowledge need not be explicit: on the contrary, it may be difficult to describe in explicit terms. It is this intuitive knowledge of text structure that this study aims to describe and explicate. The consequences of lack of knowledge of the whole text structure can be discussed on a concrete basis in cases where only an extract of a text is provided for translation and the translator has no access to the whole text. The question of how the interpretation and translation of a passage in a text depends on the knowledge of the whole text is worth considering. Can relations among the sentences in the passage, for instance, be reliably interpreted without knowledge of the whole text? If the answer is no, it means that a passage cannot be reliably translated without access to the whole text. It also means that such a translation cannot be reliably assessed without access to the whole text. This is an issue on which a preliminary stand can be taken within the scope of this study.

The limitations of text description based on mere extracts of texts constitutes an issue of some importance for the present study: that is where it has its origins. This study is preceded by a study of textual equivalence in translation (Tirkkonen-Condit 1982, to be referred to below as the equivalence study). In the equivalence study, the material consists of two English text extracts and their 95 Finnish translation variants produced in translation examinations. Although the source texts are only one page long and consist of only 11-13 sentences, it is possible to make observations of some macro level phenomena. For instance the twofold function of thematics is pointed out: on the one hand, thematics gives an indication of the textual functions and relations of sentences and, on the other hand, of the main content, or macrostructure, of the text. Equivalence of sentence functions and macrostructure are identified as major criteria of textual translation equivalence.

A study which works on extracts instead of entire texts, however, has the limitation that it cannot relate the observed phenomena to the structure of the whole text. For instance, the knowledge of text type cannot be adequately used in explaining the phenomena observed. Since the equivalence study has this limitation, a natural task for further study is to describe the whole texts from which the extracts are taken. The description of the whole texts would make it possible to embed the equivalence study in its proper framework. The description of the whole texts, however, turned out to be a more extensive project than was originally expected, as there was no method that could as such be used for the purpose. Thus the equivalence study had to be largely omitted from the project, and consequently the present study is primarily a study in argumentative text structure and only secondarily a study in translation equivalence.

It was mentioned above that the texts that have been described for the present study were identified as representatives of the argumentative type on intuitive as well as linguistic criteria. The linguistic criteria for the purpose derive mainly from Werlich (1976), who distinguishes five text types: narrative, descriptive, expository, argumentative, and instructive. The distinction is made on the basis of linguistic features such as sentence type, sequencing type, type of text structuring, and tense. Typical features of argumentative passages contain, eg., evaluative sentences, contrastive sequences, inference-drawing conclusions,

and a general-particular structure. Examples of the kinds of text type markers introduced by Werlich (1976) for the various types are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Examples of text typological markers (Werlich 1976).

Text type	Descriptive	Narrative	Expository	Argumentative
Dominant sentence type	Phenomenon-registering sentence, eg. 'There were thousands of glasses on the table.'	Action-recording sentence, eg. 'The passengers landed in NY in the middle of the night.'	Phenomenon-identifying and phenomenon-linking sentences, eg. 'One part of the brain is the cortex,' 'The brain has ten million neurones.'	Quality-attributing sentence, eg. 'The obsession with durability in the arts is not permanent.'
Type of embedding	Non-finite participle clauses, relative clauses, spatial clauses	Temporal clauses, non finite participle clauses	Restrictive relative clauses, causal clauses	Causal, concessive and nominal that- or whether-clauses
Sequence type	Spatial	Temporal	Additive, explicatory	Contrastive
Type of text structuring	Spatial	Temporal	Analytical; general-particular	Inductive, dialectical, deductive; general-particular
Tense	Past/ Present	Past	Present	Present

It has also been suggested (see Hakulinen 1982:11) that text types may stand apart thematically. Linguistic markers such as those referred to above help to identify passages from texts as argumentative, expository, descriptive and so on, but they are not intended for the typological definition of entire texts.

When the aim is to define the type of an entire concrete text, a

division into text types can be based on a judgement concerning the main purpose or the point of the text (see Grosse 1976; Aston 1977, and Hatim 1983). According to Aston (1977:470), texts can be divided into types according to their 'illocutionary point.' The illocutionary point in argumentative discourse is to convince, whereas that in expository discourse is to inform. For instance an academic work aims at treating the reader as an equal: it aims at convincing him or her. A textbook, on the other hand, tends to treat the reader with authority and aims merely at disseminating information.

It is also in the interest of composition teachers to be able to classify texts for pedagogical purposes. Shaugnessy (1977), as reported in Hatch and Long (1980:11), suggests that there are five possible ways to organise a written monologue. These organisation types are:

(1) 'This is what happened,' a type which has a temporal organisation with a setting, a temporally ordered story line, and a concluding sentence.

(2) 'This is the look/sound/smell of something,' a descriptive type with a spatial organisation.

(3) 'This is like/unlike this,' a type in which the writer selects grounds of comparison, shows how the things being compared either have or do not have these characteristics, and gives a summary statement.

(4) 'This may have/probably/certainly caused this,' a type in which the writer holds simultaneously considered factors in suspension while sorting out, structuring, and evaluating all the possibilities.

(5) 'This is what ought to be done,' a type in which the writer states the problem, describes effects, locates most likely causes, generates possible solutions, defers judgement until the supply of solutions has been exhausted, assesses solutions, predicts unwanted side effects, and suggests one or some combination as the best.

This typology is naturally idealised for pedagogical purposes and does not suggest that authentic texts follow one of these ways of organisation and exclude all others. The correspondence of Shaugnessy's categorisation with Werlich's typology is obvious, although the former has a prescriptive and the latter a descriptive background.

The text variety covered by the present study manifests the argumentative linguistic features which are pointed out by Werlich (1976), but it also manifests features of other text types. It incorporates the

sequences established by Aston (1977), as well as other sequences. Its main illocutionary point is to convince, but again there are other illocutions. The directive illocution plays a major role so that in Shaugnessy's categorisation the two texts can be said to fall under the heading 'This is what ought to be done.' A linguistic review of the texts reveals typically argumentative passages, typically expository ones, typically narrative ones and even instructive ones. In this sense, the texts can be said to be mixtures of text types. For some purposes, such as translation and the teaching of composition, however, it is useful to be able to determine the main domain of a whole text. Isenberg (1978) discusses text typologies from a theoretical point of view and maintains that a good typology should be capable of identifying a concrete text with one particular type. An exhaustive typology is a desirable theoretical aim, even though concrete texts will seldom be pure representatives of only one type. It is nevertheless one of the purposes of this study to attempt to add to the battery of text type markers such elements that can help in the typological definition of concrete texts.

The purpose of this study can now be summarised. It is to describe two authentic texts in order to develop a method for the description of argumentative text structure in general, at the same time contributing to the battery of text type criteria, and to shed light on text comprehension and interpretation, and ultimately, translation.

The second, third and fourth chapters of this work deal with text description and method development, and the fifth chapter shows how the method can be used as a tool for translation quality assessment.

1.2. The material

This study incorporates the structural description of two authentic texts. The texts are given in Appendix 1 and they will be referred to as Text 1 and Text 2. Text 1 is P.H. Selman's article 'Environmental Conservation or Countryside Cosmetics?,' published in *The Ecologist*, November 1976, Vol. 6, No. 9, pp. 333-335, and Text 2 is Gerda Lerner's article 'The Majority Finds Its Past,' published in the *Current History*, May 1976, Vol. 70, No. 416, pp. 193-196 and 231.

An extract from Text 1 was used as a source text in the final translation examination of the Language Institutes of Kouvola, Savonlinna,

Tampere and Turku (now departments of the universities of Helsinki, Joensuu, Tampere and Turku respectively) in 1977 and an extract from Text 2 in 1978. The extract from Text 1 was also used in a translation examination at the university of Jyväskylä in 1980. These source texts, ie. the extracts from Text 1 and Text 2, and their translations were used as material for the predecessor of this study, as explained in the previous section, and the whole texts were inherited as material for further research in the present study.

The texts are intuitively judged as representatives of the argumentative text type. In Werlich's (1976) categorisation of text forms, ie. the conventional manifestations of text types, Text 1 and 2 fall somewhere between the 'expanded comment' and 'scientific argumentation' (cf. Werlich 1976:107-121). These are manifestations of the argumentative text type. In so far as the two sample texts are typical representatives of the argumentative text type, the observations made in their description can increase our knowledge of this text type. To test the hypothesis of typicality, other texts have been cursorily reviewed with an eye to the criterial features identified in the sample texts.

The informal control texts that have been reviewed to test the hypothesis that the sample texts are typical representatives of the argumentative type are mainly Finnish texts and include leaders and other articles from the editorial page of *Helsingin Sanomat* and articles from *Kanava*. A description of an article in *Kanava* with an earlier version of the method has been published (Tirkkonen-Condit 1983). The control texts that have been subjected to an analysis with the method are the following:

(1) E.E. Carlson, Elintaso ja kulttuuri. Oikeus laiskuuteen vai kiire rikastua? *Kanava* 3, 1982, 138-140.

(2) Hannu Tapani Klami, Kohti epäitsekkyyden politiikkaa. *Kanava* 5, 1982, 283-285.

(3) Markku Lahtela, Kenen puolella kirjailija on? *Kanava* 6, 1980, 334-337.

(4) Briitta Koskiaho, Alueellisissa perusparannuksissa kulissimaisuuden vaara. *Helsingin Sanomat*, 16.9.1982, p. 2.

(5) Pertti Rannikko, Kaupunkielämää mahdoton kehittää maalaisidyllin suuntaan. *Helsingin Sanomat*, 16.10.1982, p. 2.

These texts were found to be 'similar' to the sample texts, judged by

the criteria which suggested themselves as markers of argumentation on the basis of the description of the sample texts.

A preliminary review of texts of the non-argumentative types was felt to be necessary as a starting point for a comparative text type study. For this purpose, two texts representing the narrative and descriptive types were chosen. The narrative text is a brief news report titled 'Laundered marrow helps transplants,' published in the *New Scientist* of 9th February 1984, page 18. The descriptive text is categorisable as a technical report. It has the title 'Adjustable base makes ladders safer' and it appears in the journal *Engineering*, March 1984, page 165. Measured with the criteria that suggested themselves on the basis of the descriptions of Text 1 and Text 2, these two texts were different from the argumentative texts.

By virtue of the preliminary control measures described above, the present study starts from the assumption that the two sample texts are typical representatives of written argumentation and that their description can add to our knowledge of this text type.

1.3. The method

The two sample texts which constitute the corpus of the present study are described in terms of a combination of three modes of analysis (cf. Cicourel (1980), who recommends a combination of models for discourse analysis).

The first is *interactional analysis*. The text is described as a sequence of mutually related sentences and groups of sentences. Interactional analysis reveals the hierarchical structure of the text, ie. the subordination and coordination relations among its sentences and groups of sentences. It also reveals aspects of the interaction between the writer and the reader which lies behind the text by identifying the interactional roles of sentences and groups of sentences, as well as the illocutions prevailing in them.

The second mode of description is *problem-solution (PS) analysis*, which describes what van Dijk (1980) calls the superstructure of the text. The PS analysis constitutes a part of the I & I analysis, and it is highlighted in the present study in order to give a global view of superstructure and to facilitate inter-textual comparison. The text is de-

scribed as a sequence of minitexts composed of the parts of situation, problem, solution, and evaluation. By virtue of information derived from the interactional analysis of the text, it is possible to detect the hierarchical and interactional relations among the minitexts. It is possible to show how one minitext can have other minitexts 'embedded' in its structure and to detect the function of one minitext in relation to another.

The third mode of description is *macrostructure analysis*, which reveals the semantic structure or, in van Dijk's terms, the macrostructure of the text. The macrostructure analysis of the text derives information from the interactional and PS analyses and rearranges it in such a way as to turn out summaries of the text with varying degrees of specificity. The summaries are the concrete representatives of the levels of macrostructure. The macrostructure analysis makes use of the general vs. particular and superordinate vs. subordinate distinctions derived from the interactional analysis. It also acknowledges the information derived from the PS analysis: the summaries manifest four types of macropropositions which are relatable to the PS components of situation, problem, solution and evaluation.

The above general outline of the three modes of description should reveal their intertwined nature. In practice, the analysis of a text is carried out on all three fronts at the same time, and it is only for the purposes of presentation that the three modes of description are made to seem successive.

Since the main purpose of the study is to develop the methodology of text description, its scope is by necessity confined to a very limited material. The study relies on the intuitive judgement of the analyst in many details of description, in which the linguistic signals of structure are ambiguous. The study has the credentials of a qualitative study, and its results cannot therefore be generalised to all argumentative texts. Its results are tentative and can serve as a basis for further research.

In what follows, the order of presentation is determined by convenience for the reader, as far as this can be judged. Thus the first description of the texts which is actually presented in this study will be the PS analysis in chapter 2. It gives a bird's-eye view of the whole text better than the more detailed interactional analysis, which should logically perhaps come first because it provides the information needed in the PS analysis. The second description of the texts in chapter 3 will

combine the PS analysis with the interactional analysis. The last description, to be presented in chapter 4, is the macrostructure description.

2. THE PROBLEM-SOLUTION (PS) STRUCTURE OF THE ARGUMENTATIVE TEXT

2.1. The description of superstructure: general considerations

Superstructure is the compositional plan of a text. The teaching of composition at school normally introduces the conventional superstructure patterns of factual prose, and such notions as introduction, discussion and conclusion refer to components of superstructure. It is typical of superstructure that it remains unchanged within a particular genre irrespective of topic. Superstructure refers to the linear progression of the text. A text is composed of parts which follow one another in a 'canonical' order. Two texts with different topics but representing the same genre can have the same superstructure. Its is perhaps useful at this point to contrast superstructure with macrostructure. Macrostructure refers to the semantic, propositional content of the text and is in principle not tied to its linear progression. The macrostructure description of a text consists of lists of macropropositions conveyed by the text. Summaries of the text can be seen as concrete formulations of its macrostructure. Since macrostructure relates to the content of the text, two texts with different topics cannot have the same macrostructure. However, two texts with the same topic but different linear organisation can have the same macrostructure: they can be summarised similarly, if their propositional content is the same.

Rhetoric has been concerned with the structure of argumentation since antiquity but, from the point of view of linguistics, the structure of entire authentic argumentative texts has not been extensively studied. More linguistic research has been devoted to narrative texts (cf. Grimes 1975:245 and Gülich and Raible 1977). The 'canonical' superstructure of narratives has also been studied within psycholinguistics. It has been shown that superstructure has an important role in the recall and comprehension of stories (cf. Rumelhart 1977 and Schank and Abelson 1977). A story is expected to follow a particular superstructure schema. Sometimes these schemas are referred to as 'story grammars,' in parallel to sentence grammar. This parallel has been criticised, however (see eg. Kloepfer 1977; Black 1979, and Wilensky 1982).

The 'canonical' narrative superstructure suggested by Rumelhart (1977) is shown in Figure 1.

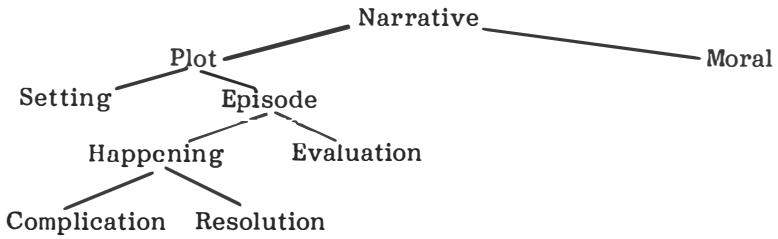

Figure 1. Narrative superstructure (Rumelhart 1977).

According to the narrative schema shown in Figure 1, a story is composed of a plot and a moral. In linear succession, a story has the components setting, complication, resolution, evaluation, and moral. Similar narrative structures have been pointed out, eg., by Labov (1972) and Longacre (1974) (cf. Hoey 1979:74-75). The narrative sequence suggested by Longacre (1974) is setting, developing conflict, climax, denouement and closure.

Hutchins (1977) suggests that expository scientific prose has very much the same superstructure as narrative prose (cf. also Grimes 1975: 211). Both can be reduced to the following cycle: equilibrium, degradation, disequilibrium, amelioration and equilibrium, which is the narrative cycle suggested by Brémond (1970). According to Brémond (1970), as reported by Hutchins (1977:28), there is a universal narrative cycle: every narrative integrates a succession of events oriented towards a goal, and these events can be classified into two categories - amelioration and degradation. At the beginning of a narrative there exists either a state of deficiency or a satisfactory state. From a state of deficiency there is a movement toward a state of equilibrium or a satisfactory state, ie. there is amelioration. From a state of equilibrium there is a movement to a state of disequilibrium, ie. there is a deterioration or degradation. A number of such cycles may occur successively, and one cycle may be embedded within another. Hutchins (1977) suggests that this Brémond cycle is also applicable to expository scientific prose.

According to Hutchins (1977:31), the types of scientific paper identified by Gopnik (1972) - the controlled experiment type, the hypothesis testing type, and the technique description type - all present the same superstructural componets: description of current approaches, demonstration of inadequacies, statement of the problem, statement (or testing) of the best hypothesis, and solution, ie. proof, of the best hypothesis. Hutchins reduces Longacre's narrative sequence and Gopnik's expository sequence to the Brémond cycle, and the result can be summarised as in Table 2.

Table 2. Narrative and expository superstructures accommodated to the Brémond cycle.

Longacre's narrative sequence	Gopnik's expository sequence	Brémond cycle
Setting	Current approach	Equilibrium
Inciting moment/ Developing conflict	Demonstration of inadequacies	Degradation
Climax	Statement of problem	Disequilibrium
Denouement	Statement of best hypothesis	Amelioration
Closure	Solution: proof of best hypothesis	Equilibrium

Hutchins's comparison of the various superstructure models which have been presented as text-type-specific in fact suggests that there may be just one, albeit a rather general superstructure pattern which governs all prose texts, whether narrative, expository, or argumentative. It must be pointed out, however, that such generalisations are often based on Western European-American conventions and do not necessarily apply to the rhetorical traditions elsewhere (cf. Chafe 1980). Loveday (1983), for instance, quotes evidence which challenges the universality hypothesis of superstructure patterns: even within the European tradition of academic writing there are differences. According to Clyne (1981), as reported in Loveday (1983:185), 'English requires

linearity while German appears to favour digression and parenthetical amplifications of subordinate elements. An extreme example of typically German non-linear discourse is where there are not only digressions but also digressions from digressions. Even in the conclusion there are digressions.'

Although culture-specific and language-specific differences do appear in such details as the amount, location and possibly signalling of digression, the broad outlines of prose structure are probably reduceable to a homogeneous pattern, which is general enough also to accommodate differences attributable to text type. Thus an argumentative text is expected to comply with a particular superstructure pattern. It has premises and background information, whose purpose is to provide the addressee with the knowledge and beliefs that he needs to be able to arrive at the conclusions which the author expects. Then there is the conclusion, whose purpose is to present the solution or conclusion which the author arrives at and of whose necessity he hopes to have convinced the addressee. The superstructure of argumentation, as sketched by van Dijk (1980:118), is composed of premises and a conclusion. Premises are made up of setting, problem and facts. The setting specifies what the argument is about and what objects and notions are involved; the problem specifies the nature of the problem; facts specify the states or events that the speaker considers to be true and directly acceptable by the hearer. If facts contain information which is not directly acceptable, an embedded argument or an elaboration may be necessary. The conclusion, finally, contains information which is inferred from the information contained in the premises.

The general argumentative schema is made more sophisticated (van Dijk 1980:20) so as to accommodate scholarly papers eg. in experimental psychology. In this more sophisticated schema the component parts which can be detected in linear succession are problem (setting and assumptions), solution (experiment and evaluation), and application. This particular superstructure is well known to readers of research reports in specialised journalas, for instance.

A comparison of the narrative, expository, and argumentative superstructures reveals a conspicuous similarity; the broad outlines of argumentative superstructure also comply with the Brémond cycle. The feature which seems to be shared by the superstructure descriptions so far

presented is the complication vs. resolution, or problem vs. solution, opposition. It is of course this opposition which is at the heart of the Brémond cycle. Beaugrande (1982:408) suggests an explanation as to why a narrative always has a problem-solution structure: the listener identifies with the characters and wonders how these would act in her circumstances. 'Whenever there are two states whose intermediate transition is uncertain, you have a problem ...' (Cf. also Swain 1978 and Wilensky 1982:429.) Grimes (1975:211) traces the problem-solution relation back to a more general rhetorical pattern, namely the response pattern, which also manifests itself in question-answer and remark-reply relations.

According to Grimes (1975:211), 'Both the plots of fairy tales and the writings of scientists are built on a response pattern. The first part gives a problem and the second its solution. The solution has to be a solution to the problem that was stated, not some other; and the problem is stated only to be solved.' This mutual dependence between the two parts is a feature which marks out the rhetorical relations realising the response pattern from other rhetorical patterns. In the covariance pattern, for instance, the antecedent and the consequent are not mutually dependent in the same way. A consequent can be stated without mentioning the antecedent, and vice versa. The sample texts of the present study are looked upon as problem-solution structures which realise the response pattern not only in the relation between the problem and its solution but also in the other superstructure relations, ie. those between situation and problem and between solution and evaluation.

When the problem-solution structure is seen as a manifestation of the response pattern, it becomes natural to study the text as a dialogue with the imaginary reader. This is the approach taken in the present study.

Hoey (1979 and 1983) demonstrates the problem-solution (PS) structure and some of its linguistic signals in a variety of texts, ranging from stories, advertisements and readers' columns to technological reports, lectures and conference papers. In Hoey's PS analysis, a passage or an entire text is described as a sequence of the superstructure components situation, problem, response/solution, and evaluation. Hoey identifies this sequence in relatively short authentic texts or text extracts. In Hoey's work the sample texts are selected so that all the superstructure components are explicit and follow each other in linear

succession. In the present study the texts are longer and more complex, so that the PS description does not as such apply to the description of their linear progression. The texts incorporate a hierarchical structure: they are complexes of sequences called minitexts. The minitexts in turn can be described as simple PS structures. Minitexts are the smallest units of text structure which manifest the PS structure.

2.2. The PS pattern in the description of the superstructure of the argumentative text

The PS pattern which forms the basis of the superstructure description adopted for the present study is shown schematically in Figure 2.

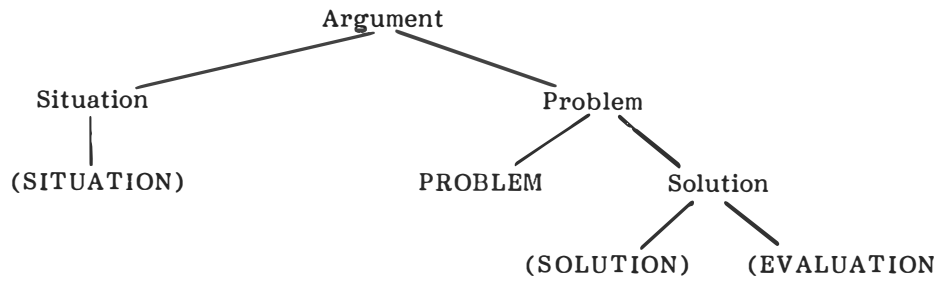

Figure 2. Argument as a problem-solution superstructure.

The brackets around the terminal nodes mean that some of the items may remain implicit in the concrete text. Thus, an argumentative text or minitext can consist of the problem component alone, or any of the following sequences: situation + problem; situation + problem + solution; problem + solution; problem + solution + evaluation; and the full sequence situation + problem + solution + evaluation.

When a concrete text is being described, the question of identifying the component parts in the text or minitext must be solved. As a method of identifying the superstructure components Hoey (1979 and 1983) uses the question technique, in which the monological text is treated as a dialogue between the author and the addressee.

Hoey, who bases his work on Winter's (1977) analyses, maintains

that a monologue consists of answers to the implicit questions 'What is/was the situation?,' 'What is/was the problem?,' 'What is/was your response/solution,' and 'What is/was your evaluation of the response/solution?.' Although Hoey's sample texts come from various text types and genres, he seems to assume that the dialogue with the imaginary reader or hearer follows the same interactional pattern irrespective of text type and genre. Therefore the questions suggested by Hoey often seem artificial. Especially the questions designed to elicit the situation and problem components can hardly be imagined to appear in a natural dialogue. Hoey (1983:64) quotes the following passage, in which the reader's questions have been inserted:

> Q: What is the situation (regarding the roots of soft fruits)?
> D: All soft fruits are surface rooting with the root feeding areas extending several feet away from plants.
> Q: What aspect of the situation requires a response?
> D: Any disturbance and breaking up of feeding roots by deep cultivation has a serious ill-effect on the cropping and health of plants.
> Q: What is your response to this problem?
> D: I limit cultivation between the rows to hoeing or a light going over with a three-pronged hand cultivator.

The same basic dialogue pattern is offered, whether the text is a children's story or a piece of scientific discourse.

If the aim is to show typologically revealing aspects of text structure, the question technique has to be made more sophisticated. It will then be possible to show that the dialogue with the imaginary reader varies according to text type. One way of showing text type differences is to reformulate the questions asked by Hoey. What kind of questions does the writer of an argumentative text anticipate at the end of the situation component or the problem component, for instance? How are these questions different from the kind of questions anticipated by the author of a descriptive or a narrative text at the same points of discourse? Another way of showing text type differences by means of the question technique is to look into the kind of questions that the imaginary reader is expected to ask within each of the superstructure components in various text types.

In the present study, the question technique will be modified in such a way as to reveal these two aspects of the argumentative PS structure: first, what kind of imaginary reader questions elicit each of the PS components, and second, what kind of imaginary reader questions

are asked within each of the PS components.

It is interesting to compare Hoey's question technique to Fahnestock and Secor's (1983) empirical findings about argumentative texts. Fahnestock and Secor collected 'propositions' which their students volunteered as subjects or theses for argument. They report: 'After collecting scores of these, we found that they could be sorted into four main groups answering the question (1) 'What is this thing?,' (2) 'What caused it or what effects does it have?.' (3) 'Is it good or bad?,' and (4) What should be done about it?'. Propositions which answer these questions are categorical propositions, causal statements, evaluations, and proposals respectively. The thesis of any argument falls into one of these categories.' (Fahnestock and Secor 1983:23.) Fahnestock and Secor do not suggest that these questions are those that the author expects the imaginary reader to ask; their proposal does not therefore imply a claim on the nature of the implicit dialogue in the argumentative text. Nevertheless a comparison of the questions pinpointed by Hoey on the one hand, and by Fahnestock and Secor on the other, reveals a considerable overlap, as Table 3 shows.

Table 3. Questions implicit in monologue according to Hoey (1979 and 1983) and Fahnestock and Secor (1983).

Hoey (1979 and 1983)	Fahnestock and Secor (1983)
What is the situation? (Situation)	1. What is this thing? 2. What caused this thing? (Categorical & causal statements)
What is the problem? (Problem)	3. Is it good or bad? (Evaluations)
What is your response/solution? (Solution)	4. What should be done about it? (Proposals)
What is your evaluation of the response/solution? (Evaluation)	Is it good or bad? (Evaluations)

It must be pointed out in parentheses that Fahnestock and Secor do not suggest that all the four types of 'propositions' must appear in an argumentative text. Argumentation can consist of one type alone, or of the combinations 1 + 2, or 1 + 2 + 3, or 1 + 2 + 3 + 4. The texts described for the present study have categorical and causal statements often in such positions in which they do not constitute theses for argument. It is possible, however, that categorical and causal 'statements' are 'assertions' in the sense defined in chapter 3. They can then constitute theses.

Another parenthetical comment must be made in this context. The observation that there is a closed set of proposition types that can constitute the thesis of an argument also supports the macrostructure description adopted in the present study, according to which macropropositions fall into categories determined by the PS superstructure. The fact that this theoretically derived categorisation of macropropositions largely coincides with the categorisation of argumentative theses independently established by an empirical study enhances the validity of the theoretical construct.

The problem-solution analysis, as already mentioned, is the basis for the superstructure diescription developed for the purposes of the present study. Although the PS analysis is general enough to accommodate other than argumentative text types, it nevertheless seems also to reflect the psychological process from which the argumentative text is the concrete outcome. It would be ideal if the description of the argumentative text could be embedded in the description of the argumentative process. (Cf. Beaugrande (1979:471) and van Dijk (1977 and 1980), who refer to theories of action on which text theories can be based.) Kummer (1972: 29) suggests that the process of argumentation can be described as an instance of the cognitive process of problem-solving. According to Kummer's proposal, the argumentative speaker or writer (S) assumes that the hearer or reader (H) has an undesirable 'initial position' to a state of affairs. The S's goal is to change the initial position in H's mind so that it approaches and ultimately equals S's own view of the state of affairs (cf. Carlson 1983:9). S's own view is the desirable position, the 'final position' to be established in H's mind. This goal is reached via a series of subgoals, the single arguments of the argumentation. When argumentation is seen as a problem-solving process, the initial, undesir-

able state is the problem, and the final, desirable state is the solution. The argumentation is the movement towards the desirable state.

According to Kummer (1972:29), it is typical of the problem-solving process in general that it 'allows changes of subgoals or strategies within the process of solution and is not bound to a pre-given plan.' Thus it is typical of argumentation that 'the arguments seem to be formed in the process of argumentaion; they appear spontaneously and determine the further course of action towards the goal.' Further, 'the directedness of problem-solving seems to work like a magnetic field patterning the material coming within its reach.'

Spoken, spontaneous argumentation can be expected to manifest more traces of the 'original' argumentation process than written argumentative texts. It can be assumed that much of the spontaneity that characterizes the argumentation process on which the text is based gets deleted in the course of writing and rewriting the text. Still, even written texts have structural features which can be attributed to the original argumentation process. The basic problem-solving pattern can still be seen in the text structure. An argumentative text can be described as a sequence in which the structural units situation, problem, solution and evaluation can be identified. There are specific 'slots' in the text for the initial, undesirable state - the problem - and for the final, desirable state - the solution. The evaluation slot is reserved for the evaluation of the conjectured outcome of the suggested solution. The situation slot is reserved for background material, ie. facts and views intended for the orientation of H to the problem area.

The original argumentation process is also reflected in the written text in that the ultimate solution is not arrived at suddenly but approached gradually, through various intermediate steps. The wavelike and repetitive proceeding towards the solution in a written text gives as it were a stylized picture of the argumentation process itself, which tries out a great number of subgoals and strategies, eliminates some and pursues others until the main goal is considered to have been reached. As a result the end product, the text, is a constellation of minitexts which all contribute to the ultimate goal, the solution. All the minitexts, however, do not touch upon the solution, ie. they do not have a solution slot at all; they merely illuminate aspects of the problem. Some minitexts, moreover, while relating to aspects of the problem, may also give a glimpse

of the solution and possibly even its evaluation.

There are differences in the ways in which individual texts proceed towards the solution. In Text 1, the solution is approached slowly: it is not touched upon until paragraph 15. The text is 'blocklike' in its overall structure. More than half of the text is devoted to aspects of the problem block, then comes the solution block, and finally a recapitulation of the main elements of the text, ie. the conclusion unit with the components problem, solution and evaluation represented. Text 2 gives glimpses into the solution earlier on; it has minitexts with solution components scattered throughout its structure. Such texts can be described as 'wavelike' in their overall structure (see 2.4.).

The problem-solution structure of the sample texts is clearly compatible with Kummer's idea of the nature of argumentation. In the texts, the problem is a distortion in people's way of thinking, in their attitudes to a state of affairs, as a result of which there is a distortion in the physical reality. The solution constitutes a change of these attitudes in order to change the physical reality.

It is not the aim of the present study to seek further connections between the original cognitive process of argumentation and the resulting argumentative text. Nevertheless, Kummer's proposal that argumentation be treated as a specific kind of the problem-solving process is felt to be highly relevant. Kummer's proposal suggests psychological validity for the idea of assigning a problem-solution pattern to the overall structural description of an argumentative text. Argumentation is envisaged as a movement from an undesirable attitudinal position to a desirable attitudinal position - a description which fits the pattern prevalent in the subtype of argumentative texts discussed in the present study. Although the problem-solution structure can be assigned to texts other than those of the argumentative type, as has been shown by Hutchins (1977) and Hoey (1979), the particular kind of problem-solution pattern pointed out by Kummer is typical of argumentation and not of exposition, for instance.

The notion of illocutionary point, which Searle (1976:3) uses as a criterion for distinguishing types of illocutionary acts, is sometimes applied to whole texts. Aston (1977) suggests that the illocutionary point of exposition is to inform, whereas the illocutionary point of argumentation is to convince. Hatim (1983) uses another global term, communicative

purpose, to the same effect. When applied to entire texts, the definition of such terms as illocutionary point or communicative purpose may turn out to be problematic. However, the notion of illocutionary point or purpose becomes more manageable if it is reviewed in the light of Kummer's proposal. The view that the illocutionary point of argumentation is to convince seems acceptable, and Kummer's proposal provides a perspective from which it is easier to judge whether a text aims at convincing the reader (cf. also van Eemeren and Grootendorst 1982). The essence of convincing seems to be just what Kummer suggests is the essence of the argumentative process - the attempt to change the hearer's way of thinking about a state of affairs so that it approaches and ultimately equals the speaker's own view. One way of establishing whether the illocutionary point in a text is to convince would be to see whether the text manifests the particular kind of PS structure which marks out argumentation.

Kummer's idea that argumentation takes place through several intermediate steps is also borne out by the structure of Text 1 and Text 2, in which the intermediate steps are represented by the minitexts.

Kummer's proposal, however, refers to the content of the text rather than to its linguistic features. Further, the problem-solution structure is not unique to argumentative texts and its identification in the text does not in itself reveal the text type. What is needed is a more detailed, and yet global, linguistic analysis which shows what linguistic features mark out the argumentative PS structure. Such more detailed linguistic analyses will be presented in the subsequent chapters of the present study.

In the rest of the present chapter, an attempt is made to describe how the PS structure is manifested in each of the sample texts. Where are the components situation, problem, solution and evaluation - referred to as the PS components - to be found in the texts? What are their linguistic and other signals? What is their linear and hierarchical distribution? How is the transition from one PS component to the next marked? The purpose of the present chapter is to outline the answers to these questions. More precise answers will have to wait until chapters 3 and 4, which will provide the necessary details.

2.3. Description of the sample texts as PS structures

The problem-solution structures of the sample texts (in Appendix 1) are outlined in Figure 3. The numbers in the squares refer to paragraph numbers in the texts. A diagonal line across a square marks the instances in which less than a paragraph is devoted to a PS component. Although the paragraph is not a legitimate unit or level of description (cf. Christensen 1967; Braddock 1974; Werlich 1976; Sopher 1979:103, and Hoey 1979:7), it is used provisionally as an operating unit for the purposes of the discussion in this chapter. This sketch of the superstructure of the sample texts does not claim the status of a linguistic analysis. It only serves as a starting point for the closer analysis to be made in chapter 3. An overview of some of the markers of the superstructure will be given in 2.5. The numbers in the circles refer to minitexts. Minitexts are the smallest units of text structure which manifest the PS structure. The sample texts are hierarchical organisations of minitexts. A minitext must have at least a problem component, while the other components are optional.

The sample texts are divided into three global units, which have the titles Initiation, Elaboration and Conclusion; each of these consists of one or more minitexts. The minitexts in Text 1 are numbered T_1 - T_7, and in Text 2, T_1 - T_{13}. Initation, Elaboration and Conclusion are themselves minitexts. Minitexts have identifiable interactional relations to the rest of the text. An attempt will be made in chapter 3 also to identify the interactional relations that prevail among the global units, ie. the minitexts referred to as Initiation, Elaboration and Conclusion. For the sake of simplicity, however, the labelling of interactional relations is postponed to the next chapter. It is sufficient merely to state here that the interactional relations between minitexts will be identified in the same way as those between sentences. The interactional relations are divided into two kinds, logically parallel to the grammatical notions of coordination and subordination. Following the division in Grimes (1975:209), these relations will be called paratactic and hypotactic relations.

The horizontal axis represents the linear progression of the texts, except where it has been necessary, for reasons of space, to give up this principle. In Text 1, for instance, paragraph 7 should of course be to the right of paragraph 6 and paragraphs 11-13 to the left of para-

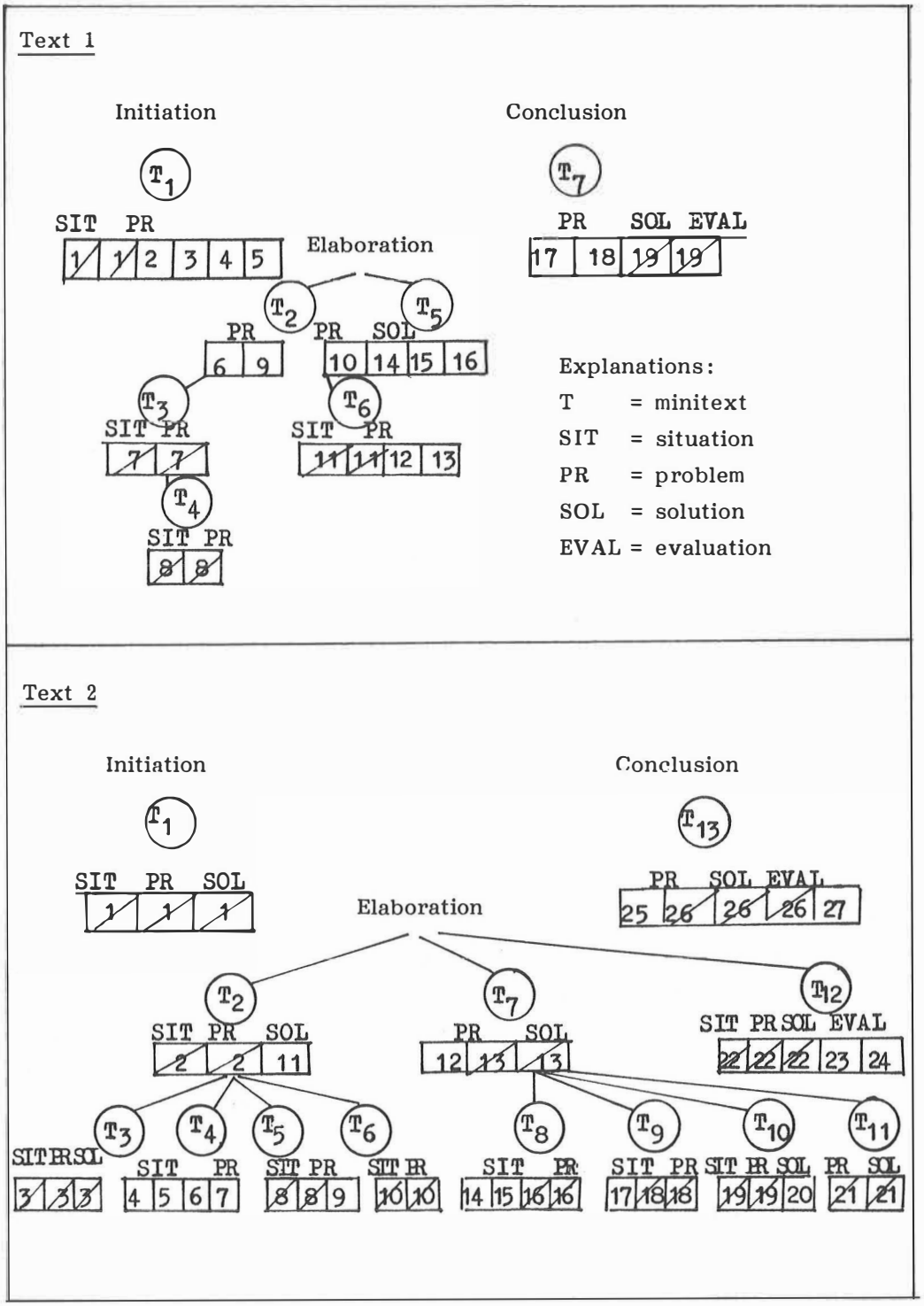

Figure 3. The problem-solution structure of the sample texts.

graph 14, and so on. The vertical axis represents the subordination relations among various sections in the text. The paragraphs which are coordinate (paratactically related) are at the same horizontal level, and subordinate (hypotactically related) paragraphs are below the superordinate paragraphs.

A bird's-eye view of the problem-solution structures of the two texts gives the following information. In Text 1, Initiation consists of minitext T_1, which has the components situation + problem; Elaboration of minitexts T_2 and T_5; T_2 consists of a problem component, which covers paragraphs 6-9; paragraph 6 has subordinated to it minitext T_3, which consists of situation and problem components, of which the latter has subordinated to it minitext T_4; T_5 consists of problem and solution components; paragraph 10 of the problem component has subordinated to it minitext T_6; Conclusion consists of minitext T_7, which has the components problem, solution, and evaluation.

In Text 2, Initiation consists of minitext T_1, which has the components situation, problem and solution. Elaboration consists of minitexts T_2, T_7 and T_{12}. T_2 has the components situation, problem and solution, where problem has subordinated to it minitects T_3, T_4, T_5 and T_6. T_7 has the components problem and solution, where solution has subordinated to it minitexts T_8, T_9, T_{10} and T_{11}. T_{12} has the components situation, problem, solution and evaluation. Conslusion consists of minitext T_{13}, which has the components problem, solution, and evaluation.

From the above account, the information can, for instance, be derived that a text has a hierarchical organisation. It is a complex of minitexts in which a minitext or, more precisely, one of its components, can have other minitexts subordinated to it. One consequence of this complex networt of subordination is that the linear progression of the text does not follow a neat situation + problem + solution + evaluation pattern. Embeddings in a sentence can result in such linear sequences as NP NP NP VP VP VP, as in the example *The house the man I know built burnt down*. Similarly, 'embeddings' in a text can result in such sequences as Sit Sit Pr Pr, or Pr Sit Pr Sol Sol.

Figure 3 shows that Initiation and Conclusion are at the highest level in the hierarchy, whereas Elaboration is subordinate. In terms of content, Initiation and Conclusion give a bird's-eye view of the text, whereas Elaboration provides the details. The reader is asked to read

the Initiation and Conclusion minitexts of the texts with the guidance of the map given in Figure 3, to get an idea of the content of these texts. The two texts are seen to be compatible with Kummer's idea of argumentation. In both texts the problem is a distortion in people's ways of thinking, in their attitudes[1] to a state of affairs, as a result of which there is a distortion in physical reality. The solution suggested by the authors in both instances is to change these attitudes in order to change physical reality. The process of argumentation, as it is manifested in these written texts, consists of pointing out the distortion and its consequences (situation and problem) and recommending a sound attitude with its projected outcome (solution and evaluation). In Text 1 the distortion in attitudes is the identification of ecology and conservation with the concept of amenity. The consequence is a continued despoliation of ecological resources. In Text 2, the attitudinal distortion is the male bias in traditional history writing, the consequence of which is a distorted picture of history in general and of women's history in particular.

2.4. Blocklike and wavelike PS structures

A comparison between the PS structures of the two texts shows that there is a difference in their ways of proceeding towards the solution. In Text 1 the solution is not touched upon until paragraph 15. More than the first half of Text 1 is devoted to aspects of the problem. In Text 2, in turn, the solution is touched on the first time as early as the first paragraph. Text 2 has minitexts composed of Sit + Pr + Sol scattered throughout its structure, by virtue of which the reader gets several glimpses into the ultimate goal, the solution of the text.

The different structures of these two texts may be symptomatic of the existence of two opposite tendencies of text structure, which could be called blocklike and wavelike. In the blocklike structure the superstructure components Sit, Pr, Sol, Eval are realised in the canonical order in terms of the whole text. In other words, the text begins with the situation block, which is succeeded by the problem block, the solu-

1 This feature is considered typical of argumentation by, eg., Gray (1977:298) and Wunderlich (1980): it is not primarily facts that are argued but attitudes.

tion block, and the evaluation block. In the wavelike structure the text is composed of a series of fully developed minitexts which realise the full range of PS components. The linear progression in these extreme types of superstructure is described schematically in Figure 4.

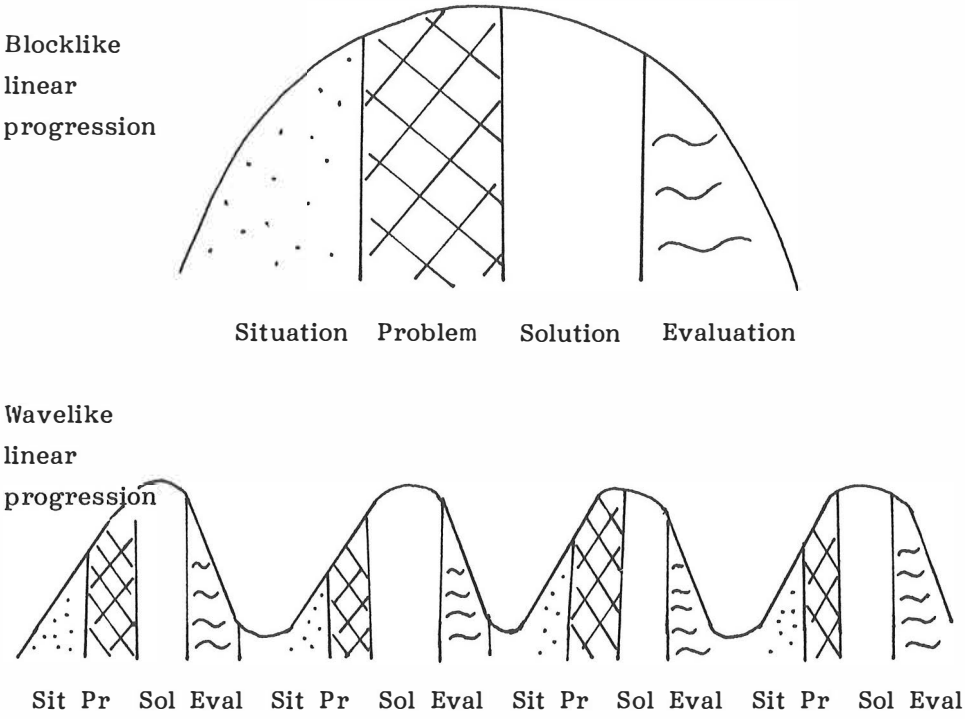

Figure 4. Blocklike and wavelike linear progression.

Of the sample texts, Text 1 is relatively blocklike and Text 2 relatively wavelike in linear progression. The structural defference between Texts 1 and 2 may be attributable to different assumptions about shared knowledge concerning the existence and background of the problem and the nature of the solution. Text 1 devotes its first half to the problem block, because it not only states what the problem is but also what has caused it. In Text 1, the problem component is twofold: in Fahnestock and Secor's (1983) terms it comprises a categorical thesis, ie. the thesis that planning and conservation do not go hand in hand, and a causal thesis concerning the cause of the conflict, ie. the thesis that the amenity bias among planners and environmentalists alike causes the conflict between planning and conservation. There is hardly any need for the

situation component; the reader is expected to share the author's knowledge about the mutual relations between planning and the management of environmental and ecological resources, as is shown by the very first sentence of the text. Even the first aspect of the problem is treated as largely shared knowledge (witness the lack of justification). Thus most of the problem component, and at the same time the first half of the text, is taken up by the causal thesis and its justification. The solution must necessarily wait until it has been shown that the causal thesis is valid. The solution component is merely an appeal for the recognition of the amenity bias and for its replacement by ecologically sound principles.

In Text 2 the problem comprises simply the thesis that conventional history writing is male-biased. None of this is treated as shared knowledge. There is also room for extensive situation components which give information about various aspects of women's contribution to historical events. A minitext typically proceeds from concrete evidence of women's contribution to historical events (situation) to an evaluation of the treatment of this contribution by male-biased history (problem), and further to a proposal that women's history be rewritten (solution).

Whereas in Text 1 the consequences of the amenity bias are treated as largely shared knowledge, in Text 2 the consequences of the male bias are treated as new to the reader. Thus in Text 2 the various aspects of the male bias and its consequences are illuminated by clusters of minitexts, many of which also incorporate a solution component. And the solution is more concrete than in Text 1 - not only a change in attitudes but also concrete measures to the effect of rewriting women's history. Thus the solution is offered throughout the text in the context of the various aspects of the problem. The difference of the two texts on the point of the solution is also manifest in their italicised introductions. Text 1 does not have the solution component represented in its introduction, while Text 2 has. In Text 1, the solution is left largely implicit, whereas in Text 2 it is considered necessary to be explicit about the solution.

2.5. The signals of PS structure: an overview

The above sketches of the superstructure of the two texts have been given without much consideration of how they have been arrived at. In

chapter 3, the various signals of the superstructure will be discussed. It can be shown that, on the one hand, the PS components are distinguishable on the basis of their internal structure and that, on the other, transition from one PS component to another is signalled linguistically. The bases of the minitext hierarchy will also be revealed. In the present overview of the signals of PS structure, many terms and concepts will be used whose definition must be put off until chapter 3.

The PS components differ in several respects. First, they differ in their interactional and illocutionary structure. This will be revealed in chapter 3 by looking at the kind of imaginary reader questions that can be thought of as being implicit within particular components. The questions implicit within the situation component are such that they elicit examples, explanations and details. The writer's illocutionary point in the situation component is to inform rather than to convince. Therefore the dominant illocution is one of statement: the writer expects the reader to share his belief in the truth of the propositions expressed. The situation component states facts and circumstances which serve as background information to the problem component.

In the problem component, the illocutionary point is to convince. It gives a negative evaluation of the facts and circumstances introduced in the situation component. The writer does not expect the reader to share his belief in the truth of the propositions expressed. He expects the reader to challenge their truth. The reader's questions implicit in the problem component are such that they make the writer provide justification or evidence for what he asserts. At the point at which the writer anticipates the reader's agreement concerning the problem, he may proceed to the solution. The illocution in the solution component is directive. To elicit the solution, the reader is expected to ask 'What should be done about this problem?'. In answer to this implicit question, the solution component puts forward recommendations and proposal as to how the problem should be solved. The directive illocution is conveyed by a declarative sentence rather than an imperative one. Expressions such as *we should do X* or *X is urgently needed* are typical carriers of the directive illocution. The evaluation component is again assertive: it consists of a positive evaluation of the recommended solution.

The PS components also differ in respect of the basic sentence patterns (cf. Werlich 1976) prevailing in them. The sentences picked out

for this comparison are the dominant sentences, as these will be defined in chapter 3. The comparison shows that the basic sentence pattern prevailing in the problem and evaluation components relates to the argumentative text type pattern, which, according to Werlich (1976), is marked out by an evaluative sentence. The basic sentence pattern prevailing in the situation component relates to the expository text type pattern, which is marked out by a classificatory sentence. The basic sentence pattern prevailing in the solution component relates to the instructive text type pattern, which is marked out by a directive sentence.

Further, the PS components differ in terms of their main semantic content or in terms of the macropropositions expressed in them. Since macropropositions manifest themselves in the dominant sentences, the type and content of these sentences constitute the basis of this comparison. The PS components are found to express the four types of 'theses' identified by Fahnestock and Secor (1983) differently. The situation component expresses predominantly categorical theses; the problem component causal and evaluative theses; the solution component proposals, and the evaluation component evaluations.

Finally, the PS components can be compared thematically. In the thematic comparison carried out in the present study, the main clause themes of dominant sentences are taken into account. On the basis of the thematic comparison, the tentative hypothesis is put forward that the PS components are also thematically marked out. The greatest difference is noticed in the distribution of propositional themes, the majority of which are concentrated on the problem, solution and evaluation components.

In summary, the linguistic differences between the PS components can be listed as follows: (1) interactional structure; (2) illocutionary quality; (3) basic sentence pattern; (4) type of macroproposition; and (5) thematics. The first three points will be discussed in chapter 3 and the rest in chapter 4. The signals of transition from one PS component to the next and the principles of the hierarchical organisation of the text will be discussed in chapter 3.

As can be seen from the above overview, the identification of the PS structure largely depends on the more sophisticated I & I analysis to be made in the next chapter. This dependence is natural in view of the fact that the PS analysis constitutes a part of the I & I analysis. In principle

it would be possible to discuss the PS structure only as a part of the I & I structure instead of highlighting it, as is done in the present study. Extracting the PS analysis from the I & I analysis has two advantages: (1) The text can be more easily seen from a bird's-eye view, as in chapter 2, and (2) texts can be more easily compared with other texts to reveal, eg., text type differences, as will be shown in 3.7.

3. THE ILLOCUTIONARY AND INTERACTIONAL (I & I) STRUCTURE OF THE ARGUMENTATIVE TEXT

The purpose of the present study is to describe the structure of concrete texts, and in particular, to describe texts as sequences of functionally related parts. The purpose of the present chapter is to find out, among other things, what illocutions prevail in the various structural parts of the text and how the various parts with specific illocutions are functionally related to each other. Thus, classifying and listing the illocutionary values prevailing in the text is not an end in itself - it serves the purposes of text analysis and ultimately text type analysis. There are many areas in existing literature that are relevant to these interests. From the perspective of this chapter, studies in linguistic philosophy, ethnomethodology, pragmalinguistics, discourse analysis, and other related disciplines can be divided into five groups.

The first group consists of research pursued mainly within linguistic philosophy and most notably represented by Austin and Searle, which relates to speech acts in what could be called 'system utterances.'[1] These are stretches of language, usually invented sentences, which could plausibly appear in natural spoken or written discourse but are treated individually, each in isolation (cf. Stubbs 1983:485 and Franck 1981:229). A major aim in this first group of research is to devise a classification of speech acts or illocutionary acts and to exemplify the unmarked realisations of each class by means of system utterances (cf. Austin 1962 and Searle 1965, 1975 and 1976). As will appear later in this chapter, such research provides the basis for the classification of illocutions also adopted in the present study.

The second group consists of the ethnomethodological research which goes beyond the classification of individual speech acts and attempts to identify pairs of speech acts that typically go together, such as question and answer; request and grant/reject; offer and accept/reject; thank and minimize. This research on what are known as 'adjacency pairs,' represented, eg., by Jefferson (1972), Schegloff and Sacks (1973), Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) and Schegloff (1977), is concerned

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1 I owe this neologism to Raija Markkanen.

with limited areas of spoken discourse. Compared to the first group, however, it is a step toward the central concern of the present study, ie. the description of sequencing in discourse. Although the present study deals with written monologue, it is possible to identify sequences comparable to adjacency pairs established in spoken dialogue. Such sequences are, eg., the situation-and-problem, and problem-and-solution sequences.

The third group consists of research in sociolinguistics and discourse analysis which looks at speech acts in sequences and is concerned with the role of context and the active contribution of the interlocutor in the interpretation of speech acts. Another feature is that this research offers illuminating insights and ideas rather than presents formal models for the analysis of concrete discourse. In this group such work as Labov and Fanshel (1977), Labov (1978), and Widdowson (1977) are relevant. Potentially ambiguous sequences in argumentation, for instance, can often be resolved if attention is paid not only to the text as a whole but also to the conventions prevailing in argumentative discourse.

The fourth group consists of the research in spoken discourse analysis which aims at presenting formal models and which also applies the models to the analysis of concrete chains of discourse. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) suggest a method for the analysis of classroom interaction. This method is applied to the analysis of drama by Burton (1980) and Korpimies (1983). Edmondson (1981) presents a model of discourse analysis which claims more general applicability than Sinclair and Coulthard's model. It is of particular interest from the point of view of the present study that Edmondson gives each 'communicative act' two values, an illocutionary value and an interactional value. This makes it possible to distinguish the speaker's intentions and the hearer's interpretations if necessary. Edmondson applies a principle according to which the hearer's interpretation of what an act counts as determines the way it is described. In the present study this principle must also be applied, since the hearer's interpretation of necessity coincides with the analyst's interpretation.

The fifth group consists of research on the written monologue. Gray (1977) demonstrates that dialogue can be used as a tool in the analysis and evaluation of a written monologue. A coherent monologue implies questions which together form a distinct pattern, such as the problem-

solution pattern, whereas no such pattern can be discerned in a monologue which intuitively seems incoherent. In the present work, as mentioned earlier, implied dialogue is used as a tool in revealing details of the structure prevailing in the sample texts. Much of the work on written monologue stems from problems encountered in the teaching of writing skills (cf. Aston 1977; Lieber 1980, and Connor 1983). For the present study, Aston (1977) is highly relevant. He is concerned with written argumentative texts which are treated with a dialogical approach: the text is viewed as a dialogue with an imaginary addressee. Like Edmondson (1981), Aston (1977) attributes two values to each speech act, an illocutionary value and an interactive value. Each act, realised by a sentence or a sequence, is viewed on the one hand as an illocutionary act, and, on the other, in its relation to other acts, as an internactional entity. Aston, however, describes only some typical sequences in written argumentation and does not aim at the description of entire texts. Important 'global' relations, such as the PS relation, are therefore ignored. In the present study, both local and global relations must be accounted for. In the classification of both local and global relations, the framework of rhetorical relations suggested by Grimes (1975) provides a good basis. Virtually all the interactional relations identified in the sample texts can be described in terms of Grimes's rhetorical patterns. Meyer's (1975) method of applying Grimes's principles to the analysis of fabricated texts has also been useful in the development of the method in this work.

The present study links closely with the work of Grimes, Aston, Edmondson, and Gray: it aims at a description of entire texts as sequences of illocutionary and interactional entities, and it looks at the text as a dialogue with an imaginary reader. (Eg. van Eemeren and Grootendorst 1982:2 suggest that argumentation should be interpreted dialogically even when it appears in the shape of a monologue.) Compared to the analysis of spoken discourse and of spoken dialogue in particular, the analysis of written monologue has one advantage: even if written monologue is viewed as a dialogue with the imaginary reader in the background, the author and the addressee are physically one and the same person at the time when the text is produced. In other words, the author's intention is not liable to misinterpretation in the way the speaker's intention is in a genuine dialogue. For instance, when writing

down what looks like a question (ie. has the interrogative form), the author as the imaginary addressee knows whether the item counts as a question or not. What follows is then an appropriate response to what was intended, as there is no confusion caused by misinterpretation. For the ultimate reader of the text, and for the text analyst, however, the interpretation of the 'dialogue' is not necessarily unambiguous at any given point. They may come across indeterminacy, ie. negotiability of the significance of speech acts (cf. Leech 1977:5), comparable to that incurred in a genuine dialogue. The authors may make a conscious attempt to anticipate the reader's responses, but even if they do, their capacity to anticipate the range of questions that the various readers may ask is limited. They only have themselves as judges of intelligibility. However, one source of ambiguity or indeterminacy is eliminated, in comparison with genuine dialogue, ie. the potential for a mutual misunderstanding in the original speaker - hearer interaction, since the author's knowledge of his own intention can be taken for granted.

In the present study, the term communicative act is used to represent the basic discourse unit, to avoid the term speech act, which seems to refer to spoken discourse. The communicative acts could be described merely in relation to each other, and the whole text could be described as a sequence of functionally (interactionally) related parts. This study, however, also attaches illocutionary labels to communicative acts. This procedure gives information about the PS structure of the text. Illocutionary values act as signals in telling apart one PS component from the next. Also, the text can be looked upon as a sequence of illocutions. The illocutionary labelling then gives information about the argumentative text type. For example, the information about a text that its problem components are predominantly assertive and its solution components predominantly directive may act as a signal that marks out the text as argumentative. It seems that such conditions do not prevail in other text types.

The role of the illocutionary and interactional description is identified in further detail in 3.1. below.

3.1. The role of the I & I description

The sketches of the overall structure of the sample texts presented in chapter 2 suggest that a text can be divided into three global units, Initiation, Elaboration and Conclusion, which in turn are composed of one or more minitexts. The minitexts can be described in terms of the problem-solution structure. As was pointed out in chapter 2, the sketch of the overall structure leaves open the question of how it has been arrived at. How do we know where the situation component ends and the problem component starts, and why one minitext is subordinate to another? The sophistication of the model presented in this chapter amounts to an accommodation of the PS analysis with a more detailed linguistic description. This is the illocutionary and interactional description, henceforth abbreviated as I & I description.

The I & I description has a complex role. It provides a linguistic framework for the PS description: it reveals most of the linguistic signals on the basis of which the PS structure sketched in chapter 2 can be established. It gives the principles which determine the hierarchical organisation inside and between the minitexts. It also helps to mark out the argumentative PS structure from other text types. As was pointed out earlier, the identification of a PS structure in a prose text does not in itself tell us the text type, because the PS structure can be established, eg., in narrative and expository texts. But the I & I analysis, containing the PS analysis, marks out the argumentative PS structure. The I & I analysis, containing the PS analysis, also provides a basis for the identification of macrostructure. Although the aim is to build the analysis on linguistic signals, the signals are often ambiguous and there is room for different interpretations. This is particularly true of the I & I analysis, which is more delicate than the PS analysis. There is the possibility that the subjective judgement of the analyst will impose an interpretation on a particular inter-sentence relation, for instance. This has to be borne in mind, when the overall results are evaluated.

An overview of the practical application of the I & I description, with the PS description combined in it, is given in what follows.

3.2. The I & I description in operation

3.2.1. The text as a dialogue

As has been pointed out above, this study applies a dialogical approach to the description of the written monologous text. The text is envisaged as a dialogue with the imaginary reader. Virtually all of the reader's contributions remain implicit in the actual text. In the sample texts there are only two instances which admit interpretation as the imaginary reader's questions, and one instance which can be interpreted as an expression of the reader's opinion. Thus the 'surface text' is a sequence of communicative acts produced by the author in answer to the imaginary reader's questions. The dialogical aspect also remains implicit in the diagrammatical descriptions of the texts. Only in the instances in which the imaginary reader's questions are actually manifest in the text are they acknowledged in the diagrams. The imaginary reader's questions are acknowledged in the analysis, however, in that the question technique is adopted as a method of identifying the interactional role of a particular sentence or sequense.

To make the above discussion more concrete, a brief informal summary of Text 2, largely based on its first paragraph, is converted into a dialogue between the author and the imaginary reader. The dialogue is presented in Table 4, which includes an I & I and PS categorisation of the structural parts of the dialogue.

The following subsection provides definitions of the terms communicative act, illocutionary value and interactional role. It also gives a sample analysis of a text extract to illustrate the I & I method.

3.2.2. Communicative acts, their illocution and interaction

As appears from the above preliminary sketches, a 'surface text' is seen as a sequence of communicative acts. The communicative act is the basic unit of the I & I description. It consists of a sentence or a sequence of sentences. A communicative act is paratactically or hypotactically linked with other communicative acts and thus a member of a longer sequence, ie. a sequence of acts which in turn together constitute a communicative act. A communicative act composed of a sequence of sen-

Table 4. A Summary of Text 2 converted into a dialogue.

The dialogue (the imaginary reader's questions are given in brackets)	I & I description		PS description
	Interactional role	Illocutionary value	
Author: Women share the world equally with men (sent. 1).	Situation	Statement	Situation component
(Imaginary reader: Can you elaborate on this?)			
Author: Equally in the sense that half of all the world's experience has been theirs (sent. 2).	Elaboration	Statement	
(Imaginary reader: Why are you telling me all this?)			
Author: Contemporary women's history has a built-in distortion (sent. 4).	Negative evaluation	Assertion	Problem component
(Imaginary reader: On what grounds are you asserting this?)			
Author: Women's activities are treated in terms of values defined by men (sent. 4-5).	Justification	Statement	
(Imaginary reader: What should be done about it?)			
Author: Women's history should be rewritten so that men and women are made the measure of significance (sent. 6 and 138)	Solution	Directive: recommendation	Solution component

tences may in turn be paratactically or hypotactically linked to another similar unit. In other words, the system is hierarchical: communicative acts are related to one another in a complex system of coordination and subordination. The largest unit treated as a communicative act is the minitext, and possibly the whole text. Thus the outlines of the hierarchy ultimately formed by communicative acts, if depicted graphically, will coincide with the hierarchical structures derived in the PS description of the sample texts. In the I & I description, basically the same hierarchical relations are being dealt with as in the PS description, only this time with greater precision. This greater precision means, among other things, that the relations among individual sentences will be reviewed where this is relevant. It will be necessary, for instance, to determine the hierarchical relations among sentences within particular PS components. The sentence or sentences which are at the top of the hierarchy in the sequence under review are called dominant sentences.

The communicative acts are assigned illocutions on the one hand and interactional roles on the other. When an act is assigned an illocution, the act is looked upon relatively independently from its environment.

The various functions which communicative acts have in relation to other communicative acts are their interactional roles. As appears in Table 4, the PS components of minitexts can be looked upon as communicative acts. Their interactional roles can be established as those of situation, problem, solution, and evaluation. In addition to these, other interactional roles will be established, starting with the roles suggested by Aston (1977). Aston's article is concerned with some typical sequences in argumentation and with the interplay of particular illocutions and interactional roles. It does not deal with entire texts and therefore does not look beyond what could be called 'local' sequences. Therefore such 'global' interactional relations as those between situation and problem or problem and solution are ignored. At a local level, however, the observations made in Aston (1977) are useful.

A detailed description of the illocutionary categories and interactional roles found in the sample texts will be given in 3.3. and 3.4. Only the rough outlines are given here.

For the identification of the interactional roles, the question technique is useful, as was demonstrated in 3.2.1 above. The situation is an act which initiates a text or a minitext, and it is not thought of as being

elicited by a reader question. The problem sequence in the example discourse in Table 4 above is elicited by the reader's question 'Why are you telling me all this?'. Further, according to the convention prevailing in argumentative discourse, assertions, ie. acts with the illocutionary value of an assertion, should be accompanied by justifications. The author's assertion anticipates an implicit reader question 'On what grounds are you asserting this?'. If this kind of implicit question fits in, the act which follows the assertion can be identified as a justification.

It is typical for the argumentative text reader to ask 'Why are you telling me this?' or 'On what grounds are you asserting this?,' whereas a typical question asked by a narrative text reader would be 'What happened next?'. One does not normally expect a story-teller to justify what he has said. The difference in typical questions reveals that the interaction between the author and the imaginary reader varies according to text type. It is possible that a story is 'embedded' in an argumentative discourse. The reader or hearer may not be able to see why the story is told an she may ask 'Why are you telling me this?,' which should elicit an explanation. But inside the story this kind of question is not typical.

In what follows, the techniques of the I & I description will be illustrated by means of an extract from Text 2. The extract is in Example 1, and it is described with a 'sentence map' in Figure 5.

Example 1. An extract from Text 2.

(10)The first level at which historians, trained in traditional history, approach women's history is by writing the history of "women worthies" or "compensatory history."(11)Who are the women missing from history? (12)Who are the women of achievement and what did they achieve?(13)The resulting history of "notable women," while significant and interesting in itself, must not be mistaken for "women's history."(14)It is the history of exceptional, usually middle or upper class women, and does not describe the experience and history of the mass of women.(15)It does not help us to understand the female point of view nor does it tell us about the significance of women's activities to society as a whole.(16)Like men, women of different classes have different historical experiences.(17)The historical experiences of women of different races are also disparate.(18)In order to comprehend society in all its complexity at any given stage of its development, it is essential to take account of this wide range of differences.

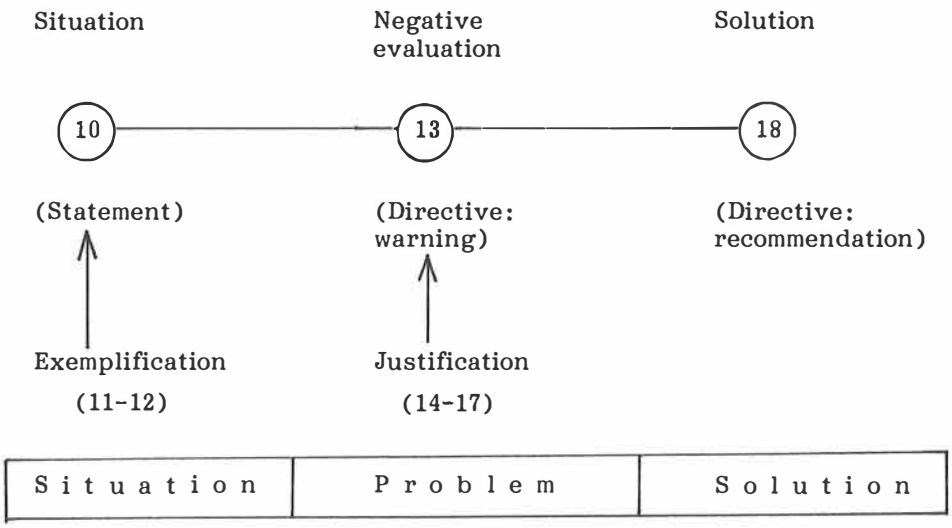

Figure 5. A map of sentences 10-18 of Text 2.

The extract in Example 1 covers sentences (10-18) of Text 2. This sequence as a whole is a communicative act whose interactional value in relation to the preceding text is one of elaboration. In terms of the PS structure, it is a minitext 'embedded' in another minitext. As mentioned earlier, a minitext can be considered as a communicative act. For the purposes of this subsection, however, this contextual information can be ignored. The values and mutual relations of the communicative acts identified within this minitext will be our sole concern.

The smallest unit of analysis is the communicative act realised by a sentence. In the extract of Example 1 each sentence is numbered. The dominant sentences of each PS component in Figure 5 are attributed two labels. The label above the circled number marks the interactional value of the sentence and the bracketed label below the circled sentence number marks its illocutionary value. Sequence (11-12) is an exemplification in relation to sentence (10). This is its interactional value. The sequences are not given illocutionary values here. Subordinate sequences such as (11-12) and (14-17) in this extract are often left unanalysed also for their internal interactional structure. If for some reason, however, a close analysis is needed, it is made. Sequence (11-12), for instance, will be analysed more closely in subsection 3.4.2.1.

The arrow pointing backward from (11-12) to (10) signifies the fact

that (11-12) is subordinate to (10). An arrow pointing upward or forward towards an act signifies that the act is superordinate in relation to the adjacent act. Coordinate acts are linked together by a line with no arrowheads. The principles of hierarchy will be discussed in detail in 3.4.

Sequence (10-12) as a whole, viewed as a communicative act, constitutes the situation component within the minitext (10-18). In relation to sequence (10-12), sequence (13-17) constitutes the problem. It can be thought of as elicited by the imaginary reader's expression of a 'wrong' opinion which can be worded 'The history of notable women is women's history.' The writer begins her attack on this 'wrong' opinion by negating it in sentence (13). The illocutionary label of (13) is directive: warning. The problem might as well be initiated by an entity with an assertive illocution, such as 'It is a mistake to view the resulting history of 'notable women' as 'women's history' in the true sense of the word.' Although both these formulations are declarative sentences in grammatical terms, the former gets a directive value from the meaning of *must not*, whereas the latter has no directively functioning expressions. However, the interactional role of (13) remains the same whether its illocution is directive or assertive. It is a negative evaluation which initiates the problem component. It expresses the writer's 'thesis', ie. the opinion which she defends. The thesis is followed by a justification (14-17), and this interactional role is elicited by the imaginary reader's question 'On what grounds are you asserting this?,' or 'On what grounds are you giving this warning?'

The last sentence of the extract, ie. sentence (18), is a solution in relation to the problem sequence. It recommends a solution to the problem set out in sequence (13-17). Its illocutionary value is directive. The imaginary reader's question which elicits the solution can be formulated eg. 'OK, I agree with you. What should be done about this problem?'.

To summarise, the structure of the extract is as follows: the communicative act realised by sequence (10-12) constitutes the situation; (13-17) constitutes the problem, and (18) constitutes the solution. The situation component identifies an aspect of traditional history writing, the problem component identifies the problem, and the solution component recommends action to be taken to eliminate the problem.

The information given about the I & I description up to this point

can be summarised:

(1) A text is composed of communicative acts. The smallest entity that is considered as a communicative act is the sentence and the largest is the minitext, and possibly the whole text.

(2) Each communicative act is looked upon as an interactional entity, in its relation to other communicative acts. An act which is realised by one sentence can also be looked upon as an illocutionary act. As an illocutionary act, a sentence is a statement, an assertion, or a directive act.

(3) Sequences of sentences can be looked upon in terms of illocutions according to the illocution prevailing in their dominant sentences.

(4) As was mentioned in 3.1., the I & I description has a complex role. In this chapter, the priciples are laid down for determining the hierarchy between and inside minitexts, for the identification of PS structure, and for singling out an argumentative text from texts of other types.

The principles for determining the hierarchy between and within minitexts will be laid down in 3.4. The markers of PS structure will be established in 3.6., and the markers of text type in 3.7. Although the I & I method 'works' adequately in producing such overall results as these, the description contains details on which other analysts might disagree. Some of the problematic points will be taken up in 3.8.

After this overview of the I & I method, the types of illocutions and interactional roles found in the sample texts will be discussed in detail in 3.3., 3.4. and 3.5.

3.3. Illocutions in the argumentative text

In Aston (1977) each communicative act is defined in terms of its illocutionary value and in terms of its interactional value. Aston's categorisation of illocutionary acts is based on the classification presented by Searle (1976). Searle's classification of illocutionary acts recognizes the following five categories: representatives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declarations. Aston's own contribution is a subclassification of representatives.

Most communicative acts in argumentative texts fall into the category of representatives. In the subtype of argumentative prose analysed for the present study there are also directives. Aston's (1977) study is

mainly concerned with research reports on social sciences, and in this material, directives 'play a minimal role' (Aston 1977:475). What appeared to be directives were more readily interpretable as commissives, as in the case of *consider the following sentence* or other metatextual comments. The material used in the present study appeals more directly to the reader than do research papers, which probably accounts for the appearance of directives.

The representatives and directives found in the sample texts will be further classified into subcategories in the following sections. The definitions of subcategories within the two classes are not based on Searle (1976), but on Aston's (1977) and Edmondson's (1981) classifications.

3.3.1. Representatives

Aston (1977:477) divides representatives into the following three categories according to the degree to which they convey the writer's commitment to the truth of what he says: statements, assertions, and reported assertions. In statements, the writer believes in the truth of the proposition expressed in the sentence[1] and he takes for granted that the reader does, too. He therefore does not (need to) convey his personal commitment to the truth of the proposition. He reports as a fact that a state of affairs is the case. In assertions, the writer believes in the truth of the proposition but he does not take for granted the reader's belief in its truth. He therefore conveys his personal commitment to its truth. He proposes or claims that a state of affairs is the case. In reported assertions the writer neither conveys his commitment to the truth of the proposition nor takes for granted that the reader believes it. He merely reports somebody else's assertions. One important reason for reporting what somebody else has said is that the writer wants to avoid expressing his own commitment.

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1 It is assumed that there is only one dominant proposition in a sentence, to which all the other propositions are textually and often syntactically subordinated. The dominant proposition is normally expressed in the main clause, or, when the main clause is non-topical in Lautamatti's (1980) sense, in the subclause which acts as the carrier of the theme of the passage. This assumption has a parallel in Grice (1981:192), where it is suggested that a hearer takes a stand on just one Russelian conjunct in the speaker's utterance.

The distinction between statement and assertion, according to Aston (1977:478), parallels that between objective and subjective modality as outlined by Lyons (1981:237)[1]: in objective modality the state of affairs is 'recognized as existing independently of the speaker,' whereas in subjective modality 'the speaker involves himself subjectively in judgement.'

Halliday's (1970) notion of modality is also brought to bear on the distinction between statement and assertion. Aston (1977:478) maintains that Lyons's subjective modality coincides with Halliday's modality, which is defined as follows:

> modality is a form of participation by the speaker in the speech event. Through modality, the speaker associates with the thesis an indication of its status and validity in his own judgment; he intrudes, and takes up a position. Modality thus derives from what we called above the 'interpersonal' function of language, language as expression of role ...'

Aston carries on the discussion on the distinction between statement and assertion by introducing lexico-grammatical features which act as signals of the distinction. As examples of such features he mentions modal verds, tense and evaluative expressions. Modal verbs which convey the speaker's commitment to or judgement of the truth of the proposition expressed are signs of assertion. Past tense can sometimes indicate the statement: witness Halliday's (1970) example 'I am sure this gazebo was built by Wren' versus 'I was sure this gazebo was built by Wren,' of which the latter is a statement. The former asserts Wren's authorship, the latter merely reports the speaker's past belief. Evaluative expressions relating to the desirability of a state of affairs are said to function as markers of assertion. As examples of such expressions, Aston (1977: 479) lists *good, important, fundamental,* as in *The squink's ability to fly backwards was fundamental to its survival.* It is to be noted that evaluative expressions are not necessarily adjectival. A noun phrase or a verb phrase can just as well be evaluative, as in 'The existence of this

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1 The reference (to Lyons) in Aston (1977:478) is to a lecture course given in 1976. This discussion now appears in Lyons (1981).

bias is a major *obstacle*' or in 'Historical writing *ignored* the history of women'. The last examples reveal that Aston's identification of the statement vs. assertion distinction with Halliday's notion of modality is not quite precise. In Halliday's terms, Aston's sentence about squinks and the last two examples have no expressions of modality. On the other hand, Lyons's subjective modality, as it is defined above, might well be understood to cover instances with 'evaluative expressions' such as these. It is regrettable for of the definition of the statement vs. assertion distinction that Halliday's modality cannot be used as a single criterion: this would make its definition simple. What we are left with are examples of the kind of features which sometimes mark the distinction, and a suggestion for further research (Aston 1977:481). The ultimate distinction between evaluative and factual 'statements', however, is a philosophical problem whose solution is not necessary for the illocutionary distinctions made here (cf. Huotari et al. 1980:30-31).

In principle the writer can treat an evaluation as if it were a statement or as if it were an assertion. In the latter instance he considers the evaluation challengeable and expresses his commitment to its validity by means of modal verbs or equivalent expressions. Another way of expressing commitment to validity is to introduce a justification for the evaluation (cf. Murray 1983:3). If the writer chooses to treat the evaluation as if it were a statement, he takes its validity and the reader's belief in it for granted and does not offer a justification. He may assume, for instance, that the evaluation appeals to the knowledge and values shared with the readers and needs no justification. A 'shared-knowledge evaluation' does not bear witness to the author's personal commitment to its truth.

Reported assertions are marked by expressions such as *it has been said that, it is recognized that, according to so and so, studies have shown that,* and *as is well known* (cf. Cooper 1981). What, then, are the markers of statements? Aston (1977) does not attempt to answer this question. He only mentions statement markers, which turn an act into a statement even if it has evaluative elements. The statement markers include such expressions as *obviously, clearly, it cannot be denied that,* and *of course.* Statements in argumentation seem to include generic sentences such as 'Man is mortal' as well as phenomenon-identifying, phenomenon-registering and action-recording sentences as these are defined

by Werlich (1976:28-29). These are sentences which constitute the 'text base' of exposition, description, and narration, respectively. Statements include the reporting of what the writer thinks are generally known facts and, at the other extreme of the scale, the reporting of phenomena which can be known to the speaker or writer alone, as in 'The Earth is a planet' vs. I have a head-ache' or 'I think the film is awful.' (Cf. Glisman's (1979) distinction between *emotives* and *evaluations*, as reported in Heltoft (1982:213): evaluations are debatable, emotives are not. In the present categorisation, however, emotives would fall under the heading of expressives rather than representatives.)

Outside texts, however, there is no absolute distinction between statements and assertions: they form a continuum. This is a view also shared by Edmondson (1981). He introduces, among his inventory of illocutionary categories, the categories of Tell vs. Claim, which roughly correspond to statements vs. assertions respectively. Edmondson (1981: 145) concludes that there is a cline operating between Tells and Claims.

Below, an attempt will be made to divide the continuum of representatives into classes according to the degree to which the writer's commitment to the truth of the act is expressed:

(1) Assertion accompanied by justification;
(2) Reported assertion including a specific reference to source (such as *according to Smith*);
(3) Reported assertion including a nonspecific reference to source (such as *it is generally recognized that* or a statement marker (such as *obviously, clearly*);
(4) Shared-knowledge assertion (includes evaluative expressions or other markers of assertion but is not accompanied by justification);
(5) Statement.

Only the first category is assertion proper in the sense that it is recognized as such by the writer. Therefore the classification can be seen as a cline between assertive and nonassertive. In the actual description of the texts, the illocutionary labels of assertion, reported assertion, shared-knowledge assertion, and statement will be used.

Although there is no absolute statement vs. assertion distinction outside texts, it seems that the identification of concrete sentences as one or the other is possible in the argumentative text itself. As was pointed out above, it is typical of argumentation that assertions should

be justified. In other words, challengeable propositions are recognized as such, and if the writer wishes to advocate such a proposition, he must be prepared to defend it. Thus the production of a justification in itself signals the fact that the writer is proposing or claiming the validity of the proposition rather than taking the reader's belief in it for granted.

The criterion which distinguishes between assertion and statement, ie. whether the author's concern with the validity of the thesis is expressed or not, could be extended to mark a distinction between text types. In argumentative discourse, according to Aston (1977:478), 'the speaker is primarily concerned with the status and validity of the thesis; the aim is that of bringing the reader to share not so much the addresser's knowledge as his point of view.' The whole point of argumentation is to present potentially challengeable propositions (eg. value judgements) rather than well established facts.[1] It is possible therefore to make the further generalisation that argumentation is predominantly assertive, whereas exposition, description and narration are predominantly stative. *Assertive* in this context implies the expression of the writer's concern for the validity of his thesis. Although argumentation can be said to be predominantly assertive, statements naturally also appear in an argumentative text. They appear, for example, in the situation component and in the justification of assertions.

3.3.2. Directives

In addition to representatives, there are directives in the sample texts. The directives found in the texts are indirect in the sense that they do not appear in the imperative form (cf. Edmondson 1981:28). They appear in the form of declarative sentences, but they have a directive function. Their function is to cause action or a change of approach on the part of the reader or third parties. The 'indirect' way of conveying the directive illocution is accounted for, according to Harweg (1980: 319), by the non-obtrusive nature of argumentative texts: they do not confront the recipient. This, however, does not make these texts less

---

1 This is compatible with the principle in argumentation (cf. Kjøller (1975:10) according to which both interlocutors are aware of the speaker's or writer's attempt to influence the addressee.

persuasive, as shown by Marcondes de Souza (1983).

The directives expressed by declarative sentences in the sample texts are divided into two classes, proposals and recommendations. In defining these, Edmondson's (1981) definitions of Requests, Suggests, and Proposals have been used as a basis. Although there are no Requests or Suggests in the material used here, their definitions are repeated below to make possible a comparison to the types that do appear in the material:

Request: Speaker (S) wishes Hearer (H) to believe that S is in favour of H's performing a future act A, in the interests of S (Edmondson 1981:141).

Suggest: S wishes H to believe that S is in favour of H's performing a future act A, in the interests of H (Edmondson 1981:142).

Propose: S wishes H to believe that S is in favour of an act A, to be performed jointly by S and H, in the interests of both (Edmondson 1981:142).

Recommend: S wishes H to believe that S is in favour of an act A to be performed by a specified or non-specified third party, in the interests of S, H and third parties (definition made by the present writer).

There are no Requests or Suggests in the sample texts. There are Proposes and Recommends, henceforth to be referred to as proposals and recommendations. In addition, there is one instance of what can be called Warning, which is defined as follows: S wishes H to believe that S is in favour of an act A *not* to be performed by a specified or non-specified third party, in the interests of S, H, and third parties. The fact that there are only proposals, recommendations and warnings in the texts means that the reader is not directed to 'perform a future act' without the writer's cooperation. Alternatively, the reader is not directed to perform the act himself at all. Another assumption is that the performance of the act will be in the interests of both S and H, and ultimately of third parties, too. The majority of the directives in the texts are recommendations, which do not directly involve either the writer or the reader in the performance of the act. The reason why these have nevertheless been included in the category of directives is that the writers count on a considerable overlap of the readership and third parties. The

journal *Current History* will be read by historians and *The Ecologist* by planners and environmentalists. Also, both journals are read by potential pressure groups of third parties. Thus recommendations that involve third parties also involve the reader.

The proposals found in the texts take the kinds of forms shown in Example 2.

Example 2. Proposals in Texts 1 and 2.

> In order to improve our present performance, therefore, *we must first overcome* the basic difficulty of translating ecological information into the planning process. (Text 1, sentence 50.)
>
> And so, to construct a new history that will with true equality reflect the dual nature of mankind - its male and female aspect - *we must first pause* to reconstruct the missing half - the female experience: women's history. (Text 2, sentence 6.)

The recommendations are more varied in their forms, as shown in Example 3.

Example 3. Recommendations in Texts 1 and 2.

> *The governmental approach* to environmental conservation *must change its emphasis* from the preservation of amenity to the retention of maximum biological diversity and the rational evaluation of natural resources; *planning must adapt* to a longer-term and less superficial perspective of biotic resources, *and even be prepared* to let ecologic principles determine the framework of statutory plans. (Text 1, sentence 51.)
>
> *It is thus the joint onus upon planners and ecologists to persuade* politicians that the current approach to resource planning is an oblique and superficial one. (Text 1, sentence 58.)
>
> In order to comprehend society in all its complexity at any given stage of its development, *it is essential to take account of this wide range of differences.* (Text 2, sentence 18.)
>
> *The most advanced conceptual level by which women's history can now be defined must include an account of the female experience* as it changes over time and should include the development of feminist consciousness as an essential aspect of women's historical past. (Text 2, sentence 58.)
>
> *Historical interpretation* of the community-building work of women *is urgently needed.* (Text 2, sentence 106.)
>
> *Women's history demands that* men and women be made the measure of significance. (Text 2, sentence 138.)

In addition to the directives expressed by declarative sentences, the texts have a number of sentences with the interrogative form. With two exceptions, these function as examples. In the description of the texts, these 'questions' have been given the illocutionary label of statement. In two instances, interrogative sentences do function as questions. In Edmondson's terms, they are Requests for Claim (cf. Edmondson 1981: 150). They are interpretable as the imaginary reader's questions actually expressed in the text. The subsequent acts are interpretable as the author's responses to these questions.

3.3.3. The interactional consequences of illocutions

Interactional roles are not detached from illocutions and vice versa. It was suggested in chapter 2 that an argumentative text and minitext are built around a problem. There cannot be a text or minitext without a problem component. The situation component is there only to be problematized. And the problem component in an argumentative text goes together with an assertive illocution; its dominant sentences are assertive. An assertion is normally accompanied by a justification. The problem in turn calls for a solution, which in argumentation tends to have a directive illocution. The labels statement, assertion and directive refer to illocutionary values, whereas the labels problem, solution, and justification refer to interactional roles. Specific illocutions are seen to admit or call for certain interactional roles and vice versa. The interactional roles will be classified and exemplified in 3.4. below, and their illocutionary restrictions will be pointed out.

3.4. Interactional roles and their realisations in the sample texts

One way of looking at relations between communicative acts, ie. of identifying interactional roles, is in terms of rhetorical propositions as these are understood by Grimes (1975). The communicative acts whose mutual relations are being looked at are then arguments in a rhetorical proposition in which there is an identifiable rhetorical predicate. When the nature of the rhetorical predicate can be identified, an important aspect of the mutual relation between or among the acts has been described.

It seems that most of the interactional roles that appear in the sample texts can be defined in terms of the following six rhetorical predicates: (1) response, (2) evidence, (3) explanation, (4) specificity, (5) equivalence, and (6) collection.

As was mentioned in chapter 2, the response pattern is at the heart of the problem-solution structure. It is not only the problem-solution relation, however, that can be traced back to the response pattern. The situation-problem and solution-evaluation relations can also be seen as manifestations of the response pattern.

Response is a paratactic rhetorical predicate. There are two coordinate arguments in the rhetorical proposition, and the two arguments are mutually dependent. As Grimes (1975:211) says, 'the solution has to be a solution to the problem that was stated, not some other; and the problem is stated only to be solved.'

Although the problem is stated to be solved, the solution itself may remain implicit. The writer may feel that it is enough to convince the reader that what he presents as a problem is indeed a problem. The explicit formulation of the solution in the text can be left out. The solution component, when it is explicitly expressed, constitutes the writer's response to the problem.

It is suggested here that the response pattern is also manifest in the relation between situation and problem. Here the mutual dependence is such that the problem has to be a problem arising from the situation that was stated, not some other situation, and the situation is stated only to be problematized. An argumentative text cannot be formed by a situation component alone. The situation is there only as a background to a problem. It is possible, however, that the situation is omitted. The writer may feel that the readers share the situation knowledge with him and do not need it in the text in order to appreciate the problem.

The sequence which constitutes the problem component expresses the writer's 'point,' his own opinion. It often begins with a negative evaluation of an aspect of the situation. Alternatively, it begins with a negation of the 'wrong' opinion which the reader is assumed to have. In the description of the texts, these negations are not distinguished from negative evaluations. In any case, the first act of the problem sequence conveys the writer's own opinion, the thesis that the writer wants to defend. The sequence typically continues with an act which justifies the

opinion and it may end with a conclusion which repeats the writer's opinion. The problem component as a whole constitutes the writer's response to the situation.

Acts which function as evaluations are held to be manifestations of the response pattern. Thus the evaluation component, in the instances in which it is explicitly expressed, is considered to be in a response relation to the solution component. It constitutes the writer's response to the solution. Here the mutual dependence is weaker than in the situation-problem and problem-solution relations: the solution is not stated primarily to be evaluated. Rather, it is stated to be implemented.

Mutual dependence in content matter is a criterion for the identification of whether a relation between two communicative acts is a response relation. The question technique provides a second criterion. Let us look again at the imaginary reader's questions which elicit the problem, solution and evaluation. The problem can be elicited by the question 'What is the point you want to make?' or 'Why are you telling me all this?' These formulations challenge the author to take a stand, to respond to the situation she has set up. They do not call for more of the same; they call for a response. Another formulation of the reader's question, albeit a more general one, which also covers the earlier formulations, is 'What is your response to the situation you have just described?' The other way in which the imaginary reader may elicit the problem, is by expressing a 'wrong' opinion, an opinion which is the opposite of the writer's own opinion. In addition to expressing the wrong opinion, the imaginary reader may ask the question 'What do you have to say to this?' or 'What is your response to this?' This elicits a negation of the wrong opinion.

The imaginary reader's question which elicits the solution was earlier formulated as follows: 'OK. I agree with you. What should be done about this problem?' This question can be reformulated as 'OK. I agree with you. What is your response to this problem?' The imaginary reader's question which elicits the evaluation has not been formulated earlier. One possible formulation is 'What is your evaluation of the solution?', which can be reformulated as 'What is your response to the state of affairs which will prevail when the solution you recommend has been implemented?'

The above plausible reformulations of the imaginary reader's ques-

tions show that the response pattern is so general that it accommodates not only the problem-solution relation but also the situation-problem and solution-evaluation relations. In general, acts functioning as evaluations in relation to previous acts are seen as manifestations of the response pattern. The response pattern is by far the most important pattern in the argumentative text. The response pattern alone goes a long way to describe the dialogue which goes on with the imaginary reader throughout the text. It accommodates the dialogue which lies behind the problem-solution structure within a minitext. It also accommodates all evaluations, recognized as markers of the argumentative text type eg. by Werlich (1976). The response pattern, however, does not explain relations between minitexts or the relations within each of the PS components. Therefore other rhetorical patterns are needed to explain the structure of the entire text and the structures which prevail within PS components.

For an understanding of the argumentative structure, an understanding of the internal structure of the problem component is particularly important. This is where the rhetorical predicates evidence and explanation are needed.

Evidence is introduced in Grimes (1975:217) under the heading of hypotactic rhetorical predicates. The communicative act which contains the evidence is subordinate to the act which needs the evidence. In the present study, justifications and, partly, conclusions are seen as manifestations of the evidence pattern. Justification is elicited by the reader's question 'On what grounds are you asserting this?'. This is a question which challenges the writer's opinion and makes it necessary for the writer to defend it, to justify it with evidence. By means of justification, the writer convinces the reader and brings him to the 'desired position' in which he accepts the writer's thesis.

Explanation (cf. Grimes 1975:217) is another hypotactic rhetorical predicate. The communicative act which functions as an explanation is subordinate to the act explained. The interactional role of explanation and, partly, the role of conclusion are manifestations of Grimes's explanation pattern. The explanation is elicited by the reader's question 'Why?' or 'What is the cause of this?'

As appears from the above account, conclusions are traced back in this study to the evidence and explanation patterns. It turned out to be

difficult to tell apart the two origins of conclusions in practical text analysis, and they were therefore merged together. A conclusion is elicited by a reader question which can be formulated, eg., 'OK. I agree with you. How would you conclude the discussion so far?' or 'Yes, I see. How would you conclude the discussion so far?'.

Specificity is another hypotactic rhetorical predicate. It accounts for the general-particular relations, which are common in all factual prose texts. According to Grimes (1975:215), the specificity predicate relates subordinate information which is semantically less inclusive to information which is semantically more inclusive and therefore less precise. In this study, the interactional roles elaboration and enlargement are regarded as manifestations of the specificity pattern. Elaborations include exemplifications. For the purposes of this study it is not necessary to distinguish other subcategories within elaborations. The specificity pattern is probably the pattern which accounts for the relations at the highest level, ie. for the relations that prevail between the global units of the text.

Equivalence (cf. Grimes 1975:215) is a hypotactic relation in which information is restated by the subordinate member of the relation. The restated information is subordinate to the information being restated. According to Grimes (1975:215), 'The subordinated information may present a different side of the thing referred to than the thing it is subordinated to. In reference, however, the two are the same.' In the equivalence relation, 'either member could be used to establish reference; which one is the dominant center and which subordinate seems to depend entirely on the staging or perspective the speaker wishes to impose on what he says.' In the present study, the interactional role of reformulation falls into this category.

The rhetorical predicate collection (cf. Grimes 1975:219), in its paratactic manifestation, accounts for the interactional role of addition in this study. When two or more coordinate communicative acts relate to another act in the same way, ie. when they share an interactional role, their mutual relation is one of collection. The second member in the sequence is an addition in relation to the first member; the third in its relation to the second, and so on. Of two paratactic elaborations, for instance, the second is an addition in its relation to the first.

Adversative relations (cf. Grimes 1975:228) also sometimes appear

among the mutual relations of acts sharing an interactional role. These, too, are recorded under the heading of addition.

In the present study, metastatement is the only interactional role which is not derived from one of Grimes's rhetorical predicates. Metastatements include the communicative acts which can be interpreted as the imaginary reader's questions actually expressed in the texts. They also include the communicative acts whose function is to explicate the relations between other communicative acts.

The interactional roles which appear in the sample texts have all come up in the above discussion. These are situation, problem, solution, evaluation, justification, explanation, conclusion, elaboration (including exemplification), addition, reformulation and metastatement. All interactional roles will be exemplified in 4.4.1. - 4.4.6. below, and the linguistic signals of each role will be pointed out where identifiable. Such items as connectives, thematics, metatextual items, linear position, tense, punctuation and typography can act as signals of interactional roles. Situation, problem and solution were introduced as interactional roles in 3.2. and 3.4. and they will not be dealt with in their own subsections in this discussion. The discussion which follows will make use of a few notions which must be defined. These are the notions of inverses, relative hierarchy, and deletability.

Inverses. Basically the same relationship between two communicative acts can be realised by alternative interactional roles. In Grimes's (1975) terms, the rhetorical proposition remains the same, only the linear organisation of the acts is reversed. The hypotactic rhetorical predicates evidence, explanation and specificity have such alternative manifestations. Interactional roles manifesting basically the same rhetorical relationship between two acts are called inverses (cf. Aston 1977:488). The following inverses are established: justification and conclusion, which can be both traced back to the rhetorical predicate evidence; explanation and conclusion, which can be both traced back to the rhetorical predicate explanantion; and elaboration and enlargement, which can be both traced back to the rhetorical predicate specificity.

Relative hierarchy. The interactional roles are subordinate, coordinate or superordinate. This division is based on Grimes's (1975) division into paratactic (coordinate) and hypotactic (subordinate/superordinate) rhetorical relations. For instance justification is a subordinate role: the

communicative act which functions as a justification is subordinate in relation to the communicative act which is being justified. Similarly, explanation is subordinate in relation to the act being explained. Further, exemplification and other instances of elaboration are subordinate in relation to the acts being exemplified or otherwise elaborated on. Reformulations are also subordinate in relation to the acts being reformulated.

The hierarchical relations prevailing in the texts can be described by means of the following rule, in which the symbol < means 'is subordinate to':

(1)	the act which provides justification	<	the act which is justified
(2)	the act which provides explanation	<	the act which is explained
(3)	the act which provides elaboration or reformulation	<	the act which is elaborated on or reformulated

The above rule concerns hypotactic relations. In addition to hypotactic relations, there are paratactic relations. As was shown above, all response relations, for instance, are paratactic.

Deletability. Intelligibility is the criterion for judging whether an act is deletable or nondeletable. Superordinate acts are as a rule necessary for further discourse development and cannot be deleted without making the text unintelligible, whereas subordinate acts can be deleted. Deletability is used as a test of whether an act is subordinate or not.

3.4.1. Justification, explanation and conclusion

The introduction of the battery of interactional roles starts with a formulaic definition of the inverse pairs of justification vs. conclusion and explanation vs. conclusion in Table 5. The imaginary reader's questions which elicit justifications, explanations and conclusions are given in brackets.

Justification and explanation both account for a proposition: they both answer the question 'Why?'. The difference between them is that justifications account for communicative acts in the sense that they give reasons for acts or actions, whereas explanations account for, or give

Table 5. A formulaic definition of justification, explanation and conclusion.

Justification:	A proposition stated in act 2 justifies the assertion made in act 1. Act 2 is justification.
Act 1. (Assertion):	Women's history has a built-in distortion.
	(On what grounds are you asserting this?)
Act 2. (Statement):	I find myself justified in making this assertion because what we know of the past of women has been shaped by male values.
Conclusion:	A proposition stated in act 1 justifies the assertion made in act 2. Act 2 is conclusion.
Act 1. (Statement):	What we know of the past of women has been shaped by male values.
	(What is the significance of this? What conclusion do you draw from this?)
Act 2. Conclusion. (Assertion):	I find myself justified in drawing the conclusion that women's history has a built-in distortion.
Explanation:	A proposition stated in act 2 explains (gives a cause for) the proposition stated in act 1. Act 2 is explanation.
Act 1. (Statement):	There are basic differences in the ways boys and girls now and in the past experienced the world.
	(Why? What is the cause of this?)
Act 2. Explanation. (Statement):	This is because from childhood on, the talents and drives of girls were channeled into different directions than those of boys.
Conclusion:	A proposition stated in act 1 explains (gives a cause for) the proposition stated in act 2. Act 2 is conclusion.
Act 1. (Statement):	From childhood on, the talents and drives of girls were channeled into different directions than those of boys.
	(What is the consequence of this? What conclusion do you draw from this?)
Act 2. Conclusion. (Statement):	On this account there are basic differences in the ways boys and girls now and in the past experienced the world.

causes for propositions or facts. Thus the question answered by a justification can be worded 'Why do you make this assertion?' or 'On what grounds are you asserting this?' or 'What are your reasons for asserting this?'. The question answered by an explanation can be worded 'Why is this?' or 'What is the cause of this?' (cf. Lowe 1983).

In the sample texts, the communicative acts realising the roles of justification and explanation are sometimes extensive sequences, and one such sequence often constitutes a minitext.

The demarcation line between justification and explanation is not clearcut, for the obvious reason that there is no clear-cut demarcation line between assertion and statement. As pointed out in 3.3.1., argumentative texts include shared-knowledge assertions, which look like assertions but are not accompanied by justifications. An explanation or a justification can itself be realised by a shared-knowledge assertion. There may be a sequence in which an act which looks like an assertion is accompanied by another similar act. Such a sequence can be described in two ways, either as assertion + justification or shared-knowledge assertion + explanation. Whether the first or the second description is adopted depends on what the writer seems to be using the second act for, whether it is used for explaining facts or for justifying acts.

Justifications and explanations are illustrated below with extracts from the sample texts.

3.4.1.1. The realisation of justification and explanation

In Example 4 there is an extract from Text 1, in which sentences (23-27) constitute a justification. A map of the sentences in the extract appears in Figure 6.

In extract (22-28), sequence (23-27) is a justification in relation to (22). The justification itself constitutes a minitext, in which (23) is the situation component and (24-27) the problem component. Two signals can be pointed out which mark out sequence (23-27) as a justification of (22). First, the reader's question 'On what grounds are you asserting this?' can be placed after the assertion in (22). Second, the position of sequence (23-27) between two assertions (22) and (28), which express roughly the same proposition, can be looked upon as a signal of justification. The proposition that ecology has been subjugated to conform to

amenity is first expressed in (22) and finally, by virtue of justification (23-27), it is expressed as a conclusion in (28). Sentence (28) is marked as a conclusion by the connective *thus*.

Example 4. An extract from Text 1 illustrating justification.

(22) explained by two observations. First, the statutory planning system is inherently too static in its nature (even after the introduction of structure planning) to readily accommodate the essentially dynamic behaviour of biosystems; and second, the science of ecology has been subjugated by the planner to conform to his concept of amenity, accompanied as it inevitably is by a well-established preservation ethic.

(23) The planner has two principal tools with which to direct the manner and timing of resource use — development plans and development control. (24) Although in their updated versions development plans are less static than the 1947 breed, they still effectively treat land resources as fixed and invariant attributes — only economic and social factors are treated in a dynamic manner, and these only to a limited extent. (25) In development control, the principal criterion for granting planning permission in outline is that of the zoning on the development plan (or in local plans, the policy statement, which in practice will probably prove to be little removed from a colour on a map), thereby perpetuating its fundamentally static nature. (26) In the granting of detailed planning permission the most significant *planning* consideration (as opposed to highway and drainage conditions and so forth) which can be brought to bear on rural matters is amenity. (27) Similarly, tree preservation orders — the planner's main means of control over any specific natural resource — must have amenity as their sole criterion. (28) Thus, "amenity" becomes the heading under which the whole panoply of ecological matters, which may have repercussions on our most vital life-support systems, must be subsumed.

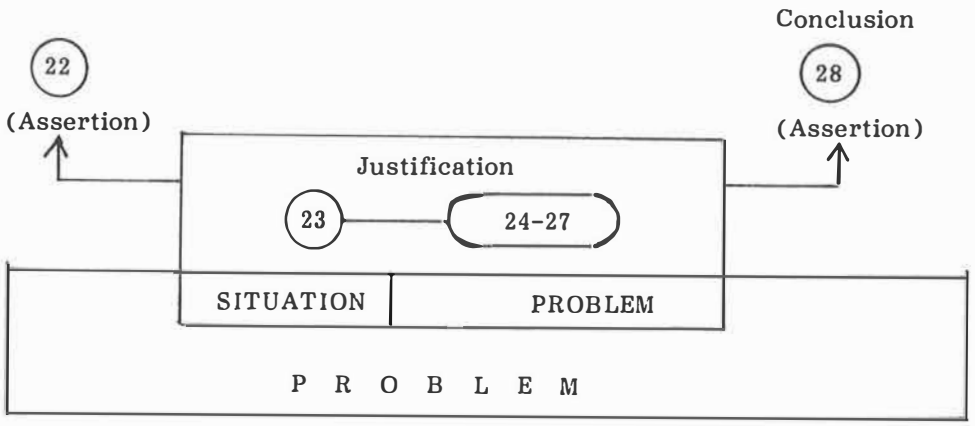

Figure 6. A map of sentences 22-28 of Text 1.

Explanation is illustrated by means of extract (43-47) from Text 1, quoted in Example 5. A map of the sentences in the extract appears in Figure 7. The act being explained is (43-44) and the explanation is (46). These are connected by (45), whose interactional role is metastatement and whose illocution is that of a question. It is to be noted that (46) has two statement-markers, *obvious* and *obviously*. According to the categorization of illocutions given in 3.3.1. it is a reported assertion. Sentence (46) is marked out as an explanation by the wording of the metastatement, ie. the imaginary reader's question *Why has this amenity, consumer-oriented approach been perpetuated ...?* This question in (45) presupposes that the amenity approach has been perpetuated and elicits (46), which explains why.

The conclusion in (47), which terminates the sequence, again repeats essentially the same proposition that was originally asserted in (43), namely that the official concern for the environment is superficial. In this instance the interactional structure of the problem component is negative evaluation + justification + conclusion. (The three dots in Figure 7 indicate that the problem component of which sequence (43-47) constitutes a part does not start with sentence (43).) Another instance of explanation will be shown in 3.4.1.2.

Example 5. An extract from Text 1 illustrating explanation.

(43) It could be argued that the present "official" concern for the environment is little more than a direct continuation of this. (44) Consider, for instance, the aims of the 1967 Countryside (Scotland) Act[5] as expressed in its long title:

> "An act to make provision for the better *enjoyment* of the Scottish countryside ...",

and again in section 66:

> "... every Minister, government department and public body shall have regard to the desirability of conserving the natural *beauty* and *amenity* of the countryside."

(45) Why has this amenity, consumer-oriented approach been perpetuated at government level, and not been supplanted by a widely accepted, rigorous political analysis, as has occurred in sociology and economics? (46) The answer is obvious: we also all too obviously benefit from the economic and social advantages of despoiling the environment — at least in the short-term. (47) Any bureaucratic response to environmental lobbying will consequently be in the form of an enlightened and philanthropic reaction to our own barbarian values in economics, and the solution will be a cosmetic one — plant a few trees and forget about the fundamental issues.

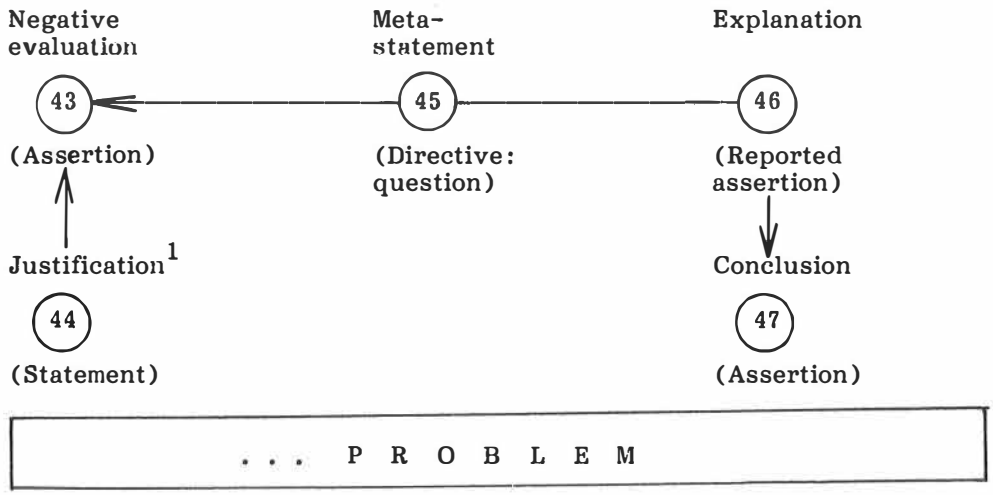

Figure 7. A map of sentences 43-47 of Text 1.

The conclusion in (47), which terminates the sequence, again repeats essentially the same proposition that was originally asserted in (43), namely that the official concern for the the environment is superficial. In this instance the interactional structure of the problem component is negative evaluation + justification + conclusion. (The three dots in Figure 7 indicate that the probelm component of which sequence (43-47) constitutes a part does not start with sentence (43).) Another instance of explanation will be shown in 3.4.1.2.

3.4.1.2. The realisation of conclusion

Conclusion is the inverse of justification and explanation. In the sample texts, a conclusion is an assertion or a statement which is justified or explained by the preceding act. In other words, the preceding act provides the fact (reason) which justifies the assertion, or it provides the fact (cause) which explains the proposition stated in the conclusion. In the imaginary dialogue with the reader, conclusions are elic-

1 This sentence exemplifies sentence (43) but it also functions as a justification of the assertion. It is what Aston (1977) calls a substantiating example. In the present study such instances are categorized as justifications.

ited by questions such as 'OK. I agree with you. How would you conclude the discussion so far?' or 'OK. I see. How would you conclude the discussion so far?'. The questions can also be formulated as follows: 'What is the significance of that?' or 'So what?' or 'What is the consequence of that?' According to the rule of hierarchy given in 3.4., a conclusion is superordinate in relation to the preceding act.

Conclusions seem to be relatively frequent in argumentation. The frequency of conclusions can be looked upon as a text type feature (cf. Werlich 1976:249). The relative status of the speaker and hearer, according to Searle (1976:5), is reflected by the illocutionary force of the utterance, but it also seems to be reflected by the presentation of information in the context of specific illocutions. Let us look at both these features, illocutionary force and information supply, as text type phenomena.

If the speaker has authority over the hearer, he may order him to do something, whereas in a more equal encounter he may merely ask, request, suggest, propose or recommend for something to be done. In argumentative discourse the hearer is in principle approached as an equal, and this is reflected in the treatment of directives as well as assertions. The illocutionary force of directives is mitigated. In the sample texts, for instance, the directives are proposals or recommendations and not requests or orders. In addition, both directives and assertions are accompanied by the information on which they are based. In the case of assertions, the act which justifies the assertion can precede or follow the assertion itself. In other words, assertions are either accompanied by justifications or they are presented as conclusions, ie. as based on preceding facts. A problem component often comprises a negative evaluation (assertion) + justification + conclusion -sequence, in which the justification is sandwiched between an initial assertion and a terminal assertion. Similarly, directives in an equal encounter must be based not on unchallengeable authority but on shareable knowledge of the grounds on which a certain action or approach is proposed or recommended. The directive material may be presented as if it were 'inferred' from what precedes it. The solution component, which is the carrier of proposals and recommendations, then presents the directive acts as if they were conclusions based on previously presented information.

Example 6 and Figure 8 illustrate an instance in which the solution is presented as if inferred. Example 6 covers sentences (31-51) of Text 1 and it also serves to illustrate a conclusion which terminates a problem component. In this instance both the first act and the last act of the problem component are shared-knowledge assertions, and the act sandwiched between them is an explanation.

The problem component starts with a shared-knowledge assertion in (31-32), according to which ecological arguments lack political respectability. This is accompanied by an explanation in (34-47), according to which the lack of political respectability is caused by an amenity approach to environmental issues. The explanation in (34-47) is followed by

Example 6. An extract from Text 1 illustrating conclusion and solution.

(31) At the same time, ecological arguments have generally failed to be accorded a politically respectable pedigree, and are widely considered to be at variance with perceived social welfare objectives. (32) The more far-reaching environmental strategies — although not necessarily more radical than ambitious programmes of welfare redistribution — have lacked the same degree of public acceptance. (33) To understand why, it is necessary to take a bried look at the growth of the environmental movement.

The Historical Basis of Amenity Preservation

(For sentences (34-47) see Appendix 1.)

Making Ecology a Popular Issue

(48) If, by the introduction of ecology into planning, we mean simply the provision of a new jargon in which to dress up well-worn amenity arguments, it is easy to understand why ecology has been reduced to an esoteric, socially divisive and politically unpopular issue. (49) If ecological information is to be thus misused, it becomes clear why environmental matters have been submerged in the development process: it is not that the ecological case is inherently weak, but rather that planners have not yet put forward that case with sufficient seriousness.

(50) In order to improve our present performance, therefore, we must first overcome the basic difficulty of translating ecological information into the planning process. (51) The governmental approach to environmental conservation must change its emphasis from the preservation of amenity to the retention of maximum biological diversity and the rational evaluation and use of natural resources; planning must adapt to a longer-term and less superficial perspective of biotic resources, and even be prepared to let ecologic principles determine the framework of statutory plans.

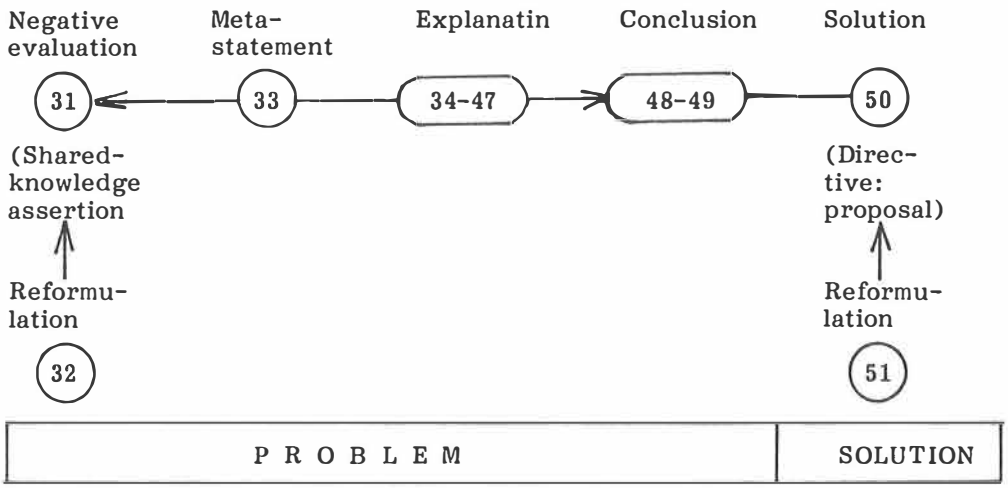

Figure 8. A map of sentences 31-51 of Text 1.

a conclusion in (48-49), according to which the ecological case is unpopular as long as the shallow treatment of ecological issues continues and planners do not put the ecological case seriously. There is again a 'match' between the propositions expressed in the problem-initial sentence (31) and the problem-terminal sequence (48-49).

Let us look at the linguistic markers of explanation and conclusion in the problem component. The explanation in (34-47) is connected to the sequence (31-32) by means of a metastatement whose wording (*to understand why*, it is necessary ...) reveals that the sequence which follows is an explanation. It is possible to insert a reader question 'Why?' or 'What is the cause of this?' after sequence (31-32) to elicit (34-47) as an explanation. The conclusion in (48-49) confirms sequence (34-47) as an explanation by virtue of its wording *it is easy to understand why*, and *it becomes clear why*. Sentences (48-49) are marked out as conclusions by their 'if X, then Y' formula, where X is a summary of the explanation and Y a conclusion derived from X. Since Y constitutes merely a repetition of the shared-knowledge assertion that environmental issues are politically unpopular, it is the explanation X which emerges as the essential content of the conclusion. The explanation is summed up at the end of (49) as follows: *it is not that the ecological case is inherently weak, but rather that planners have not yet put forward that case with sufficient seriousness*. This is the culmination of the problem component,

and the aspect of the problem to which sequence (50-51) relates as a solution. The conclusion can be thought of as being preceded by a reader question 'OK, I see. How would you conclude the discussion so far?'

The solution 'inferred' in (50-51) constitutes a proposal and a recommendation that the amenity approach be replaced by ecologically oriented approaches to environmental resources. The most obvious marker of inference in the solution component is the connective *therefore* in (50). A positional signal is also present: the fact that the directive sequence in (50-51) follows a conclusion which terminates a problem component creates an expectation that the directive is 'based' on the problem component. It was pointed out earlier that the argumentative convention calls for directives to be presented together with the information which justifies them. The problem component suggests itself as such a justification. It ends with a criticism of the amenity approach to environmental issues and constitutes the basis for 'inferring' the recommendation that the amenity approach be replaced by ecologically oriented approaches. The solution can be thought of as being preceded by a reader question 'OK, I see. On the basis of what you have said, what is the solution you propose to this problem?'.

The structure of the extract in Example 6 discussed above is typical of the entire text. In Text 1, explanations seem to convey the main purpose of the text. The interactional structure of the whole text, with only the problem and solution components taken into account, roughly follows the pattern PROBLEM (negative evaluation (shared-knowledge assertion) + explanation + conclusion) + SOLUTION. The explanation in turn often consists of a sequence negative evaluation (assertion) + justification. The interactional structure of Text 2 follows a slightly different pattern. With only the problem and solution components taken into account, Text 2 follows roughly the pattern PROBLEM (negative evaluation (assertion) + justification + conclusion) + SOLUTION. The difference between these two patterns becomes perhaps more apparent from the following summaries of the texts.

Text 1: As you know, there is a discrepancy in the way planning and conservation work: they do not go together as they should. I assert the explanation that this discrepancy is due to what can be called an amenity approach to environmental issues prevailing among planners and politicians. I justify my assertion by reporting concrete evidence of the amenity approach as it has

emerged in the past and still emerges today. On the basis of what I have reported I conclude that it is the amenity approach to environmental issues that causes the discrepancy in the operation of planning and conservation. I thus recommend this approach to be replaced by ecologically oriented approaches.

Text 2: I assert that there is a distortion in the way women's history is traditionally treated in history writing. I justify this assertion by reporting concrete evidence of the distortion as it emerges in the treatment of women in traditional history. On the basis of what I have reported I conclude that there is a distortion. I thus recommend this distortion to be eliminated by rewriting women's history.

The above juxtaposition is meant as a caveat to avoid the impression that an explanation is necessarily 'less important' than the act explained on account of being subordinated to it, as was established in 3.4. In Text 1, explaining the cause for the inertia of planning constitutes a central element of the text. In the problem component the causal thesis, according to which the discrepancy between planning and conservation is caused by the amenity approach to environmental issues, is asserted, justified and concluded, whereas the problem-initial negative evaluation, ie. that planning and conservation do not go hand in hand, is presented as shared knowledge. The problem-final conclusion incorporates both elements, ie. the negative evaluation and the explanation. In this instance no 'important' information is missed, even if the subordinated explanation is deleted, because the conclusion is superordinate and therefore nondeletable (cf. discussion on relative hierarchy in 3.4.). These considerations on hierarchy and deletability will have concrete consequences in the macrostructure analysis to be presented in chapter 4.

The connecting factor among the interactional roles introduced above, ie. justification, explanation, and conclusion, is that they express aspects of causality and reasoning. In Grimes's (1975) terms, they are traced back to the rhetorical patterns of evidence and explanation. The interactional roles to be introduced in 3.4.2., ie. elaboration and enlargement, in turn express aspects of the general-particular relation. They are traced back to Grimes's specificity relation.

3.4.2. Elaboration and enlargement

Elaborations are acts which exemplify, specify or give details, particulars, or other elaborations of the preceding act. The preceding act is more general, semantically more inclusive than the elaboration. For the purposes of the present study, a detailed subcategorization of elaborations is unnecessary. Since exemplification constitutes a clearcut subcategory, however, it is singled out. When an act constitutes an instance of the state of affairs or proposition expressed in the preceding act, its interactional role is exemplification. An act which exemplifies only an aspect of the state of affairs or proposition expressed in the preceding act, though it cannot be said to 'constitute an instance' of it, is nevertheless classified as an example in relation to the preceding act.

Enlargement is the inverse of elaboration. An enlargement is a generalisation in relation to the preceding act; there is a general-particular relation, but no causal or reasoning relation the way there is in the case of conclusion. Enlargements are superordinate, whereas elaborations are subordinate in relation to the preceding act. Elaborations answer the reader's question 'Can you elaborate on this?'; examples answer the question 'Can you give an example of this?', and enlargements answer the question 'What general state of affairs is this particular state of affairs an instance/detail/particular/specification of?'. These features are summarized in Table 6.

Exemplifications and other elaborations are not equally frequent in the two texts. Text 1 contains three instances of what Aston (1977:500) calls substantiating examples; in the present study, these are categorized as justifications. One such instance of justification is sentence (44) of Text 1, which is illustrated in Example 5 and Figure 7 above. Text 2, for its part, provides a range of exemplifications and other elaborations; there are also instances of enlargement.

An obvious reason for this difference between the two texts is the difference in length: there are 27 paragraphs in Text 2 as against 19 in Text 1. But there is another, more important difference. Text 2 has long passages of what can be described as background information. Aspects of identifiable female experience, reviewed eg. in paragraphs 4-6, 14-15 and 17, serve as examples of such background material. In the PS structure, this material belongs to the situation component. Sit-

Table 6. A formulaic definition of elaboration and enlargement.

Elaboration:	A proposition expressed in act 2 constitutes an instance, detail, particular, specification, or other elaboration of the proposition expressed in act 1. Act 2 is elaboration.
Act 1. (Statement):	Family history has offered many insights valuable to the study of the history of women (cf. sentence 53 of Text 2). (Can you elaborate on this?)
Act 2. Elaboration:	A great deal has been learned about changes in marriage patterns, fertility rates and life stages. Such studies have given rise to many new questions, like attitudes toward sexuality. Gender and sexuality have been added to historical analysis, enriching historical enquiry (cf. sentences 54-56 of Text 2).
Exemplification:	(a) A proposition expressed in act 2 constitutes an instance of the proposition expressed in act 1. Act 2 is exemplification. (b) A proposition expressed in act 2 constitutes an instance of an aspect of the proposition expressed in act 1. Act 2 is exemplification.
Act 1. (Statement):	Early nineteenth century female reformers directed their activities into channels that were merely an extension of their domestic concerns (cf. sentence 21 of Text 2). (Can you give an example of this?)
Act 2. Exemplification:	They taught school, cared for the poor, the sick, the aged (sentence 22 of Text 2).
Act 1. (Directive: recommendation):	To find an answer to this question it is useful to examine the life cycles of individual men and women of the past (cf. sentence 68 of Text 2). (Can you give an example of the kind of questions that it is useful to examine?)
Act 2. Exemplification:	Are there differences in childhood, education, maturity? Are social expectations different for boys and girls? (Sentences 69-70 of Text 2.)
Enlargement:	A proposition expressed in act 1 constitutes an instance, detail, particular, specification or other elaboration of the proposition expressed in act 2. Act 2 is enlargement.
Act 1. (Statement):	Under this category they have asked a variety of questions: What have women contributed to abolition, to reform, to the Progressive movement, to the labor movement, to the New Deal? (Sentences 31-32 of Text 2.) (What general proposition is this an instance of?)
Act 2. Enlargement (Statement):	The movement in question stands in the foreground of inquiry (sentence 32 of Text 2).

uation components do not have typical argumentative sequences such as negative evaluation + justification + conclusion. Instead, they have expository, descriptive, and even narrative features, and their illocutionary point is to inform rather than to convince. In Text 2, the problem that women's history involves a built-in distortion is presented as an assertion which needs justification and elaboration, by means of which instances of distortion are brought up. In Text 1, the problem that there is discrepancy between planning and conservation is presented as a shared-knowledge assertion which needs no justification, and only the 'amenity approach explanation' is presented as an assertion which needs justification.

The fact that Text 2 provides relatively more informative material and relies less on shared knowledge than Text 1 does not make it less argumentative. According to the view adopted above, the situation component is optional in that an argumentative text can be built without it. What counts in the final analysis is the problem component, which may or may not be accompanied by an explicit solution component. In respect of these essential PS components, the two texts manifest conspicuous similarity - except that there is less room for justification in Text 1 than in Text 2.

3.4.2.1. The realisation of exemplification and other types of elaboration

The extract from Text 2 given in Example 7 and structurally described in Figure 9 shows a typical instance of exemplification. It covers sentences (10-12), which were briefly discussed in 3.2.2. in the context of the preliminary presentation of the I & I method. This discussion is expanded here.

The proposition expressed in sentence (10) is that traditional history approaches women's history by writing the history of women worthies or compensatory history. Sentences (11) and (12) exemplify the kind of questions asked by historians with the traditional approach. The relation between sentence (10) and the subsequent sequence (11-12) can be explicated by inserting the imaginary reader's question 'What questions, for instance, do traditional historians ask, when they write compensatory

Example 7. An extract from Text 2 illustrating exemplification.

⑩The first level at which historians, trained in traditional history, approach women's history is by writing the history of "women worthies" or "compensatory history."⑪Who are the women missing from history? ⑫Who are the women of achievement and what did they achieve? ⑬The resulting history of "notable women," while significant and interesting in itself, must not be mistaken for "women's history."⑭It is the history of exceptional, usually middle or upper class women, and does not describe the experience and history of the mass of women.⑮It does not help

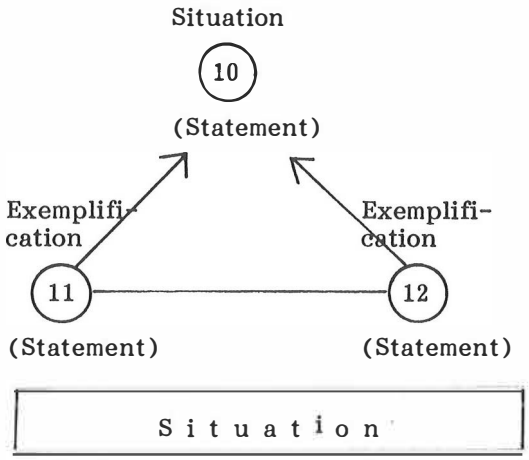

Figure 9. A map of sentences 10-12 of Text 2.

history?'. Sentences (11) and (12) are quotations without introductions and therefore cannot be elicited simply by asking 'Can you exemplify this?'.

The illocutionary value of sentences (11) and (12) will also be considered. In themselves, detached from their context, sentences (11) and (12) are questions, at least as far as can be judged from their interrogative form. The context tells us, however, that (11) and (12) are not questions. They do not call for an answer; they merely exemplify the kind of questions asked by traditional history. Their illocutionary value is one of a statement. The two exemplifications are coordinate, and in relation to sentence (11), sentence (12) is an addition (cf. point 3.4.5. below). Sentences (11) and (12) have the same interactional relation to

sentence (10); they both exemplify it. (Hoey 1983:342 discusses this kind of shared function under the heading of Matching Compatibility.) Their shared interactional role is reflected by the parallelism of their structure. They share the initial element *who are the women*.

A general-particular relation is often reflected on the themes and rhemes of sentences, as these are defined in Tirkkonen-Condit (1982:36-40) (cf. also Fries and Fair 1978). The definitions of the theme and the rheme are briefly summarized here. The *major theme* is the preverbal topical[1] NP of the main clause, and in practice this is mostly the main-clause subject. The *minor theme* is a temporal, local, causal or other disjunct (cf. Quirk et al. 1972:421-423) in a fronted position, ie. a position prior to the main clause subject; it is a 'sentence adverbial' or a subordinate clause preceding the main clause. The rheme consists of the sentence-final elements; it is often semantically related to the sentence-final elements in the neighbouring sentences in a way which reflects the relations among the entire sentences.

There is a general-particular relation between sentence (10) and the exemplifications (11-12). This is reflected in sentence-final (rhematic) elements, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. A comparison of rhematic elements in a sentence and in its exemplifications.

Sentence No.	Sentence-initial elements	Sentence-final (rhematic) elements
(10)	The first level at which historians ... approach women's history	is by writing *the history of 'women worthies' or 'compensatory history.'*
(11)	Who are	*the women missing from history?*
(12)	Who are	*the women of achievement and what did they achieve?*

1 Non-topical preverbal items such as formal subjects and metatextual material are eliminated as candidates for the major theme (cf. Lautamatti 1980).

The rheme of sentence (10) is more general, ie. semantically more inclusive than the rhemes of the exemplifying sentences. This is here considered as a signal of a general-particular relation between the acts realised by the sentences.

In Text 2, there are other instances of exemplification: sentence (22) exemplifies (21); (31) exemplifies (30); (36-37) exemplifies (34-35); (42-43) exemplifies (41); (69-71) exemplifies (68); (96-98) exemplifies (94-95), and (103) exemplifies (102).

Another extract of Text 2 is quoted in Example 8 to illustrate how the general-particular relation is signalled by sentence themes as well as rhemes. A map of the sentences is shown in Figure 10.

Example 8. An extract from Text 2 illustrating exemplification.

(34) The female "leaders" of such reform movements are measured by a male-oriented value system and ranked according to their impact on male-dominated and male-oriented institutions. (35) The ways in which women were aided and affected by the work of these "great women," the ways in which they themselves grew into feminist awareness, are ignored. (36) Jane Addams' enormous contribution in creating a supporting female network and new structures for living are subordinated to her role as a Progressive, or to an interpretation that regards her as merely representative of a group of frustrated college-trained women with no place to go—in other words, a deviant from male-defined norms. (37) Margaret Sanger is seen merely as the founder of the birth control movement, not as a woman raising a revolutionary challenge to the centuries-old practice by which the bodies and lives of women are dominated and ruled by man-made laws.

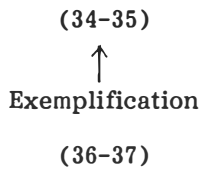

Figure 10. A map of sentences 34-37 of Text 2.

Sentences (36) and (37) both exemplify (34-35). Sequence (34-35) in turn exemplifies (32-33), but this is irrelevant here. The themes and rhemes of sentences (34), (35), (36) and (37) are given in Table 8. The

theme of (34) is more general, ie. semantically more inclusive, than the theme of (37): *the female 'leaders' of such reform movements* is inclusive of *Margaret Sanger*. The theme of (35) is more general than the theme of (36): *the ways in which women were aided ... by the work of these 'great women,' the ways in which they themselves grew into feminist consciousness* is inclusive of *Jane Addams' enormous contribution in creating a supporting female network and new structures*. Similarly, the rhemes of (34-35) are semantically more inclusive than those of the exemplifying sentences (36-37). The rhemes of (36) and (37) can be seen to exemplify the rheme of (34).

Table 8. A comparison of themes and rhemes in a sequence and in its exemplification.

Sentence No.	Major sentence theme	Sentence rheme
34	The female 'leaders' of such reform movements	are measured by a male-oriented value system and ranked according to their impact on male-dominated and male-oriented institutions.
35	The ways in which women were aided and affected by the work of these 'great women,' the ways in which they themselves grew into feminist consciousness	are ignored.
36	Jane Addams' enormous contribution in creating a supporting female network and new structures	are subordinated to her role as a Progressive, or to an interpretation that regards her as merely representative of a group of frustrated college-trained women with no place to go - in other words, a deviant from male-defined norms.
37	Margaret Sanger	is seen merely as the founder of the birth control movement, not as a woman raising a revolutionary challenge to the centuries-old practice by with the bodies and lives of women are dominated and ruled by man-made laws.

So far exemplifications are the only types of elaboration that have been illustrated. Other instances of elaboration are illustrated below. Some of the elaborations to be illustrated are extensive sequences realized by minitexts.

The first elaboration unit of Text 2 consists of a sequence PROBLEM (negative evaluation + elaborations) + SOLUTION. It is the elaborations of this sequence which will be discussed first. Example 9 shows an extract of Text 2 covering sentences (7-18) and (58-65). In this extract, sequences (8-9) and (10-18) are elaborations in relation to (7). In addition to these, there are three more sequences, ie. (19-40), (41-52), and (53-57), which constitute elaborations in relation to (7). For reasons of space, these three sequences are excluded from the extract. All the elaborations are shown in Figure 11, however, which shows a map of sentences (7-65) of Text 2.

Example 9. An extract of Text 2 illustrating elaborations.

(7) Until very recently, historical writing ignored the history of women and the female point of view. (8) Beginning five years ago—as a direct outgrowth of the interest in the past of women engendered by the new women's movement—American historians began to develop women's history as an independent field. (9) They began by asking new questions of traditional history, but they soon found themselves searching for a new conceptual framework and a methodology appropriate to their task.

(10) The first level at which historians, trained in traditional history, approach women's history is by writing the history of "women worthies" or "compensatory history." (11) Who are the women missing from history? (12) Who are the women of achievement and what did they achieve? (13) The resulting history of "notable women," while significant and interesting in itself, must not be mistaken for "women's history." (14) It is the history of exceptional, usually middle or upper class women, and does not describe the experience and history of the mass of women. (15) It does not help us to understand the female point of view nor does it tell us about the significance of women's activities to society as a whole. (16) Like men, women of different classes have different historical experiences. (17) The historical experiences of women of different races are also disparate. (18) In order to comprehend society in all its complexity at any given stage of its development, it is essential to take account of this wide range of differences.

(58) The most advanced conceptual level by which women's history can now be defined must include an account of the female experience as it changes over time and should include the development of feminist consciousness as an essential aspect of women's historical past. (59) This past includes the quest for rights, equality, and justice which can be subsumed under "women's rights," i.e., the civil rights of women. (60) But the quest for female emancipation from patriarchally determined subordination encompasses more than the striving for equality and rights. (61) It can be defined best as the quest for autonomy. (62) Autonomy means women defining themselves and the values by which they will live, and beginning to think of institutional arrangements that will order their environment in line with their needs. (63) It means to some the evolution of practical programs, to others the reforming of existing social arrangements, to still others the building of new institutions. (64) Autonomy for women means moving out from a world in which one is born to marginality, bound to a past without meaning, and prepared for a future determined by others. (65) It means moving into a world in which one acts and chooses, aware of a meaningful past and free to shape one's future.

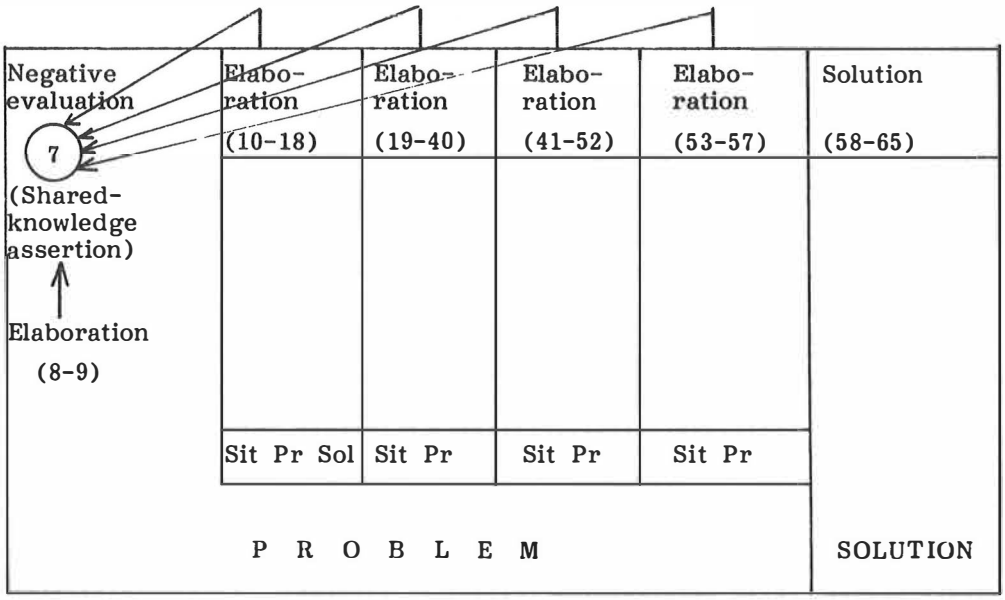

Figure 11. A map of sentences 7-65 of Text 2.

The first sentence of the sequence illustrated in Figure 11 is sentence (7), which is a negative evaluation with the illocutionary value of a shared-knowledge assertion. It is followed by an elaboration in (8-9). Sequence (8-9) satisfies some of the criteria of elaboration. It answers the imaginary reader's question 'Can you elaborate on this?', inserted after (7). Further, there are thematic features which point to a general-particular relation between (7) and (8-9). The minor theme in (7), *until very recently*, is more general, ie. semantically more inclusive than the minor theme in (8), *beginning five years ago*. The major theme of (7), *historical writing*, is also more general than the major themes of (8) and (9), *American historians* and *they* (= American historians).

However, there are features which point to the possibility of interpreting sequence (7-9) as a manifestation of the response relation. In this interpretation, sentence (7) constitutes a problem and is followed by a reader's question 'What was the response to this problem?'. Sentence (8) constitutes a solution to the problem and is in turn followed by a reader question 'What was the result of this solution?'. Sentence (9) constitutes the result, but it also contains a new problem element, ie. *but they soon found themselves searching for a new framework and methodology*. The problem-solution structure traced within sequence

(7-9), however, is not an argumentative but rather a narrative PS structure (cf. 3.7. below, and Hoey 1983:93). It is therefore ignored, and sequence (7-9) is described as a general-particular structure in the way suggested above.

Sequence (7-9) is in turn accompanied by four elaborations. The first elaboration is sequence (10-18), the second is (19-40), the third is (41-52), and the fourth is (53-57). The elaborations specify the propositions expressed in (7-9) that traditional history ignored women's history and that historians found themselves searching for a new conceptual framework and methodology. The content of the first elaboration is that the history of notable women must not be mistaken for women's history because the whole range of experiences of women from different classes and races must be included in women's history. The second elaboration criticises the contribution history approach, the third criticises the oppression history approach, and the fourth criticises some aspects of traditional family history and social history.

These four caveats are described as elaborations of (7-9) on the following grounds. In pointing out weaknesses in traditional history, these sequences specify the respect in which traditional history was inadequate in dealing with women's history and made it necessary for writers of women's history to search for a new conceptual framework and methodology. In other words, they elaborate on the propositions expressed in (7-9). The imaginary reader's question 'Can you elaborate on this?' can be inserted after (9).

The sequence in (58-65) which follows the four elaborations constitutes a solution to the problem first stated in (7-9) and elaborated on in (10-57). The whole sequence in (7-65) can be summarized as follows: (7-9) states that a new conceptual framework and methodology had to be searched for in order to write women's history; elaborations (10-57) specify this by pointing out weaknesses in traditional history approaches and thus singling out the sequence as a problem component; (58-65) constitutes a solution: it sets out what the new conceptual framework must include by the sentence *The most advanced conceptual level by which women's history can now be defined must include an account of the female experience as it changes over time and should include the development of female consciousness as an essential aspect of women's historical past*. The relation between (7-9) and (58-65) is a problem-

solution relation, and the sequences which follow (7-9) are interpreted as elaborations subordinated to (7-9).

The second elaboration unit of Text 2 is somewhat similarly constructed like the first. Its structure is PROBLEM + SOLUTION + elaborations. In this instance the solution component is accompanied by extensive elaborations, as is shown in Figure 12.

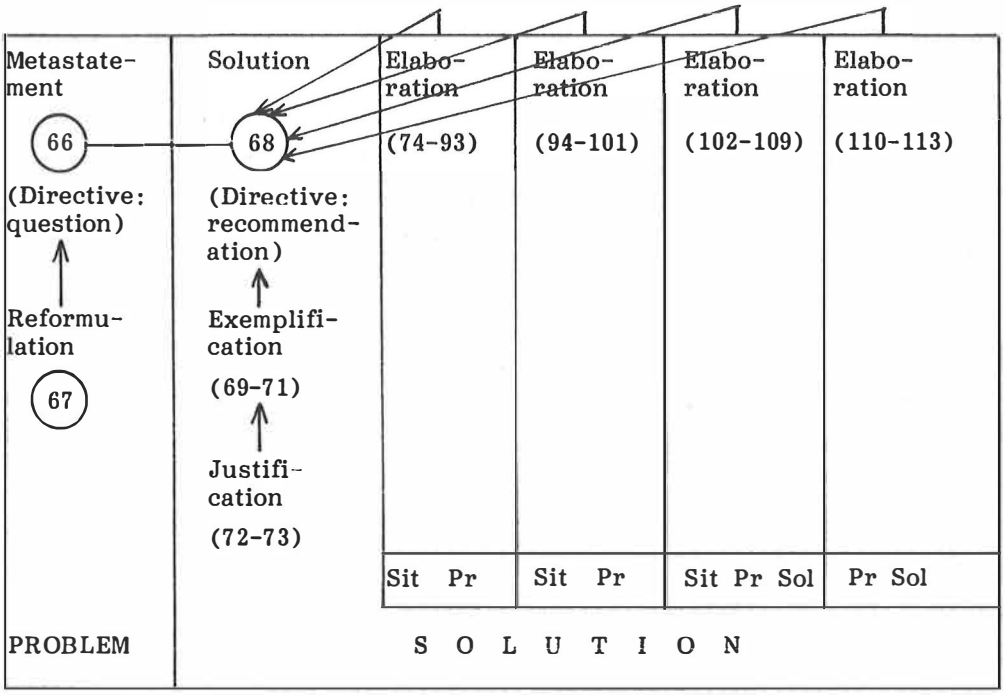

Figure 12. A map of sentences 66-113 of Text 2.

The extract of Text 2 covering sentences (66-113) is not quoted here for reasons of space; the reader is referred to Appendix 1, where Text 2 appears in full.

The problem-solution structure of the second elaboration unit of Text 2 (cf. Figure 12) is such that the problem component (66-67) is made up of the imaginary reader's question actually expressed in the text. This question is *What would history be like if it were seen through the eyes of women and ordered by values they define? Is one justified in speaking of a female historical experience different from that of men?* This question elicits the solution (68-113), which constitutes the writer's reply to the question. The solution begins with a recommendation in (68) to exam-

ine the life cycles and the turning points in the lives of individual men and women of the past. This recommendation is accompanied by an exemplification in (69-71) of the kind of questions one should ask when examining the female experience, and by a justification in (72-73). Sequence (68-73) is then elaborated on in sequences (74-93), (94-101), (102-109), and (110-113), each of which is a minitext. Each of these minitexts discusses aspects of women's historical experience which should be approached from a new viewpoint to be able to answer the question asked in (66-67) as to whether there is a female historical experience different from that of men. According to the minitexts, female historical experience includes, eg., the following: the gender-based indoctrination to social values has had the result that women's own definitions of selfhood have been subdued (74-93); women have shared in the economic life, albeit in subordinate positions; still, women's oppression in their working lives has not made them passive victims (94-101); women have shaped history through community building and participation in politics, and they have done more than 'contributed' to social reform or woman suffrage, but their activities have been defined too narrowly in historical writing (102-109 and 110-113). In pointing out aspects of women's historical experience that emerge from many primary sources, if approached with the kinds of questions exemplified in (69-71), these minitexts are elaborations in relation to sequence (68-73).

The signals which mark out the four minitexts described above as elaborations of (68-73) can be listed as follows. First, it is possible to insert the imaginary reader's question 'Can you elaborate on this?' after (73). Second, there are thematic features which point to the fact that the elaborations are more specific than the elaborated sequence in (68-73). The general-particular relation is reflected especially on the rhemes of sentences. To exemplify this, the rhemes of the sentences in sequence (68-73) are compared with the rhemes of the sentences in the four minitexts which function as elaborations. This comparison is given in Table 9. Table 9 includes only examples of rhemes which reflect the general-particular relation. The dimensions used in the judgement of whether there is a general-particular relation are the semantic inclusiveness dimension and the abstract-concrete dimension (cf. Grimes 1975:216).

As Table 9 shows, the rhemes of sentences (69), (70) and (71) have more specific equivalents among the rhemes of the subsequent sentences,

Table 9. A comparison of rhemes in a sequence and in its elaboration.

Sentence No.	General or Particular	Rheme
69	General	significant differences in childhood, education, maturity
80	Particular	was experienced at a different rhythm by men and women
83	Particular	separation from the family for purposes of greater educational opportunity; success or failures in achievement and career; economic decisions or setbacks.
84	Particular	the transition from childhood to adolescence, and then to marriage, which usually meant, in the past, greater restraint rather than the broadening out which it meant for the boy.
94	Particular	have always shared in the economic life of the nation: in agriculture as equal partners performing separate, but essential work; in industry usually as low-paid unskilled workers; and in the professions overcoming barriers formed by educational discrimination and traditional male dominance.
70	General	social expectations different for boys and girls
74	Particular	basic differences in the way boys and girls now and in the past experienced the world and, more important, the social roles they were trained to fulfill.
88	Particular	has always meant social indoctrination to a value system that imposed upon them greater restrictions of the range of choices than those of men.
92	Particular	have been trained to fit into institutions shaped, determined and ruled by men.
71	General	any universals by which we can define the female past
100	Particular	were not *passive* victims; they always involved themselves actively in the world in their own way.
101	Particular	often rebelled against and defied societal indoctrination, developed their own definitions of community and built their own female culture.
102	Particular	have shaped history through community building and participation in politics.
103	Particular	built community life as members of families, as carriers of cultural and religious values, as founders and supporters of organizations and institutions.

to which they relate as general to particular. The 'particular' rhemes are semantically less inclusive or more concrete than the 'general' rhemes. Let us take some examples. The rheme of (69) is more abstract and semantically more inclusive than the rhemes of (83) and (84): *childhood, education, maturity* (69), in the boy's case, included *separation from the family for purposes of greater educational opportunity; success or failures in achievement and career; economic decisions or setbacks* (83) and in the girls's case, *transition from childhood to adolescence, and then to marriage, which ... meant ... greater restraint rather than the broadening out which it meant for the boy* (84). *Social expectations different for boys and girls* (70) is incusive of *social indoctrination to a value system that imposed upon them (= women) greater restrictions of the range of choices than those of men* (88). *Any universals by which we can define the female past* (71) is more abstract and semantically more inclusive than *built their own female culture* (101), *shaped history through community building and participation in politics* (102), and *as members of families, as carriers of cultural and religious values, as founders and supporters of organizations and institutions* (103).

3.4.2.2. The realisation of enlargement

In the extract of Text 2 shown in Example 10, sentence (79) is an enlargement in its relation to the act realised by (75-78). There is a map of sentences (74-79) in Figure 13.

The description of (79) as an enlargement is based on the following linguistic evidence. First, it is possible to elicit (79) with the reader's question 'What general proposition are these propositions instances of?' or 'What generalisation can be made on the basis of what you have just said?'. Second, it is possible to insert the connective *all in all* at the beginning of sentence (79). Third, there is a general-particular relation between three NP's in sentence (79) and the propositions expressed in (75), (76-77) and (78). The three NP's in (79) are: *these gender-differentiated patterns; the differences in the function assigned to the sexes*, and *the fact of different sex role indoctrination*. The following propositions, extracted from sentences (75-78), are semantically included by the above NP's: *the talents and drives of girls were channeled into different directions than those of boys* (75); *for boys, the family was the*

Example 10. An extract of Text 2 illustrating enlargement.

(74)There are basic differences in the way boys and girls now and in the past experienced the world and, more important, the social roles they were trained to fulfill. (75)From childhood on, the talents and drives of girls were channeled into different directions than those of boys. (76)For boys, the family was the place from which one sprang and to which one returned for comfort and support, but the field of action was the larger world of wilderness, adventure, industry, labor and politics. (77)For girls, the family was to be the world, their field of action was the domestic circle. (78)He was to express himself in his work and through it and social action help to transform his environment; her individual growth and choices were restricted to lead her to express herself through love, wifehood and motherhood—through the support and nurturance of others who would act for her. (79)The ways in which these gender-differentiated patterns would find expression would change in the course of historical development; the differences in the function assigned to the sexes might widen or narrow, but the fact of different sex role indoctrination remained.

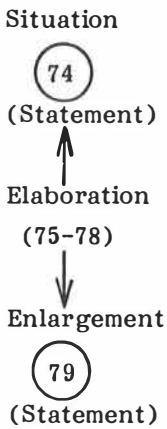

Figure 13. A map of sentences 74-79 of Text 2.

place from which one sprang and to which one returned for comfort and support; for girls, the family was to be the world; for boys, *the field of action was the larger world of wilderness, adventure, industry, labor and politics,* for girls, *the field of action was the domestic circle* (76-77); *he was to express himself in his work ...; her individual growth*

and choices were restricted to lead her to express herself through love, wifehood and motherhood (78).

Other instances of enlargement in Text 2 are expressed by sentences (32), (87), and (99). As can be seen from sentence (99), an enlargement may also be initiated by the connective *thus*.

3.4.3. Reformulation

As mentioned earlier (point 3.4.) the interactional role of reformulation is derived from Grimes's rhetorical predicate called equivalent (Grimes 1975:215). This is a hypotactic rhetorical predicate, which means that reformulations are subordinated to the acts which they reformulate. A reformulation constitutes a paraphrasis or a restatement of the preceding act. It repeats the illocutionary features of the preceding act: the reformulation of an assertion is itself an assertion, the reformulation of a statement is itself a statement, and the reformulation of a directive is itself a directive. Reformulations are elicited by the imaginary reader's question 'Can you express that in other words?' or 'What does that mean in other words?'. Reformulations are sometimes signalled by the connectives *in other words*, *indeed*, or *in short*. The applicability of these connectives can be used as a test of whether an act is a reformulation. Reformulations also often manifest thematic and other structural parallelism with the reformulated acts.

Virtually any type of act can be adjoined by a reformulation. The extracts in Examples 11-15 illustrate reformulations of evaluations, conclusions, exemplifications and enlargements. They show that even a reformulation itself can be reformulated; they also illustrate a reformulation of a sequence of two directives functioning as a solution.

3.4.3.1. The realisation of reformulation

The extract in Example 11 illustrates a reformulation adjoined to a negative evaluation. In this instance, the reformulation in sentence (8) is marked by the connective *indeed*. A map of sentences (7-8) of Text 1 is given in Figure 14.

The extract of Text 1 in Example 12 illustrates a reformulation adjoined to a conclusion. The sentences are shown schematically in Figure 15.

Example 11. An extract of Text 1 illustrating reformulation.

(7) Despite the inclusion of "environmental impacts" on the planner's checklist, however, it would be untrue to suggest that these have been accorded any degree of equality with socio-economic issues in the development process. (8) If any likelihood does indeed exist that we are exploiting our renewable resources beyond the point of recovery, there is very little official recognition of the fact, or of its attendant dangers.

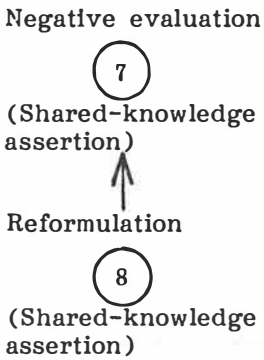

Figure 14. A map of sentences 7-8 of Text 1.

Example 12. An extract of Text 1 illustrating reformulation.

(41) The inevitable outcome was a cosmetic approach to conservation, emphasising the visual amenity of the countryside and playing down its role as a productive but sensitive resource based on photosynthetic growth. (42) Although there was a superficial concern for nature, it showed as little regard for the underlying ecological implications as did vague philanthropy for deep-rooted social problems.

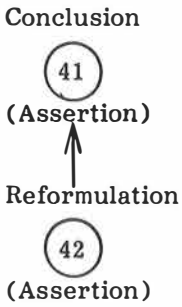

Figure 15. A map of sentences 41-42 of Text 1.

The reformulation in (42) repeats, in other words, the proposition asserted in (41). It also repeats the major thematic features in (41), as is shown by the comparison in Table 10.

Table 10. Thematic parallelism in a reformulation and the reformulated sentence.

Clause	Thematic elements	Predicate verb	Rhematic elements
(41) first clause	The inevitable outcome	was	a cosmetic approach to conservation
(42) first clause	Although there	was	a superficial concern for nature
(41) second clause	-	-	emphasising the visual amenity of the countryside and playing down its role as a productive but sensitive resource based on photosynthetic growth
(42) second clause	It	showed	as little regard for the underlying ecological implications as did vague philantropy for deep-rooted social problems

Sentences (41) and (42) are both compound sentences, and the comparison in Table 10 divides the first and the second clauses of these sentences into their clause-initial (thematic) and clause-final (rhematic) elements. The rhematic elements of the first clauses manifest structural

parallelism and near-synonymy; the rhematic elements of the second clauses are also semantically related: they are both summarized by the phrase 'superficial, cosmetic approach to ecological matters.' The reformulation is to a certain extent a mirror image of the preceding sentence. The connectives *in other words* or *indeed* are applicable to (42).

The extract of Text 2 in Example 13 illustrates the reformulation of an enlargement, of an exemplification, and of a conclusion. A map which shows how the sentences in Example 13 are related is given in Figure 16.

Example 13. An extract of Text 2 illustrating the reformulation of an enlargement, an exemplification and a conclusion.

(29) Yet male and female historians, trained traditionally and tacitly assuming patriarchal values, have generally dealt with such phenomena only in terms of "contribution history": describing women's contribution to, their status in, and their oppression by male-defined society. (30) Under this category they have asked a variety of questions: (31) What have women contributed to abolition, to reform, to the Progressive movement, to the labor movement, to the New Deal? (32) The movement in question stands in the foreground of inquiry. (33) Women made a "contribution" to it, and the contribution is judged first of all with respect to its effect on the movement and second by standards appropriate to men. (34) The female "leaders" of such reform movements are measured by a male-oriented value system and ranked according to their impact on male-dominated and male-oriented institutions. (35) The ways in which women were aided and affected by the work of these "great women," the ways in which they themselves grew into feminist awareness, are ignored. (36) Jane Addams' enormous contribution in creating a supporting female network and new structures for living are subordinated to her role as a Progressive, or to an interpretation that regards her as merely representative of a group of frustrated college-trained women with no place to go--in other words, a deviant from male-defined norms. (37) Margaret Sanger is seen merely as the founder of the birth control movement, not as a woman raising a revolutionary challenge to the centuries-old practice by which the bodies and lives of women are dominated and ruled by man-made laws. (38) In the labor movement, women are described as "also there" or as problems. (39) The essential role of women on behalf of themselves and of other women is seldom considered a central theme in writing their history. (40) Women are the outgroup, Simone de Beauvoir's "other."

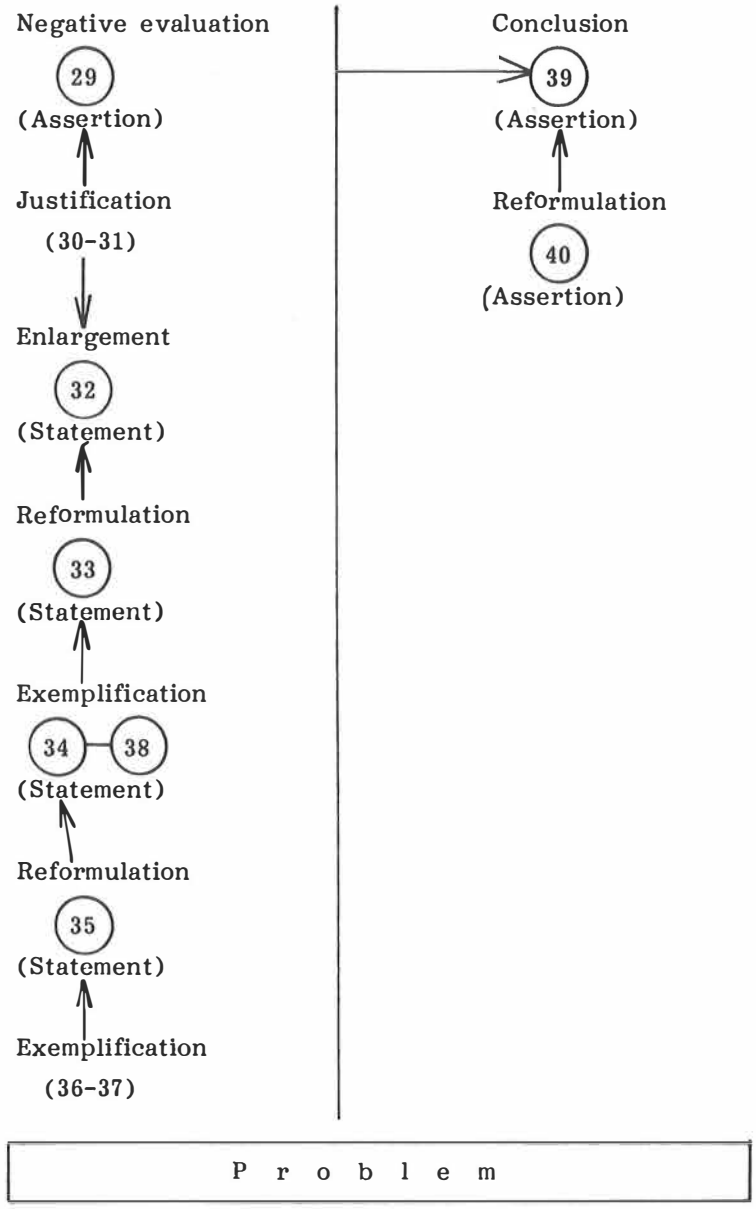

Figure 16. A map of sentences 29-40 of Text 2.

The reformulations to be discussed are in sentences (33), (35) and (40). Sentence (33) contains a reformulation of (32), which functions as an enlargement. The connective test shows that the connective *in other words* is applicable. The deletion test shows that (33) is deletable: its deletion leaves the text intelligible.

Sentence (35) constitutes a reformulation of (34), which functions as an exemplification. The reformulation expresses roughly the same proposition as the preceding act, only differently worded. Either of the connectives *in other words* or *indeed* could be used. The reformulation is deletable, as is shown by a simple test: a sequence (34 + 36 + 37) is intelligible. This deletion test also shows that the exemplification (36-37) is to be treated as related to the sequence (34 + 35), in which (35) is optional, rather than to (35). Similarly the exemplifications (34) and (38) relate to the sequence (32 + 33), in which (33) is optional, rather than to (33).

In sequence (39-40), the reformulation is attached to an assertion functioning as a conclusion in relation to the entire sequence (29-37). Again, either of the connectives *indeed* or *in other words* is applicable. Sentence (40) can be deleted.

The extract of Text 2 in Example 14 illustrates an instance in which the act accompanied by a reformulation is itself a reformulation. The network of sentences in which these reformulations appear is shown in Figure 17. As is shown in Figure 17, sequence (62-64) contains two reformulations, ie. those in (62) and (64). Of these, the latter is in turn reformulated by (65). The reformulation in (65) manifests a structural and semantic parallelism with the preceding sentence, as is shown by the comparison in Table 11. Reformulation (65) is again deletable, and the connectives *indeed* and *in other words* are applicable.

Signals of the other interactional roles appearing in Example 14 are also illustrated. The exemplification role of (63) in relation to (62) is signalled by the expression *to some ... to others ... to still others*, which could be replaced by the connective *for instance*. It is also signalled by the hyponymy between the rhematic elements of the exemplifying sentence (63) and the rhematic elements of the exemplified sentence (62): the expressions *the evolution of practical programs, ... the reforming of existing social arrangements, ... the building of new institutions* are hyponymous in relation to (semantically included by) the expression *institutional arrangements that will order thier environment in line with their needs*. There is no such hyponymy relation between (62) and (64), which are at the same hierarchical level. The coordinate additive relation between (62) and (64) can be explicated by inserting one of the connectives *moreover, also* or *in addition* to sentence (64).

Example 14. An extract of Text 2 illustrating reformulations.

(58) The most advanced conceptual level by which women's history can now be defined must include an account of the female experience as it changes over time and should include the development of feminist consciousness as an essential aspect of women's historical past. (59) This past includes the quest for rights, equality, and justice which can be subsumed under "women's rights," i.e., the civil rights of women. (60) But the quest for female emancipation from patriarchally determined subordination encompasses more than the striving for equality and rights. (61) It can be defined best as the quest for autonomy. (62) Autonomy means women defining themselves and the values by which they will live, and beginning to think of institutional arrangements that will order their environment in line with their needs. (63) It means to some the evolution of practical programs, to others the reforming of existing social arrangements, to still others the building of new institutions. (64) Autonomy for women means moving out from a world in which one is born to marginality, bound to a past without meaning, and prepared for a future determined by others. (65) It means moving into a world in which one acts and chooses, aware of a meaningful past and free to shape one's future.

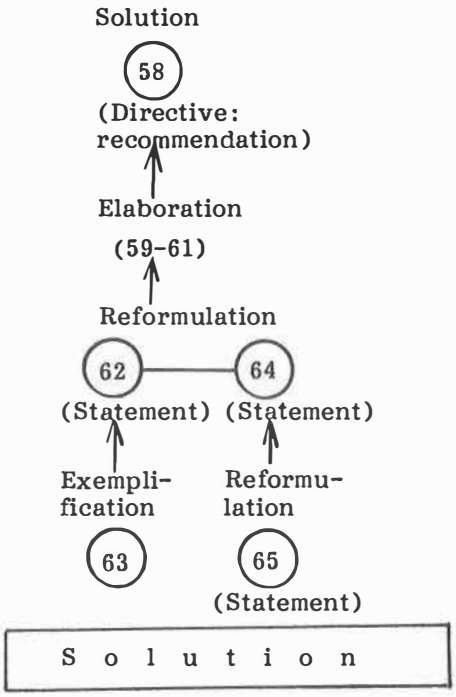

Figure 17. A map of sentences 58-65 of Text 2.

Table 11. Structural parallelism in a sentence and its reformulation.

Sentence No.	Thematic elements	Predicate verb	Rhematic elements
(64)	Autonomy for women	means	1) moving out ... 2) from a world in which one is... 3) bound to a past without meaning ... 4) and prepared for a future by others.
(65)	It	means	1) moving into ... 2) a world in which one acts ... 3) aware of a meaningful past ... 4) and free to shape one's future.

The superordinate vs. subordinate roles of sentences are also marked by the use of pronouns. When the role is coordinate, the thematic NP is repeated in full (eg. *autonomy* in sentence 64); when it is subordinate, the thematic NP is pronominalised (*it* in sentences 63 and 65). Pronominalisation varies with sentence hierarchy, as is shown also by Hinds (1977).

Example 15 illustrates a reformulation adjoined to a directive act. Sentence (119) of Text 2 contains a reformulation of (117-118), as is shown in Figure 18.

Example 15. An extract of Text 2 illustrating reformulation.

> upon, but not acting.(116) That this impression of the female past is a distortion is by now obvious.(117) It is premature to attempt a critical evaluation or synthesis of the role women played in the building of American society.(118) It is not premature to suggest that the fact of the exclusion of women from all those institutions that make essential decisions for the nation is itself an important aspect of the nation's past.(119) In short, what needs to be explained is not why women were so little evident in American history as currently recorded, but why and how patriarchal values affected that history.

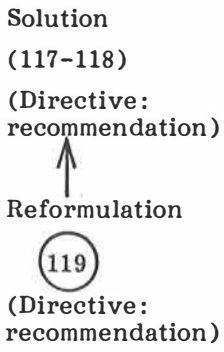

Figure 18. A map of sentences 117-119 of Text 2.

In this instance the reformulation repeats the directive features of the preceding act: it, too, is a recommendation. The connective *in short* can be regarded as a signal of reformulation. The connectives *indeed* or *in other words* could also be used.

3.4.4. Evaluation

As was mentioned in 3.4., evaluations are derived from Grimes's (1975) response pattern. Response is a paratactic rhetorical predicate. In its hierarchical relation to the preceding act, therefore, an evaluation is coordinate. An evaluation answers the imaginary reader's question 'What is your response to this?'. It expresses the writer's view of the desirability, relevance, interest, importance, truth, etc., of a given fact or act. Aston (1977:496) discusses evaluation in the context of reported assertions only. He suggests that a reported assertion in argumentative discourse is accompanied by an implicit or explicit evaluation which shows whether the writer is committed to its truth or not. If the evaluation is explicit, it may take a form such as 'This is true' or 'This position is untenable.' In the sample texts the validity of reported assertions is not explicitly evaluated. When an evaluation of a reported assertion is omitted, however, it can be inferred. Aston (1977:506) suggests that the following sequence can be reconstructed: reported assertion + implicit evaluation + justification of the implicit evaluation, and that certain connectives (*but, however, in fact*) may be seen as markers of the implicit evaluations. (Cf. Halliday and Hasan's (1976:241) distinction between

external and *internal* conjunctions.) Sequences amenable to such an interpretation do appear in the sample texts, as will be shown in 3.4.4.1.

The majority of evaluations in the sample texts appear in contexts other than adjoined to reported assertions. For instance, a problem component typically starts with a negative evaluation, and an evaluation component typically contains a positive evaluation.

The illocutionary value of an evaluation is one of assertion, reported assertion or shared-knowledge assertion. When the illocutionary value of an evaluation is that of an assertion, the subsequent act is a justification. The justification itself, however, may consist of further evaluations, which are not always followed by justifications; they appeal to knowledge and values shared with the reader. This is a fact ignored by Aston (1977), who maintains that justifications consist of statements or sequences whose value is that of a statement. Fahnestock and Secor's (1983:28) view on the issue of evaluations in argument seems reasonable: 'Evaluations can lead us into an infinite regress unless we stop eventually on an appeal to shared values.' This is a view which is borne out by the sample texts and which made necessary the introduction of the illocutionary subcategory of shared-knowledge assertions under the main category of representatives.

3.4.4.1. Evaluations accompanying reported assertions

Along the lines suggested by Aston (1977:506), it is possible to interpret sequence (1-8) in Text 1 in such a way that it incorporates implicit evaluations of the validity of a reported assertion. This interpretation is not adopted here, and the description which follows from it is given here only as a hypothetical alternative. The reconstructed sequence would be: reported assertion (1) + implicit negative evaluation of (1) + justificaton (2-3) + implicit positive evaluation of (1) + metastatement (4) + justification (5-6). This sequence is shown in Example 16 and in Figure 19. In this interpretation, implicit evaluations are inserted after sentences (1) and (3). The implict evaluations both relate to the reported assertion in (1), according to which planners should intervene in ecological issues. The first implicit evaluation of this reported assertion is negative and can be reconstructed in the form 'This position is

Example 16. An extract of Text 1 illustrating evaluation.

①Environmental protection, ecology and natural resource management are all presently regarded as matters in which planners should rightly intervene.②At the same time, however, it is generally recognised that the control of biotic resources is only tenuously linked to planning control. ③Critics of town and country planners would argue that they should not be encouraged to participate in fields excluded from their auspices by the General Development Order[1] for fear that they might meddle amateurishly through lack of training or experience.

④A fair justification for seeking to extend a greater degree of control to the countryside can nevertheless be made out.⑤First, planners command a uniquely good position from which to take an overview of the cumulative results of piecemeal developments, and to weigh up the relative merits of competing claims upon rural resources.⑥Second, in the most general sense, planners control "activities" which take place in "habitats": this is of considerable importance for wildlife conservation, especially in regard to the shift of emphasis from species preservation to habitat protection.

⑦Despite the inclusion of "environmental impacts" on the planner's checklist, however, it would be untrue to suggest that these have been accorded any degree of equality with socio-economic issues in the development process.⑧If any likelihood does indeed exist that we are exploiting our renewable resources beyond the point of recovery, there is very little official recognition of the fact, or of its attendant dangers.

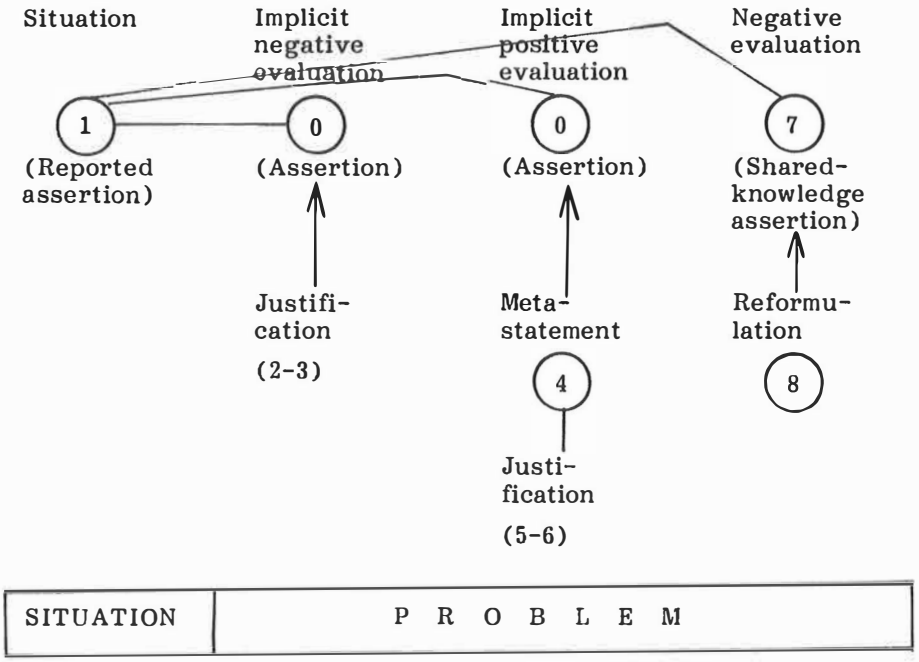

Figure 19. A map of sentences 1-8 of Text 1, first version.

not wholly tenable.' Sentences (2-3) are then interpreted as a justification of this reconstructed negative evaluation. The connective *however* in sentence (2), in the actual format of the text, could be seen as a marker of the implicit evaluation. The second implicit evaluation is positive and can be reconstructed in the form 'The position that planners should intervene in ecological issues is basically sound.' Sentences (5-6) are interpreted as the justification of this reconstructed positive evaluation, and sentence (4) is interpreted as a metastatement which introduces the justification. The connective *nevertheless* in (4) is not a marker of an implicit evaluation; it signals the contrast between the negative evaluation and the subsequent positive evaluation. Sentence (7) with its reformulation in (8) is an explicit negative evaluation of the desirability of an aspect of the proposition expressed in (1) and not of the validity of the reported assertion in (1) as a whole. The criticism in (7) concerns the planners' failure to treat environmental impacts in equality with socio-economic issues, and not the main issue of whether or not planners ought to intervene in environmetal management.

An alternative description of sequence (1-8) is shown schematically in Figure 20. This description is preferred in the present study, and the possibility of describing implicit acts as parts of the sequences in the texts is not developed any further.

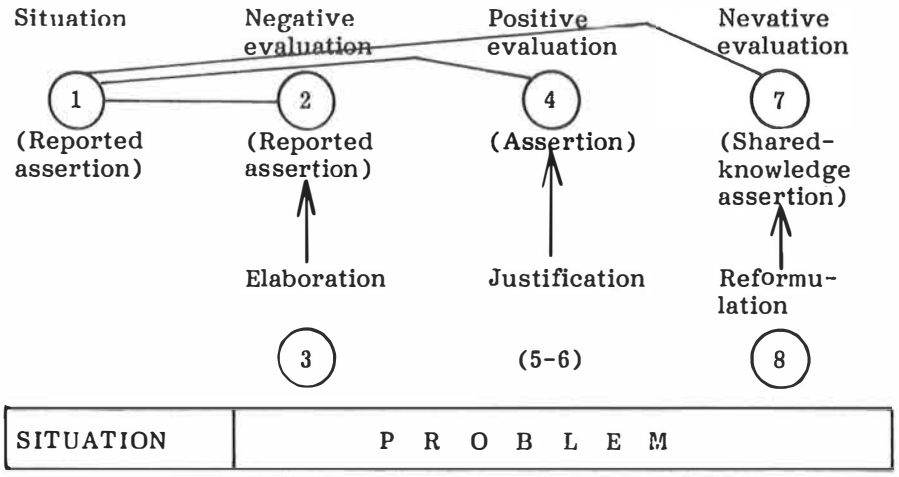

Figure 20. A map of sentences 1-8 of Text 1, second version.

The preferred description in Figure 20 runs as follows: (1) contains a reported assertion which functions as a positive evaluation of the proposition that planners intervene in ecological issues; sequence (2-3) contains a reported assertion which functions as a negative evaluation of the same proposition. Sentence (4) contains an assertion and functions as the writer's own positive evaluation of the proposition expressed in (1). It therefore contrasts with (2-3). The rest of the description runs similarly to that in the first version.

Comparison of the alternative descriptions in Figures 19 and 20 indicates that (2-3) can be interpreted either as a negative evaluation of (1) or as a justification of an implicit negative evaluation. Similarly, (4) can be interpreted as either an evaluation of the validity of the reported assertion in (1) or as a metastatement which links a justification to an implicit evaluation.

3.4.4.2. Evaluations at the beginning of the problem component

Most problem components in the two texts begin with a negative evaluation. This is illustrated by means of two extracts from Text 2. The extract in Example 17 is from the beginning of the text. It is described schematically in Figure 21.

The situation component is formed by sequence (1-3), and the negative evaluation in (4), which initiates the problem component, concerns an aspect of the proposition expressed in (3), namely that to write the history of women means documenting all of history. This is a statement

Example 17. An extract of Text 2 illustrating problem-initial negative evaluations.

(1) WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE encompasses all that is human; they share—and always have shared—the world equally with men. (2) Equally in the sense that half, at least, of all the world's experience has been theirs, half of the world's work and many of its products.* (3) In one sense, then, to write the history of women means documenting all of history: women have always been making history, living it and shaping it. (4) But the history of women has a special character, a built-in distortion: it comes to us refracted through the lens of men's observations; refracted again through values which consider man the measure. (5) What we know of the past experience of women has been transmitted to us largely through the reflections of men; how we see and interpret what we know about women has been shaped for us through a value system defined by men. (6) And so, to construct a new history that will with true equality reflect the dual nature of mankind—its male and female aspect—we must first pause to reconstruct the missing half—the female experience: women's history.

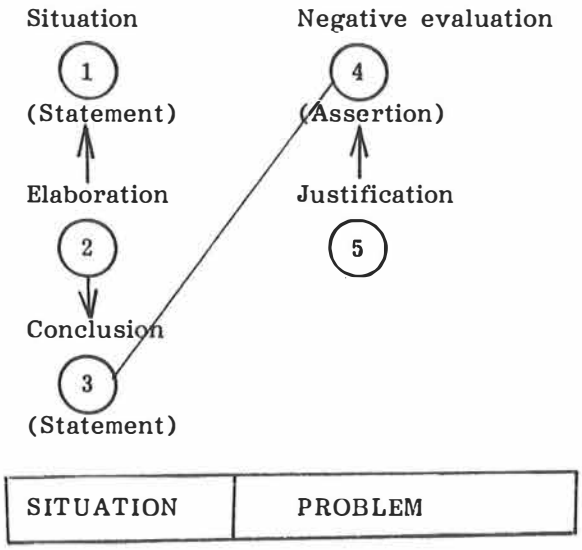

Figure 21. A map of sentences 1-5 of Text 2.

concerning the writing of women's history in general. The aspect being evaluated is the existing history of women, which is said to have a *built-in distortion*. The negative evaluation in (4) with the accompanying justification in (5) constitutes the problem component. Sentence (4) is signalled out as a negative evaluation by the adversative connective *but* and by the evaluative expression *built-in distortion*.

The extract in Example 18 covers sentences (19-29) of Text 2 and is described schematically in Figure 22. The situation component describes women's experience and activities as a function of feminist consciousness. The problem component starts with sentence (29), which constitutes a negative evaluation of the way in which traditionally trained historians have dealt with *such phenomena*, ie. women's experience and activities described in the situation component. Sentence (29) is signalled as a negative evaluation by the adversative connective *yet* and by the evaluative expression *only in terms of 'contribution history.'*

3.4.4.3. Evaluations in the evaluation component

The evaluation component follows the solution; it speculates on the feasibility or the outcome of the recommended solution, and relates either to the future or to the present time. In the two texts there are only

Example 18. An extract of Text 2 illustrating problem-initial evaluations.

(19)Women also have a different experience as to consciousness, depending on whether their work, their expression, and their activity is male-defined or woman-oriented.(20)Women, like men, are indoctrinated in a male-defined value system and conduct their lives accordingly.(21)Thus, colonial and early nineteenth century female reformers directed their activities into channels that were merely an extension of their domestic concerns and traditional roles.(22)They taught school, cared for the poor, the sick, the aged.(23)Only as their consciousness developed did they turn their attention toward the special needs of women.

(24)Alongside such extensions of traditionally female roles came the questioning of tradition, often followed by tentative steps in new directions: Anne Hutchinson holding weekly meetings for men and women in which she, not the male clergy, commented on the Bible; Frances Wright daring to assert women's freedom of sexual choice; Margaret Sanger discovering in one moment of insight and empathy that societally enforced motherhood was a wrong no longer to be tolerated.

(25)Then came the reaching out toward other women: sewing circles and female clubs; women workers organizing themselves; women's rights conventions; the building of mass movements of women.(26)By such steps women became "woman-oriented."(27)Out of such activities grew a new self-consciousness, based on the recognition of the separate interests of women as a group.(28)Out of communality and collectivity emerged feminist consciousness—a system of ideas that not only challenged patriarchal values and assumptions, but attempted to substitute for them a feminist system of values and ideas.

(29)Yet male and female historians, trained traditionally and tacitly assuming patriarchal values, have generally dealt with such phenomena only in terms of "contribution history": describing women's contribution to, their status in, and their oppression by male-defined society.(30)Under this category they have

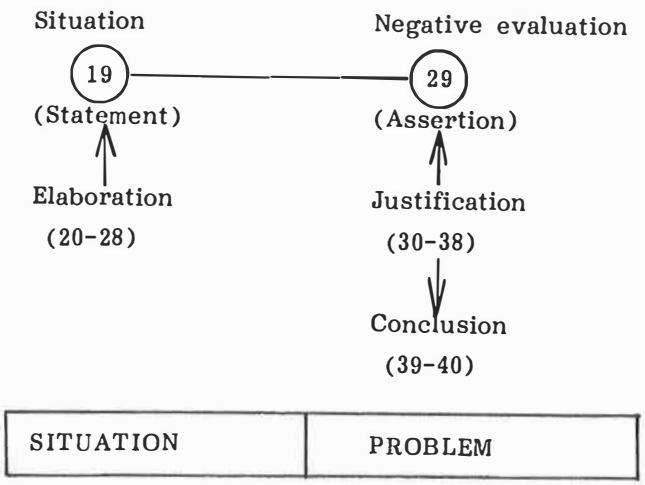

Figure 22. A map of sentences 19-40 of Text 2.

three instances of evaluation components, and two of these are illustrated in the following examples. In Example 19 the evaluation refers to the future; it speculates on the feasibility of the recommended solution. The network of sentences containing the evaluation is described schematically in Figure 23.

Example 19. An extract of Text 1 illustrating the evaluation component.

(58) It is thus the joint onus upon planners and ecologists to persuade politicians that the current approach to resource planning is an oblique and superficial one. (59) Admittedly, the need for the replacement of amenity criteria by ecological principles will be difficult for those responsible to accept, for the consequences may at first appear to have adverse effects upon our economic and social prosperity. (60) Nevertheless, the necessary evidence to counter this view does exist, and politicians are now becoming increasingly adept at convincing the public of the need to make short-term sacrifices in order to secure long-term benefits.

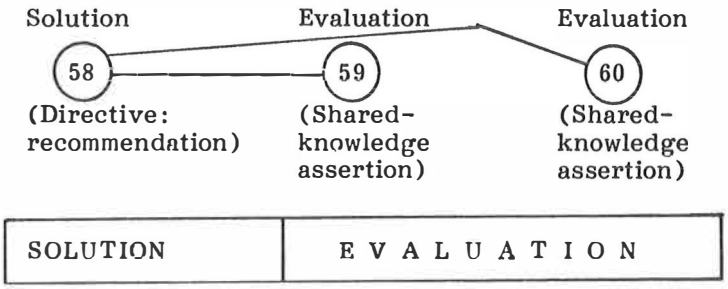

Figure 23. A map of sentences 58-60 of Text 1.

The solution recommended in sentence (58) of Example 19 is that planners and ecologists should persuade politicians to admit the inadequacy of the current approach to resource planning. The evaluation component consists of two evaluations, which relate to the feasibility of the solution. The first, (59), is pessimistic as shown by the expression *will be difficult ... to accept*, while the second, (60), is optimistic and thus contrasts with the first. The optimistic quality of the second evaluation is signalled by the words *politicians are now becoming increasingly adept at convincing the public of the need ...*

In Example 20 the evaluation refers to the present time: it judges the realism of the recommended solution. The network of sentences containing the evaluation is given in Figure 24.

Example 20. An extract of Text 2 illustrating the evaluation component.

(117) It is premature to attempt a critical evaluation or synthesis of the role women played in the building of American society. (118) It is not premature to suggest that the fact of the exclusion of women from all those institutions that make essential decisions for the nation is itself an important aspect of the nation's past. (119) In short, what needs to be explained is not why women were so little evident in American history as currently recorded, but why and how patriarchal values affected that history.

(120) The steps by which women moved toward self-respect, self-definition, a recognition of their true position and from there toward a sense of sisterhood, are tentative and varied and have occurred throughout our history. (121) Exceptional women often defied traditional roles, at times explicitly, at other times simply by expressing their individuality to its fullest. (122) The creation of new role models for women included the development of the professional woman, the political leader, the executive, as well as the anonymous working woman, the club woman, the trade unionist. (123) These types were created in the process of changing social activities, but they also were the elements that helped to create a new feminist consciousness. (124) The emergence of feminist consciousness as a historical phenomenon is an essential part of the history of women.

(125) The process of creating a theory of female emancipation is still under way. (126) The challenges of modern American women are grounded in past experience, in the buried and neglected female past. (127) Women have always made history as much as men have, not "contributed" to it, only they did not know what they had made and had no tools to interpret their own experience. (128) What is new at this time, is that women are fully claiming their past and shaping the tools by means of which they can interpret it.

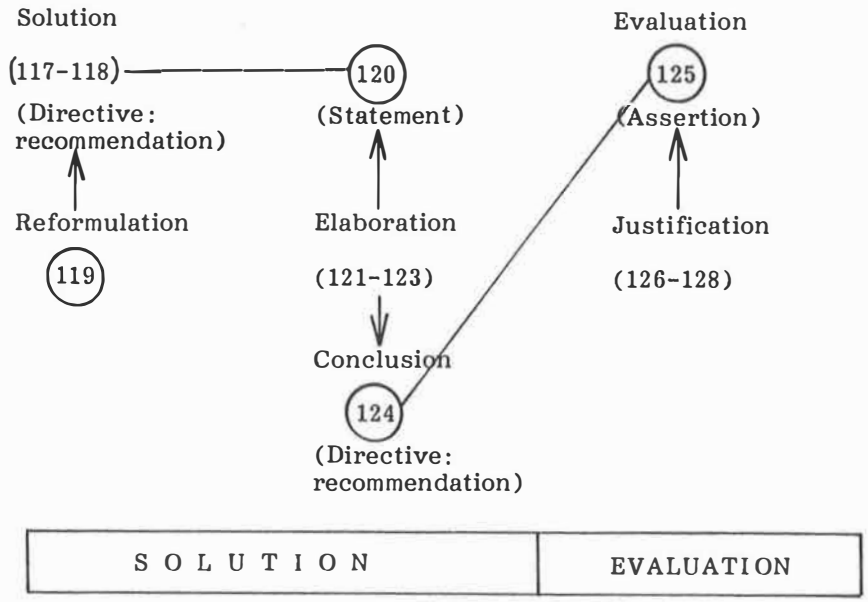

Figure 24. A map of sentences 117-128 of Text 2.

Sequences (117-119) and (120-124) of Text 2 constitute a solution component; they contain the recommendation that the effect of women's exclusion from important institutions and the effect of patriarchal values on women's history be explained and that the emergence of feminist

consciousness be made a part of women's history. The evaluation in (125) relates to the feasibility of this solution. The words *is still under way* signal the evaluation. The subsequent sequence, (126-128), serves as a justification of the evaluation.

3.4.4.4. Shared-knowledge evaluations

It has been mentined above (in 2.4. and 3.4.2.) that Text 1 is based on shared knowledge to a greater degree than Text 2. In Text 1, for instance, the negative evaluation, which typically initiates the problem component, is a shared-knowledge assertion in four instances out of seven and a reported assertion in three instances out of seven; there are no 'original' assertions in this position. In addition to problem-initial shared-knowledge assertions, Text 1 contains shared-knowledge assertions within the problem and evaluation components. The shared-knowledge assertions in Text 1 appear in the following sentences or sequences: (7-8), (16-17), (20-21), (24), (31-32), (46), and (59-60).

Sequences (7-8), (16-17), and (31-32) in Text 1 contain an assertion of roughly the same proposition, namely that ecology and environmental issues have failed to attain a politically respectable status and equality with socioeconomic issues. The following is a detailed list of the evaluations which the reader is expected to share with the author and which are thus presented without a justification. The evaluative expressions are underlined.

In sequence (7-8) (cf. the map in Figure 20), the knowledge which is expected to be shared by the reader is that environmental impacts *have not been accorded equality* with socio-economic issues and that *there is very little official recognition of the fact that we are exploiting* our renewable resources.

In sequence (16-17) (cf. Appendix 1, in which the whole text is printed), the reader is expected to share the knowledge that *there is a wide gulf between opinions* expressed at the UN Conference on the Human Environment *and official dogmas* as they work out in practice, and that *ecology has failed to capture the imagination* of land use policy makers.

In sequence (20-21), the reader is expected to share the knowledge that planning and conservation *do not go hand in hand*.

In sentence (24) (cf. the map in Figure 6), the reader is expected to share the knowledge that development plans are still *too static* and that they *treat land resources as fixed* and, further, that economic and social factors, too, *are treated in a dynamic manner only to a limited extent*.

In sequence (31-32) (cf. the map in Figure 8), the knowledge expected to be shared by the reader is that ecological arguments *have failed to be accorded a politically respectable pedigree and are at variance with social welfare objectives* and, further, that environmental strategies *have lacked the same degree of public acceptance* as social welfare objectives.

Sentence (46) (cf. the map in Figure 7), functions as an explanation. It has two 'statement markers' and it is categorized as a reported assertion. The knowledge which the reader is expected to share is that we *still today despoil the environment and take economic and social benefit from this*.

In sequence (59-60) (cf. the map in Figure 23), the reader is expected to share the evaluations that the need for the replacement of amenity criteria by ecological principles *will be difficult ... to accept* and that politicians *are becoming increasingly adept at convincing the public* of the need to make short-term sacrifices. The connective *admittedly* at the beginning of the evaluation in (59) signals the fact that the writer expects the reader to share the evaluation.

Text 2 has six instances of problem-initial 'original' assertions, as against five problem-initial shared-knowledge assertions. The total number of shared-knowledge assertions in Text 2 is six. These are the following.

In sentence (7) (cf. the map in Figure 11), the reader is expected to share the knowledge that traditional history *has ignored women's history*. Sentence (57) presents as shared knowledge the evaluation that the questions asked by social history and family history *do not encompass women's history*; sequence (104-105) the evaluation that women's community building work and political work *has been recognized only as it pertains to* social reform and to women's rights. Sequence (114-116) maintains that the impression of the female past as a powerless and passive minority *is a distortion*. Sentence (116) contains the 'statement marker' *obvious*, and is therefore categorized as a reported assertion.

Sentence (129) initiates the conclusion unit of Text 2; it contains the shared-knowledge assertion that women *are not a marginal minority and women's history is not a collection of missing facts and views*. The writer is justified in treating this as shared knowledge by virtue of what has been presented earlier in the text. Sentence (139), which initiates the evaluation component of the conclusion unit, contains the shared-knowledge assertion that the new history *will be a synthesis of traditional history and women's history*.

The above discussion of the manifestations of evaluation in the sample texts has taken relatively more space than has been devoted to the other interactional roles so far. This is a conscious choice, since evaluation is at the heart of argumentation. It is negative evaluation that typically starts a problem component, and the problem component is the nucleus of the argumentative text. It can be said, with a slight exaggeration, that without a negative evaluation there is no problem and without a problem there is no argumentation. In this context, reference can be made to Werlich's (1976) text type criteria, and, in particular, to the fact that the sentence which Werlich presents as the typical 'text base' in argumentation is a critical evaluation.

3.4.5. Addition

In Aston's (1977:507) own judgement, his 'most glaring omission is the lack of any study of simple additive and contrastive interactive relationships, as indicated by such connectors as *moreover, on the other hand* etc.' In the present study, addition is included. Addition is derived from Grimes's rhetorical predicate called collection (Grimes 1975: 219-223). Collection is a neutral predicate, which means that it has paratactic and hypotactic manifestations. Additions in this study are paratactically related to the preceding act.

Addition can be adjoined to virtually any act. If, for instance, an elaboration is followed by another elaboration of the same act, then the latter elaboration is an addition in relation to the first. Similarly, there can be two or more evaluations, reformulations, conclusions, or solutions which relate to the same act. In relation to the first evaluation, reformulation, etc., the second is an addition. Additions are elicited by the imaginary reader's question 'Do you have any other examples (elabo-

rations, evaluations, conclusions, solutions, etc.) that you would like to add?'. Additions in the present study appear mostly in a matched compatibility relation (cf. Hoey 1983), ie. in a position in which they share the interactional role of the preceding act to an earlier act. However, matched contrast relations, as well as non-matched relations, also appear, as is shown in 3.4.5.1.

3.4.5.1. The realisation of addition

Additions are illustrated in Examples 21 and 22. In the sentence maps which accompany these examples, ie. in Figures 25 and 26 respectively, additions are actually marked on the maps. Elsewhere in the study, additions are not specifically marked. The extract from Text 1 covering sentences (50-54), shown in Example 21, illustrates additions in a matched compatibility position. As is shown in Figure 25, sentences (50), (52) and (53) are all solutions in relation to the preceding act (which falls outside Example 21 and Figure 25). In its relation to (50-51), (52) constitutes an addition. Similarly, in its relation to (52), (53) constitutes an addition. The relations between (50-51) and (52), and between (52) and (53), are matched compatibility relations. The matched compatibility relation between (52) and (53) is signalled by the connective *likewise* in (53). An was mentioned earlier (in 3.4.4.), connectives such as *however* and *likewise* can be interpreted as indicative of the implicit dialogue with the reader (cf. internal and external conjunction in Halliday and Hasan 1976:241). The adversative connective *however* in (52), while it cannot be said to signal the matched compatibility relation between (50-51) and (52), nevertheless relates to the implicit dialogue with the reader. The imaginary reader's question, inserted after (51), can be worded as follows: 'Is there anything else you would like to add to the solution you propose?'. The connective *however* in (52) can be interpreted as a marker of such an implicit question rather than the question 'Do you have other solutions that you would like to add?'. As can be seen from the above, connectives do not reliably predict whether a relation is one of matched compatibility or of matched contrast.

Addition in a matched contrast relation to the preceding act appears within sequence (81-86) of Text 2, where sentences (81), (82), (83) and (84) all exemplify the preceding sentence (80). Among these exemplifi-

Example 21. An extract of Text 1 illustrating additions in a matched compatibility position.

(50) In order to improve our present performance, therefore, we must first overcome the basic difficulty of translating ecological information into the planning process. (51) The governmental approach to environmental conservation must change its emphasis from the preservation of amenity to the retention of maximum biological diversity and the rational evaluation and use of natural resources; planning must adapt to a longer-term and less superficial perspective of biotic resources, and even be prepared to let ecologic principles determine the framework of statutory plans.

(52) However, if the ecologist's arguments are to carry political weight, he must be able to demonstrate, using the policies contained in development plans as his evidence, that our present activities are producing an environment which will ultimately become too squalid and unreproductive to provide a decent standard of living. (53) Likewise, economists will only be convinced if it can be shown that the conservation of genetical variety represents economically rational behaviour. (54) It has, for instance, been stated by Barkley and Seckler [6] that:

> ". . . the basic source of error in income accounts is their failure to reflect the changing values of non-market goods. The benefits of growth are apparent, the costs of growth are insidious."

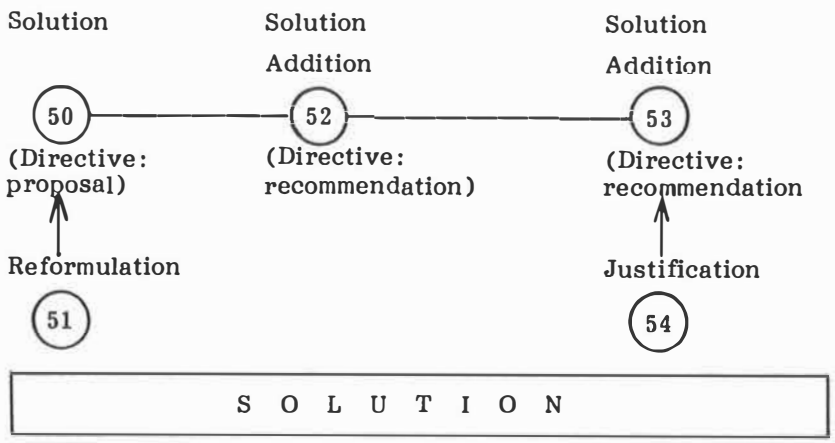

Figure 25. A map of sentences 50-54 of Text 1.

Example 22. An extract of Text 1 illustrating addition in a non-matched position.

(29) In this manner, the essential nature of the planning process is well suited to the "timeless" image of a serene and unchanging countryside, and is abetted in its superficial treatment of resource dynamics by countryside legislation. (30) Consequently, ecology cannot conformably be integrated with traditional planning practice: it must merely be grafted onto the periphery and remain a secondary issue and, to many planners, even a frivolous one. (31) At the same time, ecological arguments have generally failed to be accorded a politically respectable pedigree, and are widely considered to be at variance with perceived social welfare objectives. (32) The more far-reaching environmental strategies — although not necessarily more radical than ambitious programmes of welfare redistribution — have lacked the same degree of public acceptance.

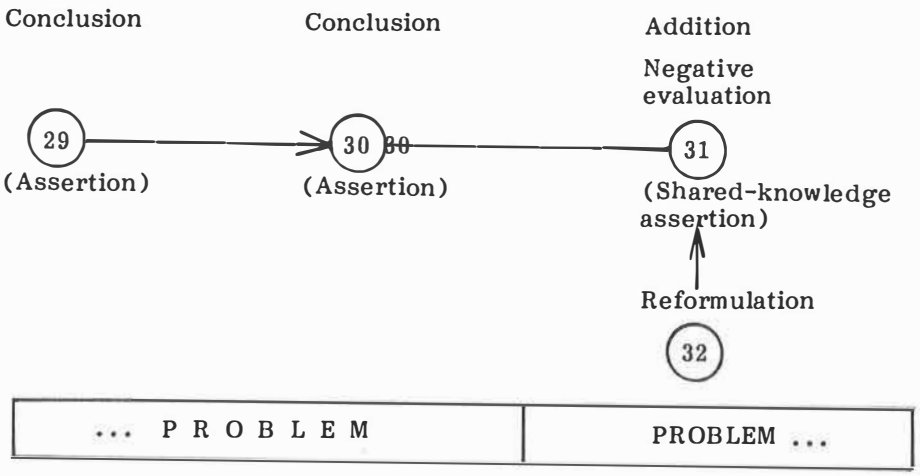

Figure 26. A map of sentences 29-32 of Text 1.

cations, sentence (84) contrasts with (83). It is possible to explicate this contrast by inserting the connective *on the other hand* or *but* in (84).

Example 22 illustrates addition in a non-matched position. The extract which is covered by Example 22 includes sentences (29-32) of Text 1. As shown in Figure 26, sentence (31) is an addition in relation to (30) and does not share its conclusion role in relation to (29). It is nevertheless justifiably recorded as an addition in relation to (30): sentences (30) and (31) are both negative evaluations. The former is inferred from the preceding material and presented as a conclusion, whereas the latter is presented as a shared-knowledge assertion independently of the preceding material, ie. not as a conclusion. The connective *at the same time* can be seen as a signal of addition.

3.4.6. Metastatement

Metastatement is the only interactional role which is not derived from Grimes's (1975) rhetorical predicates. Metastatement is an act whose role is to make explicit the relationship of the subsequent act to the preceding act. For instance, in a sequence (1-3), where the role of act (3) in relation to act (1) is exemplification, metastatement (2) may spell out this relation by means of a formulation such as 'This is exemplified by the following,' 'Let us take an example,' or 'I will give an example.' In such instances, metastatement is akin to performatives. Similarly, metastatement may indicate that the subsequent act is a justification. Recall (cf. 3.4.4.1.) that sentence (4) of Text 1 can plausibly be interpreted as a metastatement indicating that sequence (5-6) is a justification. There is also an element of metastatement in sentence (21) of Text 1. Sentence (21) makes clear that sentence (22) is an explanation. In the case of (21), however, metastatement is a secondary role. In the description of Text 1, sequence (20-21) is assigned the role of negative evaluation.

A metastatement can also manifest itself as the imaginary reader's questions, where these are actually expressed in the text. These, too, explicate the relation between the preceding and the subsequent acts.

Metastatement can be deleted, if there are other signals, such as connectives, which show the interactional roles adequately.

The question test cannot be used as a criterion for establishing whether a particular act is a metastatement. Since metastatements are classifiable as the imaginary reader's questions or as explicitations of interactional roles provided by the writer, it seems virtually impossible to imagine a plausible question which would elicit the metastatement. As to the other signals of metastatement, Aston (1977:503-504) speculates that metastatement-introduced acts tend to be followed by paragraph breaks and that commissives in argumentation have the interactional role of a metastatement. In the material analysed here there are no metastatements that can be classified as commissives. The instances which are not questions are classified as statements of their illocutionary value.

3.4.6.1. The realisation of metastatement

There are only three acts classified as metastatements in the sample material. These are in sentences (33) and (45) in Text 1 and in sequence (66-67) in Text 2. The first of these was shown in passing in the context of explanations, but the text extract and the map of sentences are repeated for the reader's convenience in Example 23 and Figure 27.

Example 23. An extract of Text 1 illustrating metastatement.

(31) At the same time, ecological arguments have generally failed to be accorded a politically respectable pedigree, and are widely considered to be at variance with perceived social welfare objectives. (32) The more far-reaching environmental strategies — although not necessarily more radical than ambitious programmes of welfare redistribution — have lacked the same degree of public acceptance. (33) To understand why, it is necessary to take a bried look at the growth of the environmental movement.

The Historical Basis of Amenity Preservation

(34) Countryside conservation has always been associated in Britain with the supposed benefits of environmental health, pleasantness and civic beauty. (35) In the 17th and

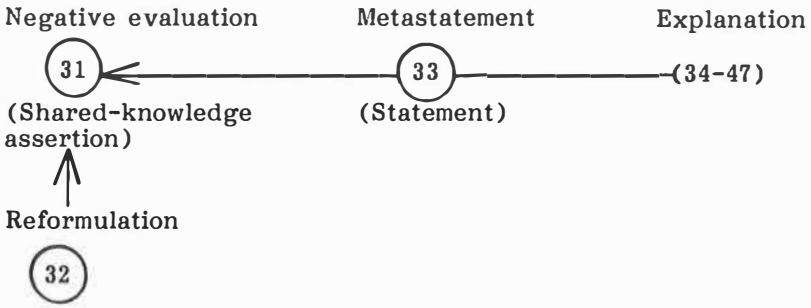

Figure 27. A map of sentences 31-47 of Text 1.

The interactional relation which is being made explicit by the metastatement[1] in Figure 27 is that between sequence (31-32) and the subsequent explanation in (34-47). The expression *to understand why* in the metastatement reveals that what follows is an explanation. If the metastatement in (33) were deleted, the role of the subsequent passage with the subtitle *The Historical Basis of Amenity Preservation* would probably remain unclear.

The second instance of metastement, in sentence (45) of Text 1, has also appeared in passing, but the extract and map are repeated in Example 24 and Figure 28.

Example 24. An extract of Text 1 illustrating metastatement.

(43) It could be argued that the present "official" concern for the environment is little more than a direct continuation of this. (44) Consider, for instance, the aims of the 1967 Countryside (Scotland) Act[5] as expressed in its long title:

> "An act to make provision for the better *enjoyment* of the Scottish countryside . . .",

and again in section 66:

> ". . . every Minister, government department and public body shall have regard to the desirability of conserving the natural *beauty* and *amenity* of the countryside."

(45) Why has this amenity, consumer-oriented approach been perpetuated at government level, and not been supplanted by a widely accepted, rigorous political analysis, as has occurred in sociology and economics? (46) The answer is obvious: we also all too obviously benefit from the economic and social advantages of despoiling the environment — at least in the short-term. (47) Any bureaucratic response to environmental lobbying will consequently be in the form of an enlightened and philanthropic reaction to our own barbarian values in economics, and the solution will be a cosmetic one — plant a few trees and forget about the fundamental issues.

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1 In the sentence maps, metastatement appears on the line connecting the two acts whose relation is being explicated.

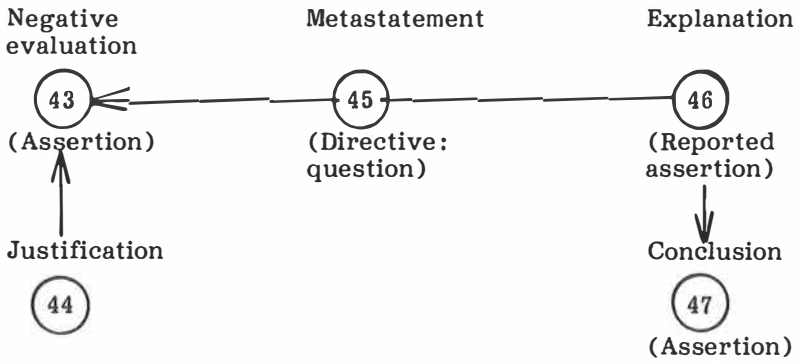


Figure 28. A map of sentences 43-47 of Text 1.

The illocutionary value of the metastatement in (45) is directive. It functions as a question and is amenable to the interpretation that it represents the imaginary reader's contribution to the dialogue. It is a *why*-question, and elicits an explanation.

The metastement which appears in (66-67) of Text 2 is also interpreted as the imaginary reader's question. This time the question initiates the second elaboration unit of Text 2, whose hierarchical relation to the first elaboration unit is coordinate. It can be regarded as an addition in relation to the first elaboration unit, and the metastatement can be seen as an intermediary between these two units. The metastatement can also be seen as an intermediary between the initiation unit (1-6) and the second elaboration unit. The second elaboration unit (68-113) relates to the solution of the initiation unit, whereas the first elaboration unit (7-65) relates to the problem of the initiation unit. By making the reader ask in (66-67) whether we are justified in speaking of a female historical experience different from that of men, the writer paves the way for the second elaboration unit, in which aspects of female historical experience are introduced. It is possible to insert a similar reader's question at the beginning of the first elaboration unit, ie. between sentences (6) and (7). This question can be formulated: 'Can you give details of the distortions which a male bias in traditional history writing may cause?'.

The extract of Text 2 which shows the metastatement is given in Example 25 and the sentence map in Figure 29.

Example 25. An extract of Text 2 illustrating metastatement.

(66)The central question raised by women's history is: what would history be like if it were seen through the eyes of women and ordered by values they define? (67)Is one justified in speaking of a female historical experience different from that of men? (68)To find an answer to this basic question, it is useful to examine the life cycles and the turning points in individual lives of men and women of the past. (69)Are there significant differences in childhood, education, maturity? (70)Are social expectations different for boys and girls? (71)Taking full cognizance of the wide range of variations, are there any universals by which we can define the female past? (72)Material for answering such questions as far as they pertain to women can be found in many primary sources, some virtually untapped, others familiar. (73)Autobiographical letters and diaries, even those frequently used, yield new information if approached with these questions and rearranged from the female point of view.

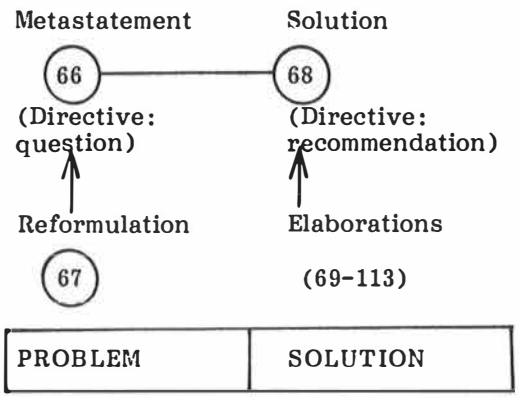


Figure 29. A map of sentences 66-113 of Text 2.

3.4.7. The classification of interactional roles

The interactional roles have been described above in terms of Grimes's (1975) rhetorical predicates, linear and hierarchical position, deletability, and signalling. Table 12 constitutes a summary of the roles classified according to some of these features as they typically accompany each role. The features included in the summary are linear position, hierarchical position, and origin in terms of Grimes's rhetorical predicates.

Table 12. A classification of the interactional roles discussed in chapter 3.

Linear position / Hierarchical position	Initial	Medial or terminal	Terminal
Superordinate in relation to adjoining act	Initiation[1] unit (Sp)		Enlargement (Sp) Conclusion (Ev/ Expl)
Coordinate (paratactic) in relation to adjoining act	Situation (R)	Problem (R) Solution (R) Evaluation (R) Addition (Coll)	
Subordinate (hypotactic) in relation to adjoining act		Justification (Ev) Explanation (Expl) Elaboration (Sp) Reformulation (Eq) Metastatement	

R = Response; Sp = Specificity; Eq = Equivalent; Ev = Evidence; Expl = Explanation; Coll = Collection.

Justification, for instance, is typically subordinate in relation to the preceding act; it is medial or terminal within the sequence which is its domain, and is derived from the rhetorical predicate evidence. Evaluation is typically coordinate and medial or terminal.

1 To be discussed in 3.5.

3.5. Treatment of an entire text as an I & I sequence

The introduction of the various interactional roles earlier in this chapter has exemplified some instances in which an interactional role is realised by an extensive sequence. Such extensive sequences are, for instance, the four elaborations accompanying sequence (7-9) in Text 2. Each of these elaborations comprises a minitext. Similarly, the four elaborations which accompany sequence (68-73) in Text 2 consist of a minitext each. In Text 1, there are extensive explanation sequences. In this section the aim is to consider whether an entire text can be described as a sequence of communicative acts by spelling out their mutual interactional relations.

Appendix 2 presents a diagrammatical description of both sample texts. The texts are divided into the global units of initiation, elaboration, and conclusion, each of which is described as a sequence of communicative acts whose interactional relations are identified. The PS structure is indicated in the diagrams in such a way that it is possible also to see its development independently of its contribution to the I & I structure. A summary of the relations prevailing within each unit will be given in 3.5.1. It remains the purpose of this section to consider whether it is possible to identify the interactional relations which prevail among those minitexts which constitute the global units. In other words, the purpose is to identify the interactional role of the initiation unit; the role of the elaboration unit(s) in relation to the initiation unit, and that of the conclusion unit in relation to the initiation and elaboration units. Once these relations are identified, the entire text can be described as one sequence.

It has been pointed out earlier (in 2.3.) that initiation and conclusion units are more general than elaboration units. Some linguistic evidence for this will be provided below in this section and in chapter 4. Following Grimes (1975), the principle was adopted above (in 3.4.) that general is superordinate to particular, in other words, that a sentence or sequence which functions as a specification, detail, example or other elaboration of another sentence or sequence, is subordinate to the other sentence or sequence. If this principle is applied to sequences such as global units, it means that the elaboration unit is subordinate to the initiation and conclusion units. Chapter 4, which deals with macrostruc-

ture, provides some evidence which shows that the propositions expressed in the elaboration units are more specific than those expressed in the initiation and conclusion units. The imaginary reader's question 'Can you give some instances or details of this?' or some similar formulation seems appropriate in eliciting the elaboration units of the texts, as was shown earlier in 3.4.6. The elaboration units, then, can be reagarded as elaborations in relation to the initiation units.

Text 1 has two elaboration units, whereas Text 2 has three. The relations among the various elaboration units are comparable to those of any other elaborations which relate to the same act. In relation to the first elaboration unit, the second is an addition, and in relation to the second elaboration unit, the third is an addition.

The initiation unit cannot be defined in terms of the interactional roles that have appeared earlier. In one respect, it resembles the role of situation: it begins a sequence which constitutes a text, while the situation begins a sequence which constitutes a minitext. But a text is different from a minitext in that the text does not have a PS structure in the same sense as a minitext. It is not composed of a sequence of situation + problem + solution + evaluation, but of a sequence of such sequences. The first of these sequences is the initiation unit. The initiation unit is a summary of the whole text, whereas the situation is not a summary of the minitext. The situation in a minitext is stated only to be problematized, whereas the initiation unit of a text is more independent. After reading the initiation unit the reader knows roughly what the writer wishes to present as a problem and possibly the kind of solution which is being recommended. The elaboration units make the problem and its solution more specific. In terms of Grimes's rhetorical predicates, the relation between initiation and elaboration units is a manifestation of the specificity pattern, whereas the relation between situation and problem is a manifestation of the response pattern. Since initiation unit cannot be accommodated by any of the interactional roles which have been established earlier in this study, it must be treated as an interactional role in its own right. Its place in the classification of interactional roles in Table 12 is in the top left square: it has an initial position, and it is superordinate in relation to the adjoining act.

The conclusion units have features which make them identifiable with enlargements on the one hand and with conclusions on the other. En-

largement was defined (in 3.4.2.) as an act which contains a general proposition of such a kind that the proposition expressed in the preceding act constitutes an instance, detail, particular, specification or other elaboration of it. If conclusion units are to be identified with the role of enlargement, it has to be established that the elaboration units express propositions which constitute instances, details, particulars, specifications or other elaborations of those expressed in the conclusion units. To establish this, it is possible to use the question test, the connective test and a general-particular comparison of propositions. The question used for the elicitation of enlargement in 3.4.2. was 'What general proposition is this an instance of?'. The question can also be formulated as 'What generalisation can be made on the basis of what you have said?'. This question could conceivably be asked at the point where the elaboration units end and the conclusion unit starts. In Text 1, this point is between sentences (54) and (55), and in Text 2, between sentences (128) and (129). The connectives *in a word, all in all, in summary,* or *to summarize* would not be out of place at these points in the texts. It is to be noted that in Text 1 this point has been marked with a metatextual signal: the conclusion unit is opened with the subtitle *Conclusion*. The general-particular comparisons to be carried out in chapter 4 will provide some evidence to the effect that the conclusion units are more general than the elaboration units.

There are, then, grounds for saying that the conclusion unit has the interactional role of enlargement in relation to the preceding elaboration units. However, the conclusion units in the two texts can also be elicited by the imaginary reader's question 'What conclusion can be made on the basis of the discussion so far?'. On this basis the conclusion units could also be said to have the interactional role of conclusion in relation to the preceding elaboration units.

The text as a whole can now be looked upon as a sequence of interactionally related communicative acts. The sequence is initiation unit + elaboration(s) + enlargement/conclusion. If conclusion units are identified with the role of enlargement rather than with the role of conclusion, the structure of the entire text is a general-particular-general structure. Such a structure appears frequently within paragraphs or other shorter sequences within texts. Thus it is not surprising that a text as a whole should manifest it.

In the course of the attempt to identify the global units with particular interactional roles, it has turned out that the more extensive the sequence to be described, the more difficult is its description. Thus it is only tentatively suggested that these two sample texts are sequences of the type initiation + elaboration(s) + enlargement. The working terms initiation unit, elaboration unit and conclusion unit will not be given up, however. They will be used in the diagrammatical descriptions of the texts to be given in 3.5.1.

3.5.1. Diagrammatical description of the sample texts as I & I sequences

The purpose of this section is to introduce and explain the diagrammatical descriptions of the sample texts in Appendix 2. The diagram for Text 1 Consists of four pages: one page for the initiation unit, two for the two elaboration units, and one for the conclusion unit. The diagram for Text 2 comprises two pages: the initiation unit and the first elaboration unit appear on the first page, and the second and third elaboration units as well as the conclusion unit appear on the second page. Each global unit is described as an I & I sequence and as a PS sequence.

The I & I description proceeds in terms of sentences or sequences of sentences. Each sentence has a running number. Sequences which are low in the hierarchical organisation of the text have not been described in detail. Therefore not every sentence has its interactional role marked in the diagrams. The interactional roles of sentences or sequences are marked above the circled sentence numbers.

Dominant sentences are assigned illocutionary values. These are marked in brackets below the sentence numbers. Sequences are not assigned illocutionary values.

The hierarchical relations between sentences and sequences have been marked with arrows and lines in the same way as in the sentence maps shown earlier in this chapter. A sentence or sequence to which the arrowhead points is superordinate in relation to the adjoining sentence or sequence. A sentence from which the arrow 'departs' is subordinated to the adjoining sentence or sequence. Sentences or sequences connected with a line with no arrowheads are paratactic, ie. at the same level in the hierarchy.

The vertical position of sentences or sequences does not show their

hierarchical position. Neither is a particular sequence type always similarly arranged in the horizontal-vertical dimension. This is due to the spatial constraints caused by the information about PS structure and paragraphing, which is also incorporated in the diagrams. The horizontal organisation of the diagram had to be adjusted to the distribution of sentences and sequences to PS components and to paragraphs. The hierarchy information is derived primarily from the arrows and lines connecting sentences and sequences.

The PS structure is marked in the diagrams as Chinese boxes underneath the I & I structure. The box diagram gives hierarchy information in that superordinate sequences literally include the subordinate sequences. A formation like the one in Figure 30, for instance, conveys the information that a minitext with the components of situation, problem, and solution, has three minitexts subordinated to its problem component; the three minitexts are composed of situation + problem; situation + problem, and situation + problem + solution respectively.

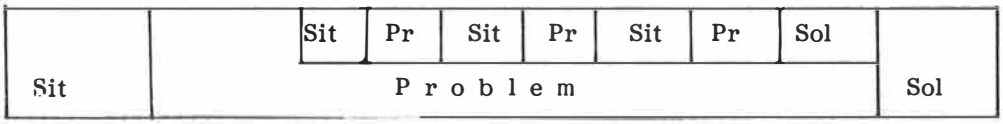


Figure 30. An illustration of the PS structure as a Chinese box diagram.

Any of the subordinate minitexts could in turn have one or more minitexts subordinated to it, and this would show in the diagram in that one of the little boxes would have a set of boxes inside it.

Information on the division of the text into paragraphs is given in the diagram beneath the Chinese boxes which denote the PS structure. This makes it easy to see the extent to which the division into paragraphs coincides with aspects of the PS and I & I structures.

Following this introduction of the diagrams in Appendix 2, a structural overview will be given of each of the texts. The internal structure of each of their global units will be briefly described on the basis of the information which can be derived from the diagram. Their structure will also be presented in a reduced format, which means that subordinate or

coordinate items which are irrelevant for the sequence type are deleted.

The initiation unit of Text 1 consists of a minitext with the situation and problem components. The problem component consists of a series of evaluations, accompanied by an explanation and a conclusion. Presented in a reduced format, the initiation unit consists of the sequence SITUATION + PROBLEM (evaluation + explanation + conclusion). The elaboration units of Text 1 each consists of a minitext. The first comprises only a problem component, with other minitexts 'embedded' in it. The second comprises problem and solution components, of which the problem component has a minitext 'embedded' in it. The two minitexts which constitute the elaboration units contain, respectively, the following sequences, presented in a reduced format: PROBLEM (evaluation + explanation + conclusion), and PROBLEM (evaluation + explanation + conclusion) + SOLUTION. The conclusion unit of Text 1 consists of a sequence PROBLEM (evaluation + conclusion) + SOLUTION + EVALUATION.

The initiation unit of Text 2 consists of a minitext with the situation, problem and solution components. The first elaboration unit consists of a minitext with the problem and solution components, of which the problem component 'embeds' another four minitexts, which function as elaborations. The elaboration unit can be reduced to the sequence PROBLEM (evaluation + elaborations) + SOLUTION. The second elaboration unit consists of a minitext with the problem and solution components, of which the solution component 'embeds' four minitexts functioning as elaborations. It can be reduced to the sequence PROBLEM (metastatement) + SOLUTION (solution + elaborations). The third elaboration unit consists of a sequence PROBLEM + SOLUTION + EVALUATION. The conclusion unit of Text 2 consists of a minitext whose structure can be reduced to the sequence PROBLEM (evaluation + elaboration + conclusion) + SOLUTION + EVALUATION (evaluation + elaboration + conclusion).

3.6. Variance of the I & I structure with aspects of the PS structure

The purpose of this section is to point out the ways in which the I & I structure varies with aspects of the PS structure. Information on this variance also serves as a linguistic basis for the PS structure: it provides the signals which mark out one PS category from the other. The

aspects of I & I structure to be discussed are type of sequence, type of dominant sentence, dominant illocution and, finally, the way in which transition from one PS component to the next is signalled.

3.6.1. Type of sequence

Appendix 2 shows the kinds of interactional sequences which go together with particular PS components. The comparison of sequence types will be started by reviewing first the situation components, second the problem components, third the solution components, and fourth the evaluation components as they are described in the diagrams of Appendix 2.

There is only one situation component in Text 1 which is made up of a sequence. This is in (34-36), where the structure is general-particular. Sentence (34) is followed by two elaborations. In addition, there are three situation components expressed by single sentences. Text 2 in turn has eight situation components all made up of sequences. These sequences have a general-particular structure, in which the first sentence is followed by an exemplification or other elaboration. In two instances, the sequence ends with an enlargement, whereby the structure of the sequence is general-particular-general.

Let us now look at the problem components. There are five sequence types in the problem components of the two texts. These are categorised in Table 13. The sequences are presented in a reduced format, which means that the subordinate or coordinate items which are irrelevant for the sequence types have been deleted. Table 13 also includes the problem components which are expressed by a negative evaluation alone.

Table 13 shows that the typical sequence in the problem component begins with a negative evaluation; this is accompanied by a justification or an explanation; the sequence is often terminated by a conclusion. It has been pointed out in section 3.4. above that in these sequences the initial negative evaluation and the terminal conclusion typically include an assertion with roughly the same content. This argumentative pattern can be seen to reflect the tendency for human reasoning in general and for scientific reasoning in particular, as pointed out by Popper (1963), to work from initial hypotheses, through typical instances and evidence, towards a final conclusion. It is not possible 'to argue purely from evidence without assumptions' (Popper 1963:46), or to 'induce' a scientific

Table 13. The types of sequences identified in the problem components of Texts 1 and 2.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Sequence type	Neg.eval. (sh.kn./ rep.ass.) + explanation + conclusion	Neg.eval. (assertion) + justification (+ conclusion)	Metastatement (dir.: question) + reformulation	Neg.eval.	Neg.eval. (sh.kn.ass.) + elaboration) (+ conclusion)
Text 1	(2-15) (16-49) (20-30) (31-47) (37-47)	(24-28)			(55-57)
Text 2		(4-5) (13-17)[1] (29-40) (47-52) (88-93) (100-101) (110-112)	(66-67)	(104-105) (114-116) (57)	(7-57) (129-135)

1 In the instance of (13-17) of Text 2, the illocution is directive: warning.

theory from mere observation without an initial hypothesis. Comparable tripartite sequences have been observed in spoken discourse (cf. Altenberg 1983) in longer turns of speech: the speaker starts from the result or conclusion, then proceeds to give the details, and terminates the sequence by repeating the result or conclusion.

In addition to the typical sequences reported above, the problem component may be expressed by a single negative evaluation or by a negative evaluation followed by an elaboration or conclusion. One problem component constitutes a metastatement, ie. a reader's question accompanied by a reformulation.

Next, the interactional structure of the solution component can be looked at. Text 1 has two solution components and Text 2 has eight. The sequence types realising the solution components are given in Table 14. A typical manifestation of the solution component is a single directive sentence or a sequence of coordinate directives, possibly followed by an elaboration or reformulation. In one instance the sequence is terminated by a conclusion.

Table 14. The types of sequences identified in the solution components of Texts 1 and 2.

Sequence type	Single directive	Sequence of coordinate directives (+ elaboration/reformulation) (+ conclusion)
Text 1		(50-54) (58, 61)
Text 2	(6) (18) (113)	(58-65) (68-113) (106-109) (117-124) (136-138)

The evaluation components are now reviewed. The one evaluation component in Text 1, in (59-60), is manifested by a sequence of coordinate evaluations. The two evaluation components in Text 2, in (125-128) and (139-144), are manifested by evaluation + justification and evaluation + elaboration + conclusion sequences.

After this brief review of the sequence types found in the PS components it is possible to establish the following tendencies. The situation component is expressed by a single statement or a sequence in which the dominant sentences have the illocutionary value of a statement. When the situation component is a sequence, it has a general-particular structure. The problem component is typically a sequence of the type negative evaluation + justification/explanation + conclusion, in which the initial

negative evaluation and the terminal conclusion include an assertion with roughly the same content. The problem component may also be expressed by a single negative evaluation. The solution component is a single-sentence directive or a sequence of coordinate directives. The evaluation component is a positive evaluation.

3.6.2. The type and illocution of dominant sentences

Now that the sequences manifesting each PS component have been identified it is possible to pick out the dominant sentences from the sequences and compare their types. The dominant sentences were defined earlier as those sentences which according to the hierarchy information are superordinate in each sequence. The purpose of the comparison of sentence types is to find out whether the emerging dominant sentence types can be identified with (1) any of the proposition types established in argumentation by Fahnestock and Secor (1983), and (2) any of the sentence patterns pointed out by Werlich (1976) as representative of particular text types. At the same time, these sentences are compared to establish whether the PS components can be singled out in respect of dominant illocution, with dominant illocution defined as the illocution prevailing in the dominant sentences of the PS component. It is assumed that the dominant sentences of each component best represent the sequences that realise each component.

Since dominant sentences are also used as material for the macrostructure description in chapter 4, a list of the dominant sentences from the three highest levels in the sentence hierarchy of the whole texts has been compiled and is presented in Appendix 3. The organisation in Appendix 3 is by PS component. This means that there are four lists for each text: the dominant sentences picked out from the situation components, those picked out from the problem components, those from the solution components, and those from the evaluation components. In Appendix 3, the sentences which belong to the highest level of the hierarchy start from column III, the leftmost column; those which belong to the second level of the hierarchy start from column II, and those which belong to the third level, start from column I. A general impression of the sentence types representing each PS category can be achieved by glancing through the lists of sentences in Appendix 3. These lists will

also be referred to as 'blocks'. The list of dominant sentences picked from the problem components of Text 1, for instance, may be referred to as the 'problem block' of Text 1.

For the present purposes, the dominant sentences in Appendix 3 are categorized in Tables 15, 16, 17 and 18, which show the extent to which they can be accommodated by Fahnestock and Secor's and Werlich's categories. The types which emerge from the situation components of the texts are given in Table 15.

Table 15. A typological classification of dominant sentences in the situation component.

Sentence type	1	2	3
	Categorical thesis (F & S); Phenomenon-identifying or phenomen-linking sentence (Werlich)	Phenomenon-recording sentence (Werlich) (No equivalent in F & S's categories)	Other
Text 1	(19, 34)		(1)
Text 2	(1), (3), (10), (19), (41), (74), (87)	(53), (79), (80), (94), (95), (99), (102)	

The first category combines Fahnestock and Secor's (1983) categorical 'propositions' or 'theses' and Werlich's (1976) phenomenon-identifying/linking sentences, which seem to establish the same type. Sentences which answer the question 'What is this thing?' are categorised as belonging to this group. In Werlich's text typology, the first group relates to the expository text type. The second category includes sentences which answer the question 'What happened (next)?', in other words the phenomenon-recording sentences which relate to the narrative text type and have no equivalent in Fahnestock and Secor's classification. Sentences not accommodated by either of these categories have been placed in the category Other.

Sentences (19) and (34) of Text 1 seem relatively straightforward

instances of phenomenon-linking sentences. Sentence (1) is a reported assertion and has evaluative elements; it therefore appears in the category Other. The sentences from Text 2 which have been placed in category
1 are close to Werlich's phenomenon-identifying sentence type; they are timeless generalisations, and sentence (87) can be described as a generic sentence. The sentences of Text 2 placed in category 2 are more or less clear cases of the phenomenon-recording type: they include sentences in the past tense group, relate to timebound observations and answer the question 'What happened?'. It is to be noted that the group contains sentences (94), (95) and (102), though these have the present perfect tense and convey the idea that the process still goes on. The illocution of the dominant sentences of the situation components is one of statement.

Although the above categorization of the dominant sentences in the situation components is not watertight, it gives an indication of the tendency that the situation component has other than strictly argumentative features: its dominant sentences relate to the expository or the narrative types and have the illocutionary value of a statement.

In the problem components, the dominant sentences are negative evaluations and conclusions. As illocutionary acts they are assertions, shared-knowledge assertions or reported assertions. In addition, there is one question. The sentence types which emerge in terms of Fahnestock and Secor's and Werlich's classifications are given in Table 16. The first category combines Fahnestock and Secor's evaluations and Werlich's quality-attributing sentences, which establish the same category. Sentences answering the question 'Is this good or bad?' are categorised as belonging to this group. In Werlich's typology, quality-attributing sentences are characteristic of the argumentative text type. The second category includes the sentences which aswer the question 'What caused this thing?'. It includes explanations, which in Text 1 are frequently presented as 'theses', ie. as assertions. It is to be noted, however, that even the sentences in the second category are evaluative, which means that categories 1 and 2 are not mutually exclusive. The second category has no clear equivalent in Werlich's typology, since the phenomenon-linking sentence is not assertive but stative: it is used for the exposition of unchallenged relations between concepts, whereas the sentences in the second category of Table 16 are used to express challengeable opinions

about causal or covariance relations. The sentences which are not accommodated by either of these categories have been placed in the category Other.

Table 16. A typological classification of dominant sentences in the problem component.

	1	2	3
Sentence type	Evaluations (F & S); Quality-attributing sentences (Werlich)	Causal theses (F & S) (No equivalent in Werlich's categories)	Other
Text 1	(2), (4), (7), (14), (16), (31), (37), (41), (43), (47)	(13), (15), (20-21), (28), (29), (30), (48), (49), (56)	
Text 2	(4), (7), (13), (29), (39), (47), (52), (57), (88), (91), (92), (93), (100), (104), (105), (110), (115), (116), (129), (134)		(66)

The dominant sentences of the problem components in Text 1 are divided between categories 1 and 2, whereas those from Text 2 are all except one placed in the first category. The first and the last sentences in the problem blocks (see Appendix 3) of both texts are typical examples of the sentence types which mark out the problem component. Sentence (2) of Text 1 incorporates the negative evaluation that the control of biotic resources is *only tenuously linked* to planning control and sentence (4) of Text 2 the evaluation that the history of women *has a built-in distortion*. Sentence (56) of Text 1 in turn maintains that the existence of the amenity bias *is a major obstacle*, and sentence (134) of Text 2 maintains that women's history *is not an exotic speciality*. (The

evaluative expressions of the sentences are underlined.) In summary it can be said that the majority of the dominant sentences in the problem components can be categorised as evaluations or causal theses (or both) and that the dominant illocution is assertive.

The solution component is mostly expressed by a directive or directives accompanied by an elaboration. All the dominant sentences in the solution components are directive in their illocutionary value. However, they are not action-demanding sentences of the type which Werlich (1976:29) identifies with the instructive text type. They are not in the imperative form. They are declarative sentences and their directive illocution is conveyed by expressions such as *it is essential to* ... (sentence 18 of Text 2); *it is useful to* ... (sentence 68 of Text 2); ... *is urgently needed* (sentence 106 of Text 2); *have to be done* (sentence 109 of Text 2); *we must* (sentence 50 of Text 1 and sentence 6 of Text 2); *it must become an accepted fact that* ... (sentence 61 of Text 1), and ... *should be studied* (sentence 108 of Text 2). In the categorization of illocutions, the directives which appear in the sample texts are classified as recommendations and proposals.

Fahnestock and Secor's class of proposals conforms to the type of the dominant sentences found in the solution components in that they answer the question 'What should be done about it?'. Werlich (1976:249) recognizes the 'instructive conclusion'. In the instances in which the solution sequence ends with a conclusion, the conclusion can perhaps be identified with this (cf. also Werlich 1976:113). The dominant sentences of the solution components are listed in Table 17.

The dominant sentences in the evaluation components are evaluative. As illocutionary acts they are assertions or shared-knowledge assertions. They differ, however, from the evaluations of the problem component in

Table 17. A typological classification of dominant sentences in the solution component.

Sentence type	Proposals (F & S)
Text 1	(50), (52), (53), (58), (61)
Text 2	(6), (18), (58), (68), (106), (113), (117-118), (124), (136)

that they are not strictly quality-attributing and do not seem appropriate answers to Fahnestock and Secor's question 'Is it good or bad?'. Rather, they seem to answer the question 'What is it/will it be like?', where *it* refers to the steps and approaches recommended or proposed in the preceding solution component, or to their prospects of implementation. With these reservations it is possible to say that the dominant sentences in the evaluation component are classifiable as evaluations. They are listed in Table 18.

Table 18. A typological classification of dominant sentences in the evaluation component.

Sentence type	Evaluations (F & S) answering the question 'What is it/will it be like?'
Text 1	(59), (60)
Text 2	(125), (139), (142)

Although the classification of the dominant sentences of the PS components is not watertight, it serves as evidence for the fact that the PS components differ from one another and that these differences can be identified by means of aspects of the I & I structure. A typical dominant sentence in the situation component has the illocutionary value of a statement. It is a categorical proposition which coincides with the phenomenon-identifying/linking sentence pattern; alternatively it is a phenomenon-recording sentence. A typical dominant sentence in the problem component is an evaluation or an evaluative causal thesis with an illocutionary value of an assertion. A typical dominant sentence in the solution component has a directive illocution: it is a recommendation or a proposal. A typical dominant sentence in the evaluation component is assertive: it is an evaluative sentence which answers the question 'What is it/will it be like?'.

3.6.3. Transition from one PS component to another

It has been shown in the above sections that the four PS components differ in respect of sequence type, dominant sentence type, and domi-

nant illocution. These and other differences[1] constitute the rationale for the distinction between these superstructure categories: by virtue of such differences, it is possible to identify particular PS components in a concrete text. The purpose of this section is to add to the battery of signals by pointing out some signals which help to identify the transition from one PS component to the next. Attention will be paid to three kinds of transition markers: type of conjunction, metatextual signals, and typographical signals.

3.6.3.1. Type of conjunction

Transition to the problem component is often marked by an adversative conjunction. In Text 1, four out of seven problem components are adversatively conjuncted to the preceding text and in Text 2, nine out of thirteen. In this count, the following types have been included: (1) the conjunction to the preceding sentence has been signalled by means of an adversative connective; (2) the sentence contains what has been described as a negation of the imaginary reader's opinion, which is at the same time a negative evaluation, and (3) the sentence incorporates a contrast in its internal structure in that it has an adversative inter-clausal conjunction. In the last type, the line between the situation and problem components would be most accurately drawn between the two clauses rather than between the sentence and the previous sentence. This study, however, follows the principle that lines between PS components are drawn along sentence boundaries; therefore this aspect of accuracy is missed. The sentences which manifest the above types of adversative conjunction and initiate problem components are listed in Table 19.

Sentences (13), (57) and (100) of Text 2 appear in two columns because they combine both signals: they contain a negation of the reader's opinion and accommodate an inter-sentence or inter-clausal adversative conjunction.

As has been pointed out earlier, a problem component typically starts with a negative evaluation. Thus a negative evaluation also acts as a potential signal of transition.

1 In chapter 4 the list of dominant sentences picked from the PS components and presented in Appendix 3 are compared for thematic differences.

Table 19. Types of adversative conjunction as markers of transition to the problem component.

Type	1 Adversative connective	2 Negation of the imaginary reader's opinion	3 Interclausal adversative conjunction
Text 1	(2) however (37) "	(20-21)	(24) although
Text 2	(4) but (29) yet (57) still (88) but (100) yet	(13) (57) (100) (129)	(13) while (47) " (110) but

Transition to the solution component is sometimes marked by such connectives as *thus, so, therefore*, which have been earlier pointed out as potential signals of the interactional role of conclusion. The solution component is sometimes presented as if it were a conclusion. Since the solution component is directive in its illocutionary value, the change of illocution into the directive can also be looked upon as a transition marker: it marks transition to the solution. It was mentioned earlier that Werlich's term instructive conclusion applies to the instances in which an 'inferred' solution terminates a sequence or initiates a terminal sequence. Sentence (50) of Text 1 has the connective *therefore*, sentence (58) of Text 1 the connective *thus*, and sentence (6) of Text 2 the connective *and so* as markers of the instructive conclusion.

3.6.3.2. Metatextual signals

Metastatement was defined as an interactional role whose purpose is to make explicit the relation between two other acts. In this section, the aim is to look at other devices with a metatextual function, ie. the function of explicating the structural relations within the text. Attention is focussed on subtitles to see how they signal transition from one act to the next and from one PS component to the next. It is possible also that metatextual items are more extensive than those manifested in the sample

texts (cf. Prince 1977).

Although subtitles are often inserted by the editors, they are still authentic parts of the text as it is received by the reader. And the editor, too, is a reader, who explicates the structure of the text according to his own interpretation. A comparison of these intuitive explicitations with the linguistically oriented results of the present analysis also adds a perspective for judging the validity of the analysis.

Text 1 has four subtitles. The first is between sentences (15) and (16); the second between (33) and (34); the third between (47) and (48), and the fourth between (54) and (55). In terms of the I & I structure, the first subtitle, *The Restricted Scope of Resource Planning*, is located at the juncture between the initiation unit and the elaboration unit, and in terms of PS structure, between a superordinate and a subordinate minitext. The second subtitle, *The Historical Basis of Amenity Preservation*, is preceded by a metastatement which makes explicit that the item which follows is an explanation in relation to the item which precedes it. The second subtitle covers the explanation as a whole. The explanation constitutes a minitext and is 'embedded' within the problem component of the minitext which constitutes the second elaboration unit. The third subtitle, *Making Ecology a Popular Issue*, is placed at a point where the explanation ends and a sequence of two conclusions begins. The two conclusions terminate the problem component which 'embeds' the explanation. The third subtitle covers these problem-terminal conclusions and a sequence which constitutes the solution to the problem. The fourth subtitle, *Conclusion*, covers the minitext which constitutes the conclusion unit. The way in which the four subtitles are accommodated within the interactional and PS structures of the text is summarized in Figure 31.

3.6.3.3. Typographical signals

Attention here is on the extent to which paragraphing coincides with the boundaries of the structural units established in the I & I and PS descriptions. Although paragraphing, too, is largely decided by the editors, it is an aspect of text structure at the stage where the reader has access to the text. A first glance at the diagrammatical descriptions of the sample texts in Appendix 2 may give the impression that paragraph boundaries do not coincide with the PS structure or I & I struc-

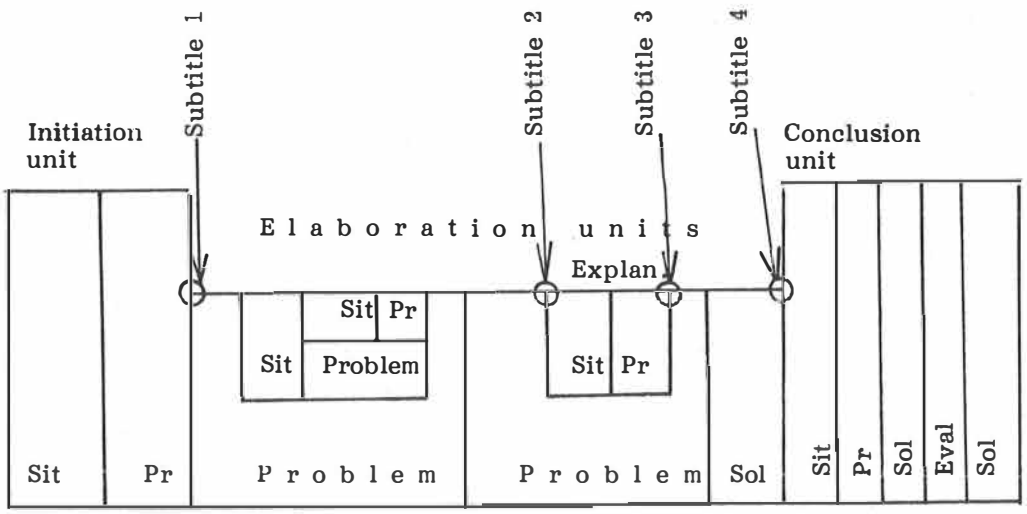


Figure 31. The subtitles within the structure of Text 1.

ture boundaries in any systematic manner. The actual coincidence of paragraph boundaries with minitext boundaries and with PS component boundaries appears from Table 20. The calculations recognise a coincidence whenever a paragraph boundary coincides with a minitext or a PS component boundary and ignore instances in which there are 'extra' paragraph boundaries, ie. boundaries with no counterpart in the PS structure. This procedure is felt to be justified by the fact that paragraphing also has an aesthetic role to fulfil, which means that a paragraph must keep to certain conventions of length. In other words, a paragraph cannot be overly long.

As the first column of Table 20 shows, minitext boundaries always fall on a paragraph boundary in each text. There is always a paragraph boundary where there is a minitext boundary, though in addition there are other paragraph boundaries. This means that there is a certain harmony between paragraphing and aspects of the interactional and PS structure. Minitexts are the units whithin which the PS structure emerges, and they are also units with specific interactional roles. Minitexts together form the hierarchical organisation of the entire text. Paragraphing seems to be sensitive to this organisation.

Table 20. Coincidence of the paragraph boundaries with the minitext and PS component boundaries in Texts 1 and 2.

	1 Coincidence of minitext boundaries with paragraph boundaries	2 Coincidence of PS component boundaries with paragraph boundaries	3 Total of paragraph boundaries
Text 1	8/8	2/8	18
Text 2	13/13	3/18	26

The 'extra' paragraph boundaries inside minitexts, however, do not often fall on PS component boundaries, as the second column of Table 20 shows. In Text 1 there are eight instances of PS component boundaries within minitexts. (This count covers the PS component boundaries inside minitexts only, ie. the boundaries between situation and problem, problem and solution, and solution and evaluation. It excludes boundaries between minitexts.) Only two of the eight PS component boundaries in Text 1 fall on a paragraph boundary. Text 2 has 18 PS component boundaries within minitexts, out of which only three fall on paragraph boundaries.

There is an explanation for the fact that PS component boundaries within minitexts do not often coincide with paragraph boundaries. The relations between situation and problem, problem and solution, and solution and evaluation are response relations: the situation is stated to be problematized, the problem to be solved, etc. A paragraph boundary is not placed between such mutually dependent acts, especially if length permits continuation in the same paragraph. The two PS component boundaries in Text 1 which fall on a paragraph boundary are between problem and solution: one boundary is between sentences (49) and (50) and the other between (57) and (58). In Text 2 the boundaries are between situation and problem, (28) and (29) respectively, between problem and solution, (105) and (106) respectively, and between solution and evaluation, (139) and (140) respectively. These instances of paragraphing are at least partly due to length. A fresh paragraph is started to prevent the emergence of an overlong paragraph. The problem component (29-40), for instance, is in itself long, and it is separated from the

situation (19-28), which is also long: it comprises three paragraphs. Another consideration is that the paragraph boundary between a three-paragraph situation and a problem indicates that the problem relates not only to (25-28) but to the entire sequence (19-28).

Paragraph boundaries within PS components, too, can be explained by considerations of hierarchy and length. For instance, the first problem component of Text 1 includes an explanation sequence (9-12), which is recognised on both sides by paragraph boundaries.

It is possible to say, in summary, that although paragraphs are not primarily structural units, paragraphing is not unsensitive to structure. Paragraphing is sensitive to hierarchy among minitexts, for instance, and it respects the response relations prevailing inside minitexts.

3.7. Illocutions and interactional sequences as markers of text type

The previous section of this chapter introduced the sequences and illocutions which typically prevail in each PS component. It was suggested that these and other markers help to identify particular PS components in a concrete text. The purpose of this section is to consider whether sequence type and illocution could ultimately be used as criteria which mark out a concrete text as an argumentative text.

Batteries of text type markers such as those suggested above and those suggested by Werlich (1976) help to identify typically expository or argumentative passages from a concrete text. But in themselves they do not mark out an authentic, whole text as a specimen of a certain text type. Concrete texts turn out to be mixtures of text types - as has been seen in the description of the sample texts: the various PS components manifest differences in what were previously called text type features. Some sequences are typically argumentative, others are typically expository, and still others share features with the instructive text type. It is therefore often suggested in literature on text types (cf. Reiss 1971 and Werlich 1976) that the notion of text type is an abstraction and that concrete texts are mixtures of types. Isenberg (1978:575) criticises this view from a theoretical as well as practical point of view: the more typologically complex a text is, the less such typologies have to say about it or its relation to other typologically complex texts. The challenge which Isenberg presents to the theory of text typology is that

it should turn out a monotypical classification which incorporates a hierarchical principle for the identification of the dominant type in complex texts. Kalverkamper (1982:150) maintains that a 'partial text' which is located low in the text hierarchy has a diminishing role in the text type definition. The hierarchy principle is adopted in the present study; it is suggested that an analysis of the sequences at the top of the text hierarchy reveals the text typological domain of a concrete text.

For some practical purposes, it may be necessary for the reader to be able to say about a concrete text what it ultimately counts as. Examples of such practical purposes are translation and the writing of abstracts and summaries, as well as the various pedagogical purposes such as the teaching of reading comprehension and the assessment of the students' written work. Decisions on whether a piece of written work is a legitimate representative of a certain textual category or whether it correctly translates or summarises a piece of work must in these cases often be made intuitively. In textlinguistic literature, too, it is sometimes suggested that texts should be divided into types according to their overall 'illocutionary point' or 'communicative purpose' (cf. Grosse 1976; Aston 1977:470; Shaugnessy 1977, and Hatim 1983). As mentioned earlier (in 1.1.), the difference between exposition and argumentation, according to this criterion, is that the point in exposition is to inform the reader, whereas the point in argumentation is to convince him. The problem is how to tell, other than intuitively, if the point has, or has not, been made.

For the purposes of practical text analysis, then, batteries of typological markers and the notion of abstract text types are not sufficient. Neither is a merely intuitive assessment of the 'point' or 'purpose' of the text sufficient. What is needed is a method for the typological definition of concrete texts. The method should reveal, for instance, whether a concrete text counts as an argumentation or as an exposition. It is suggested that the method developed so far in this study in principle offers tools for an overall text type definition. As a result of the application of the present method of description, there is information about the sequences of which the text is made up, the illocutions prevailing in the

sequences, the mutual hierarchical relations among the sequences, and their place in the problem-solution structure of the text. The information about hierarchy is crucial in the determination of text type. The contention here is that the sequence or sequences at the top of the hierarchy reveal the text type.

The fact that the sequences at the top of the hierarchy manifest the problem-solution structure does not in itself reveal the text type, because it has been shown that this structure appears in a variety of prose texts. What has to be revealed is the type of these problem-solution structures and, in particular, the type of the interactional sequences and illocutions prevailing within the problem-solution structures. The problem component is of particular interest here. It was suggested earlier in this study that an argumentative text or minitext must have a problem component, while the other PS components are optional. Once the problem component has been identified in the sequences at the top of the hierarchical structure, the next step is the identification of the type of interactional sequences and the dominant illocution within the problem component. The solution component, if there is one, can be similarly reviewed. If the problem and soluton components manifest what have been above established as typically argumentative features, the text can be identified as an argumentative text. On the basis of the analyses carried out in this study, the problem component should have assertion as its dominant illocution and consist of a sequence of the type negative evaluation + justification/ explanation + conclusion. The solution component should have a directive illocution.

To test whether the illocution and sequence criterion is able to single out argumentative texts, descriptions of a variety of texts are needed. This would involve a further development of the present I & I method to accommodate other text types, which falls outside the scope of the present study. In order to have at least a starting point for a fully-fledged comparative study, two short texts have been chosen for a review of the sequences and illocutions prevailing in them. One text is from the *New Scientist*, which is perhaps categorizable as a factual news story (Werlich 1976:64), and one from the journal *Engineering* categorizable as a technical description (Werlich 1976:51). To distinguish these

additional texts from the two sample texts of the argumentative type, they will be called the narrative text, N1, and the descriptive text, D1. These texts have not been chosen because they are felt to be typical representatives of the narrative and the descriptive types but rather because they seem to share features with the argumentative sample texts. Both texts manifest the PS structure, and Text N1 has features which are typically attached to the argumentative type, such as adversative conjunction. Its predicate verbs are in the present tense group and it does not follow the temporal structuring of the 'simple' narrative. This observation is in line with Togeby's (1982) findings about the structure of the written news story.

An attempt is made in the following to describe the texts as I & I and PS sequences. The emerging sequences are then compared to the 'top sequences' established in the argumentative sample texts. Text N1 is given in Example 26 and its diagrammatical description in Figure 32.

Example 26. Text N1.

Laundered marrow helps transplants

(1) IMMUNOLOGICAL rejection is the major hazard of organ transplantation. (2) Bone marrow transplants are different. (3) Because some of the body's immune capacity resides within the bone marrow, there is a risk that the donor bone marrow will try to reject the patient. (4) This "graft-versus-host" disease shows itself as a severe rash diarrhoea and liver damage. (5) It renders the patient immune deficient and is frequently fatal. (6) Because of it, bone marrow transplants, which have markedly improved survival in acute leukaemia, aplastic anaemia and a group of rare congenital enzyme deficiencies, are really only feasible between siblings with the same tissue type. (7) Even so, graft-versus-host disease occurs to some extent in between 20 and 80 per cent of such transplants.

(8) Conventional treatment with corticosteroids and the cytotoxic drug methotrexate has recently been superseded by the new immunosuppressant drug cyclosporin A. (9) However, even this is not without its problems, leading to kidney damage in some patients and restricting the range of antibiotics that can be used while the bone marrow is recovering after the transplant.

(10) A different approach is based on the observation that bone marrow transplants in small rodents do not lead to graft-versus-host disease unless spleen cells are added to the marrow. (11) This seems to be because rat or mouse marrow contains very few T-lymphocytes. (12) These T-cells are responsible for recognising foreign matter and controlling the production of antibodies against it. (13) Attempts have therefore been made to remove T-cells from human marrow before transplantation. (14) This can be done by making specific antibodies (monoclonal antibodies) against the T-cells and "subtracting" them from the marrow. (15) Dr Grant Prentice from the Royal Free Hospital in Hampstead has successfully "laundered" marrow from 13 patients using a "cocktail" of three monoclonal antibodies to remove the T-lymphocytes.

(16) Even more encouraging is a new rat monoclonal antibody produced by Dr Hermann Waldman of the Department of Pathology at Cambridge University. (17) Called CAMPATH-1, it is an immunoglobulin M antibody which is cytotoxic for all human lymphocytes when used with human complement. (18) Five bone marrows (four in Israel and one in West Germany) have been successfully "laundered" with it and engraftment has swiftly followed. (19) Early work at the Hospital for Sick Children in London suggests it may aid transplants from incompatible donors. □

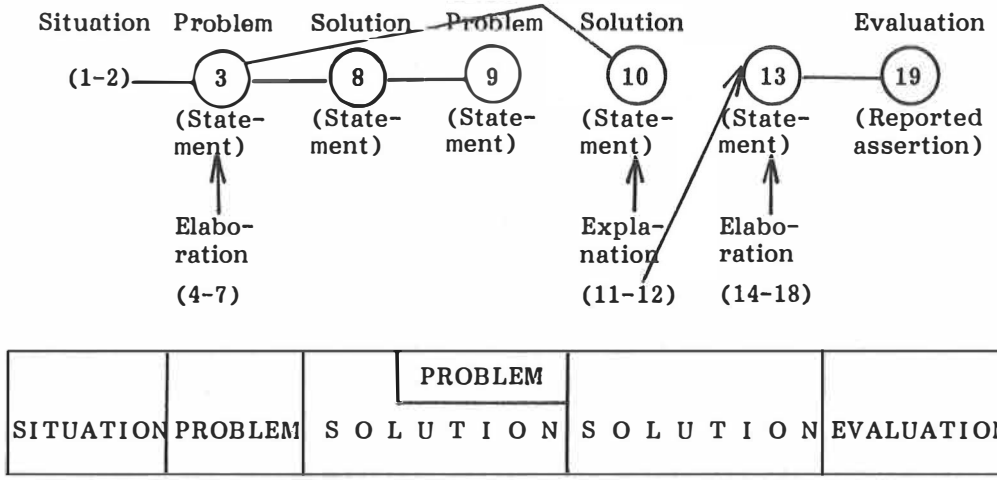


Figure 32. A map of the sentences in Text N1.

As Figure 32 shows, Text N1 is composed of a minitext, in which the problem is followed by two solutions. The first solution 'embeds' a problem, ie. another minitext, whereas the second solution does not. The inventory of the interactional roles used for the description of the argumentative sample texts is not as such adequate for the description of Text N1. Therefore the interactional roles of sentences (3) and (9) are marked only with the label Problem and the interactional role of (13) is left unlabelled. Problematization in sentences (3) and (9) is not done by means of a negative evaluation, as the case was in the argumentative texts. Sentences (3) and (9) are not evaluative, and their illocutionary value is not assertive. The problems of graft-versus-host disease and kidney damage are reported as facts and the illocution is one of a statement. There is thus no need for justification. Sentence (3) is accompanied by an elaboration, which gives details of the problem, and sentence (9) stands alone. The solutions, too, are reported as facts: sentences (8) and (10) have the illocution of a statement. Sentence (10) is accompanied by an explanation (11-12), reporting the insight that T-cells are responsible for the graft-versus-host disease. Sentence (13) includes a report of what was done as a result of the insight reported in (11-12). Sentence (13) is not categorised as a conclusion, because it does not involve inferencing as do the conclusions in the argumentative texts. Since the present battery of interactional roles is not adequate for the

description of the sequences found in Text N1, it is not possible to make a comparison of sequence types. The difference in illocutions can be established, however. In the narrative text, the illocution is stative in the situation, problem and solution components alike.

Text D1 is given in Example 27 and its diagrammatical description in Figure 33.

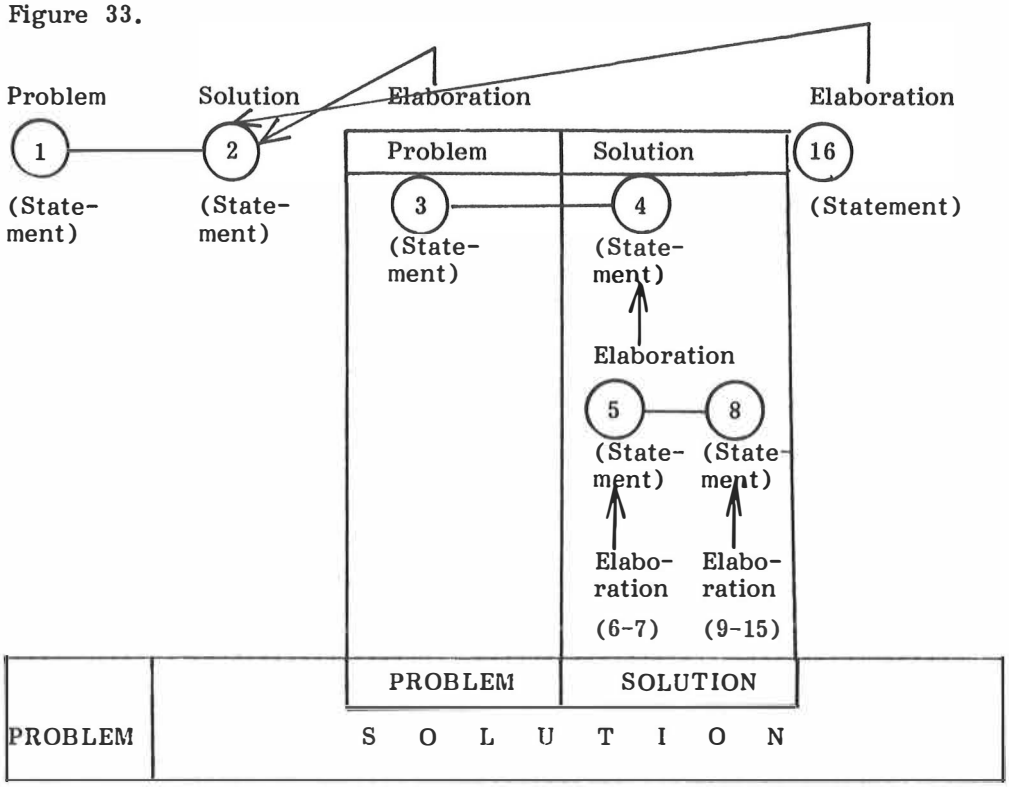
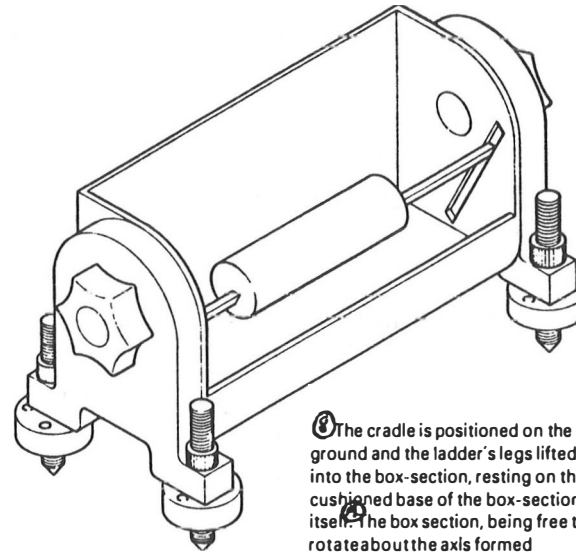


Figure 33. A map of the sentences in Text D1.

Text D1 is composed of a minitext, in which the solution component 'embeds' another minitext, which has the components problem and solution. The 'embedded' minitext, (3-15), functions as an elaboration of the solution in (2). The solution in minitext (3-15) is also accompanied by an elaboration, (5-15). The problems in (1) and (3) do not contain negative evaluations, and they are not assertive in their illocutionary value. They are signalled as problems by the words *this problem* and *these problems* in sentences (2) and (4) respectively. In Text D1, both problems and solutions consist of statements of what the writer presents as facts. The writer believes in their truth and expects the reader to share his belief;

Example 27. Text D1.



Adjustable base makes ladders safer

According to the most recently available D o E statistics, some 53% of recorded accidents in the UK involving unsecured ladders have been caused by their slipping at the base. It has been this problem that stimulated the development of Ladderfoot, a new robust and lightweight cradle, designed for use as a stable and secure mounting for all types of conventional climbing ladders on all types and angles of surface. No surface is completely flat and level, potential hazards existing through slipping, knocking and overbalancing.

Currently at the 'patent application stage', Ladderfoot is claimed by its inventor to overcome these problems by providing a rectangular base area over which the weight of the ladder, user and load are distributed.

There are four feet to take the weight and each foot has either a spike to grip the ground surface or a hardened traction overcap. Each foot is individually adjustable to allow the rungs of the ladder, when deployed, to be perfectly horizontal, whatever the shape or undulations of the ground surface below.

As a further security device, each of the Ladderfoot's individual feet is provided with bore holes through which masonry nails can be driven, if required, to secure the whole arrangement to a sloping surface, brickwork, concrete or asphalt, or to scaffold boards – enabling it to be almost as secure as a flight of steps.

The cradle is positioned on the ground and the ladder's legs lifted into the box-section, resting on the cushioned base of the box-section itself. The box section, being free to rotate about the axis formed between the two weight bearing bolts, will tilt forward naturally to the angle of the ladder against its subject, whether wall, fence or pole, with the back of the ladder's legs flat against the back wall of the box.

The retaining bar is allowed to slide at a steep angle down its travel slots until it meets the front edge of the ladder. Any movement of the ladder then forces it to the top of its slots. This prevents the ladder's legs slipping forward.

By the same free rotation, the side wall legs of the cradle will have settled firmly without rocking, on whatever slight slopes or undulations there may be in the ground surface. Providing these undulations are minimal or the ground is already flat, with the side locking wheels turned and kicked tight, the arrangement is ready for use.

If there is any significant ground slope, even a sharp slope sideways, forward, backward or diagonally, then a few turns on the quick thread shank of the adjustable feet and the finger tight locking nuts will be sufficient to bring the cradle legs to the true horizontal and, as before, after the locking wheels are tightened, Ladderfoot is ready for use.

Ladderfoot is fully protected under Patent Application No 8332736 and is available for commercial exploitation through outright purchase, joint venture or licence to manufacture in individual countries through the Venture Corporation Ltd of London W1.

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he therefore does not express his personal commitment to their truth. The illocution in the problem and solution components is stative.

From the above descriptions of the two non-argumentative texts and their comparisons to the argumentative sample texts, the tentative conclusion can be drawn that the illocution and sequence criteria may be useful tools in singling out argumentative texts from non-argumentative ones. The inventory of interactional roles, however, has to be revised, when it is accommodated to the purposes of other text types. When the inventory of roles is large enough to accommodate non-argumentative texts, it will be possible to carry out more extensive comparisons.

It has been suggested above that an argumentative text and minitext must have at least one problem component and that the problem component has assertion as its dominant illocution. The solution component in turn is optional; when the solution component is present, it has a directive illocution. The role of the directive illocution in an argumentative text can perhaps also be regarded as a text type feature, though it does not always have linguistic manifestations. For instance the argumentative texts studied by Aston (1977) did not have directive acts. It is possible to assume that the directive illocution is present in argumentation but that it sometimes remains implicit and in other instances manifests itself linguistically.

A text linguist has only the text itself as a source of information. There is no access to the intentions of the writer, other than can be judged from the text. And there is no immediate access to the variety of ways in which other readers will interpret the text. In an extreme case a description of a scenery or a lyrical poem may be interpreted in ways which make them seem directive. Is it then justified to consider the directive illocution a marker of argumentation even though it cannot always be identified in terms of language? It may be justified by the logic related to the type of the argumentative problem component. The argumentative problem component, as will be remembered from chapter 2 and the earlier sections of this chapter, aims at convincing the reader of the undesirability of a state of affairs. It makes the reader see the state of affairs as a problem. Why should the writer bother to do this unless the ultimate aim were to eliminate the problem and to involve the reader in its elimination? The contention here is that the process of convincing the reader of the problem in itself conveys a directive illocution. That

the directive illocution is not always expressed in language may depend on the convention prevailing in a particular genre, as well as on the amount of shared knowledge that the writer takes for granted among the readers. In scientific argumentation, for instance, mere assertion with adequate justification may be felt to be sufficient. The maxims of quantity and relevance (Grice 1975) seem to vary from one discourse genre to the next. It may be left to the scientific community itself to consider whether the article gives reason for action. In polemical writing, as in the editorials of quality papers, the directive illocution is often manifest. Similarly, in the articles of quality journals, such as the sample texts, the directive illocution can be expressed. In propaganda the directive illocution is dominant, and other text type features may justify its classification in the instructive category.

The role of the directive illocution can be reviewed from a wider perspective. It can be seen to function as a text type criterion along the lines suggested in Table 21.

Text type	Dominant illocution	Subsidiary illocution
Descriptive	Statement	-
Narrative	"	Directive
Expository	"	-
Argumentative	Assertion	Directive
Instructive	Directive	-

Table 21. Illocutions as text type markers.

According to this suggestion, the dominant illocution in argumentation is assertion and the subsidiary illocution is directive. In exposition and description the dominant, and the only, illocution is statement. In narrative texts, and in fictional stories in particular, the dominant illocution is statement and the subsidiary illocution is directive. In instructive texts the dominant illocution is directive. In one respect, then, an argumentative text and a story are similar. The 'coda' or the moral lesson of the story, which manifests itself linguistically, for instance as a change of tense, and the 'implications' of a scientific argument basically fulfil the same function: they both realise the directive illocution.

3.8. An evaluation of the I & I description

The I & I description gives information for the identification of the PS structure in the sample texts, as has been shown in 3.6. The PS components are shown to differ in respect of sequence types, dominant sentence types and illocutions. The illocutions prevailing in the problem and solution components also suggest themselves as text type markers in singling out argumentative vs. non-argumentative PS structures. The battery of interactional roles, however, needs complementation in order to be fully applicable for the description of other than argumentative texts. Further, the I & I description lays down the principles for the hierarchical organisation of the texts, on which, for instance, the hierarchy among the minitexts is based. In rough outlines, the I & I description fulfils the task to which it is put. It provides the principles according to which the entire texts can be described as sequences of communicative acts whose hierarchical and functional relations are identified. Many details of description, however, are by necessity based on the intuitive judgement of the analyst, because the signals of structure are not unambiguous. A brief summary of some of the problems that meet the analyst is therefore necessary.

First, the PS structure which permeates the description may sometimes seem artifically imposed. In Text 2, for instance, the analysis of the points of transition to the first and second elaboration units, ie. (7-9) and (66-73), can be challenged. It can be argued that sequence (7-9) is a metatextual passage, whose function is to introduce the elaborations in (10-18), (19-40), (41-52) and (53-57), which could be claimed to relate directly to the problem of the initiation unit. Sequence (66-73) could also be interpreted as a metatextual 'bridge' to the subsequent elaborations, which in turn could be claimed to relate directly to the solution of the initiation unit.

Second, the hierarchy suggested in the present description may sometimes seem arguable. In a sequence of conclusions, for instance, it is sometimes difficult to tell whether the second conclusion relates to the first conclusion or whether it is an additional conclusion related to the same act as the first conclusion. For instance in Text 1, the conclusion in (29) could perhaps be interpreted as an addition to (28). This would raise (28) to the same hierarchical level as (29).

Third, the more extensive the sequence, the more difficult it is to assign it an interactional role. The minitexts in the first and second elaboration units of Text 2, for instance, which are now interpreted as elaborations, could perhaps be also interpreted as justifications. Similarly, the interpretation of the relations of the global units remains tentative, as was pointed out in 3.5. The entire texts are tentatively interpreted as manifestations of the specificity pattern, but they could perhaps also be seen as manifestations of the evidence pattern. According to this interpretation, the elaboration units have both a specifying role and a justifying role: they also function as justifications of the propositions expressed in the initiation and conclusion units.

4. THE MACROSTRUCTURE OF THE ARGUMENTATIVE TEXT

The purpose of this chapter is to show that the descriptions carried out in chapters 2 and 3 can be used for identifying the main semantic content of the text, its macrostructure.

4.1. A definition of macrostructure

The ideas of macrostructure developed in this study derive from van Dijk's work and in particular from van Dijk (1980). The present chapter, however, does not introduce van Dijk's theory of macrostructure in any great detail but rather combines elements of his theory with the elements of the theory of argumentative structure presented in the previous chapters of this study.

The idea of macrostructure is based on the experience that it is possible to make summaries of texts and discourses. It has been established that readers recall and summarise texts in a homogeneous pattern (see Meyer 1975; Rumelhart 1977; Kintsch and van Dijk 1978, and van Dijk 1979). Further, it is generally known that summaries can be produced at varying levels of specificity. Summaries are concrete realisations of macrostructure. Macrostructure can be envisaged as incorporating various levels, and summaries made at varying degrees of specificity are realisations of macrolevels. Macrostructure incorporates all those levels, and the shortest acceptable summary represents the 'highest' level of macrostructure.

The various levels of macrostructure are assumed to be derived by the application of the macrorules of *zero*, *generalisation*, *construction* and *deletion* (see van Dijk 1980:46-48). The application of these macrorules has the effect that some items - propositions, sentences or sequences of sentences - are left untouched in summarization; others are summed up in a more general formulation; still others are related to a pragmatic knowledge frame, or deleted. These procedures correspond, respectively, to the rules of zero, generalisation, construction and deletion. The theoretical aim of the macrostructure theory is to describe the procedures through which the surface text is transformed into summaries

of various levels of specificity. In other words, the macrostructure theory should spell out the transformation rules whose application results in summaries of various levels of specificity.

There are, however, criteria other than generality vs. specificity which bear on the eligibility of an item to a higher macrolevel. For instance, in narration (van Dijk 1980:128), the superstructure category Resolution calls for human action or reaction. In argumentation, as was shown in the previous chapter, the superstructure category Problem typically has assertion as its dominant illocution. Elements which are necessary for the realisation of a superstructure category cannot be totally deleted in the process of summarising. In van Dijk's theory of macrostructure, this is because there is a principle according to which the 'canonical' superstructure categories permeate the macrostructure. Even in a short summary the superstructure components which are essential for the realisation of the text type can be identified. In this way superstructure puts discourse-type-specific constraints on the formation of macrostructure. An item which has merely local relevance in one discourse type may have global relevance in another type, and an item which is subordinate in one type may be superordinate in another type. The macrorules, then, must be discourse-type sensitive in that they comply with the superstructure constraints.

It has been said above that summaries are realisations of macrostructure. The technical term for this is macroproposition, and it is more accurate to say that the application of the macrorules results in macropropositions. Macropropositions are in turn realised as summaries. For practical purposes, it will be assumed that macropropositions are also represented as ordinary sentences in the text and that such sentences together can form the summaries which represent the macrostructure. Factual prose texts are in general written in such a way that the text itself includes summarising items. For instance, the notion of topic sentence is well established in textbooks on rhetoric as well as in textlinguistics (see eg. Christensen 1967; Braddock 1974; van Dijk 1977, and Sopher 1979). In the present study the notion of dominant sentence is used.

The macrorules are recursive. Macrostructure is then defined as the organisation of the semantic content of the text into sets of macropropositions which are derived by a recursive application of discourse-type-sensitive macrorules.

These are the crude outlines of van Dijk's theory of macrostructure. In his more recent work van Dijk seems to be somewhat pessimistic about the prospect that the macrorules can ever be spelt out (see van Dijk 1981: 86). For the purposes of the present study, however, the realism of the macrorule hypothesis is not a central concern.

The macrostructure description in this study has both practical and theoretical implications. Summary writing, and many other discourse-level skills, are difficult to learn and to teach (see Henner-Stanchina 1980; Evensen 1984, and Lindeberg 1984). Extracting the main idea or purpose from an argumentative text is perhaps even more difficult than it is with other types of text. Argumentation naturally incorporates items of information, although its main purpose is not to inform but to evaluate matters and to convince the reader. The evaluative elements are often elusive and tend to escape the inexperienced reader and summary writer. The purpose of this chapter is not to show how to write summaries, but to suggest techniques which can help to identify the items in the text which are themselves 'summaries' and thus representative of macrostructure. Such summarising items picked out from the text can be used as raw material for a final, respectable summary.

In addition to this practical and perhaps pedagogically relevant purpose, the macrostructure description in the present study aims at testing the hypothesis that macrostructure is superstructure-constrained. In particular, two questions will be considered: (1) whether a macrostructure description which builds on the knowledge of superstructure leads to specific types of macropropositions which can be identified with particular superstructure categories; and (2) whether there is semantic hierarchy, ie. hyponymy or general-to-particular structure within the sets of macropropositions identified by the superstructure-based description of macrostructure. These two points can be combined in the following question. Are there particular types of macropropositions identifiable with particular superstructure categories and, if so, do the macropropositions of each category constitute semantically ordered sets?

In the rest of this chapter, a simplified method for the derivation of macrostructure is adopted. The unorthodox assumption is made that there are only two macrorules, the zero rule and the deletion rule.[1] The

1 This assumption is unorthodox particularly if put to pedagogical use. One of the aims in the teaching of summary writing is to show that summarising is not just a collection of sentences picked out from the text (see, however, Henner-Stanchina 1980:67).

first has the effect that the proposition in its domain remains untouched, and the second has the effect that the proposition in its domain is deleted. The summaries derived by this simplified method are then larger or smaller collections of sentences picked out from the surface text. It remains the task of this chapter to show how it is possible to tell apart the sentences and sequences to which the zero rule applies from those to which the deletion rule applies. This is where elements of the theory of argumentative structure developed in chapters 2 and 3 of the present study will be needed. The purpose of section 4.2. is to introduce the principles of macrostructure derivation. Sections 4.3. and 4.4. in turn provide some preliminary answers to the above questions concerning aspects of macrostructure theory.

4.2. The description of macrostructure

As major problems of adequate macrostructure descriptions van Dijk (1980:129) mentions 'the lack of a sound descriptive, let alone theoretical, treatment of functional relations between propositions or sentences in discourse,' and the lack of knowledge of the superstructures of specific discourse types. Within the limited scope of the present study, these problems have been solved. Chapters 2 and 3 suggest a superstructure description, the PS pattern, which fits the argumentative type, and a description of the functional relations between sentences and sequences, ie. the I & I description. The macrostructure description, albeit in a simplified version, can build on these. The simplified version of macrostructure description developed for the present study is briefly introduced in what follows.

4.2.1. Stratification in macrostructure

As was mentioned earlier, the macrostructure is assumed to be stratified: it incorporates various levels. The concrete sequence of sentences which constitutes the text is the microlevel. The first macrolevel is derived from the microlevel. For the first macrolevel, local summaries are made by condensing into one sentence, or macroproposition, a group of sentences which belong together (construction and generalisation rules) or by picking out dominant sentences and deleting subordinate ones

(zero and deletion rules). The local summaries represent the macropropositions which constitute the first macrolevel. The local summaries of macrolevel 1 in turn constitute the material for the summaries or macropropositions of the second macrolevel. The third macrolevel is in turn derived from the summaries of the second macrolevel, and so on. The stratified composition of the macrostructure is depicted schematically in Table 22. In Table 22 the x's mark individual sentences and the capital X's the summaries at the various macrolevels.

Table 22. The stratification of the macrostructure.

Macrolevel 3	X	X	X	X
Macrolevel 2	X X X X	X X X	X X	X X X
Macrolevel 1	XX XXXXXXXX XXXXXXXXX	XX XXXXXX XXXXXXX	XXX XXXXX XXXXXXX	X XXXX XXXXXX
Microlevel	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx			

After this introduction of the macrolevels, the principles which lie behind the formation of the local summaries can be considered. It is here that the information derived from chapters 2 and 3 of this study concerning the hierarchy of sentences and superstructure is needed. This information has specific effects on the formation of macrostructure. The effect of sentence hierarchy will be called the hierarchy effect, and the effect of superstructure will be called the superstructure effect.

4.2.2. The hierarchy effect and the superstructure effect on macrostructure

The hierarchy effect is such that subordinate items (propositions, sentences, or sequences) are deleted, generalised or otherwise manipulated by the macrorules, while the superodinate items remain relatively

untouched. In the simplified version of macrostructure, this means that subordinate items are deleted and superordinate items remain untouched. The location of an item in the sentence hierarchy determines whether it remains in the summary of the next macrolevel or not. The superstructure effect in turn ensures that the canonical superstructure is maintained up to the highest macrolevel. Even the shortest acceptable summary, according to this idea, incorporates all the superstructure components of situation, problem, solution, and evaluation. The summaries representing macrolevels are to be derived so that elements for each superstructure component are maintained and no component is totally deleted. In practice this is probably often the case, and the suggestion seems intuitively correct.

The hierarchy effect and the superstructure effect on the formation of macrostructure are illustrated by means of an extract from Text 2, given in Example 28 and described in terms of a sentence map in Figure 34.

Example 28. An extract of Text 2 illustrating formation of macrostructure.

(10) The first level at which historians, trained in traditional history, approach women's history is by writing the history of "women worthies" or "compensatory history."(11) Who are the women missing from history? (12) Who are the women of achievement and what did they achieve? (13) The resulting history of "notable women," while significant and interesting in itself, must not be mistaken for "women's history."(14) It is the history of exceptional, usually middle or upper class women, and does not describe the experience and history of the mass of women.(15) It does not help us to understand the female point of view nor does it tell us about the significance of women's activities to society as a whole.(16) Like men, women of different classes have different historical experiences.(17) The historical experiences of women of different races are also disparate.(18) In order to comprehend society in all its complexity at any given stage of its development, it is essential to take account of this wide range of differences.

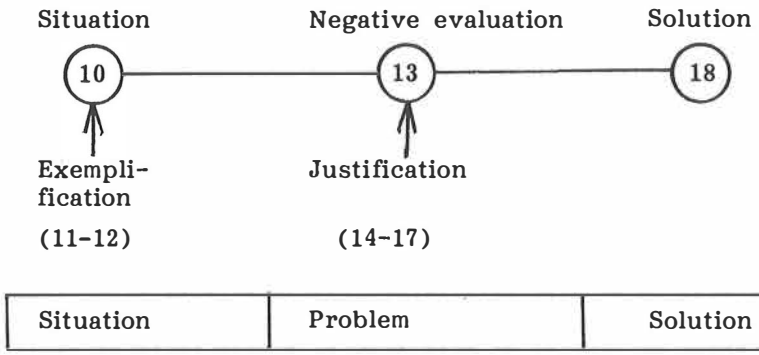

Figure 34. A map of sentences 10-18 of Text 2.

In the interactional structure of the extract in Example 28, sentence (10) with its subordinate exemplification in (11-12) is the situation, the negative evaluation in (13) with its justification is the problem, and the last sentence, (18), is the solution. Since the items (10-12), (13-17) and (18) are in a situation-problem-solution relation, they are at the same hierarchical level. Thus (13-17) is coordinate with (10-12), and (18) is coordinate with (13-17). The dominant sentences of the situation, problem and solution are (10), (13), and (18) respectively. The eligibility to macrolevels in sequence (10-18) is graphically depicted in Table 23.

Table 23. Eligibility to macrolevels: hierarchy effect and superstructure effect.

Superstructure component	Situation	Problem	Solution	Macrostructure
Macrolevel 3	-	-	-	
Macrolevel 2	-	-	-	
Macrolevel 1	(10)	(13)	(18)	
Microlevel	(10) (11)(12)	(13) (14)(15)(16)(17)	(18)	

The hierarchy effect is reflected in the deletion of subordinate sentences in the transfer to higher macrolevels, until the whole sequence is deleted. Sequence (10-18) constitutes itself an elaboration and is thus

subordinate in relation to what precedes it in the text. It therefore leaves no trace in a short summary of the whole text; it only has local relevance. The superstructure effect is manifest in that all the three PS components which were originally present in the minitext (10-18) are realised up to macrolevel 1.

Example 28 above covers one authentic paragraph of Text 2 and it also serves to illustrate the point made previously about the inadequacy of the notion of topic sentence as a criterion of macrostructure eligibility. There is only one topic sentence in the paragraph, namely sentence (10). This sentence, however, only covers the situation component and does not alone qualify to represent the whole paragraph. In the words of Braddock (1974:291), 'the sentence may name the topic of the paragraph but not make a statement about it. The actual thesis of the paragraph may be stated explicitly in a succeeding sentence or in several sentences, or it may merely be inferred from what follows, even though it is never stated explicitly. In such a paragraph, which is the topic sentence - the first, second, a succeeding sentence, perhaps even all of them?'. In this paragraph, the 'actual thesis' is conveyed by sentences (13) and (18), which are at the same hierarchical level with (10). Thus sentences (10), (13) and (18) are all recorded as dominant sentences of sequence (10-18). The notion of dominant sentence serves the purposes of macrostructure descripiton better than the notion of topic sentence. The idea that there is just one topic sentence in each paragraph is also challenged by Christensen (1967:75) and Sopher (1979: 103).

It is to be noted in passing that the crude summary which is derived by picking out sentences (10), (13) and (18) needs textlinguistic pruning to qualify as a respectable summary of the whole sequence in (10-18). In sentence (18), for example, the anaphoric item *this wide range of differences* must be replaced by autosemantic material derived from the deleted sentences, ie. (14-17). A possible replacement would be, eg., the following: *the wide range of differences in experience caused by differences in class and race.* This kind of 'pruning' is of course a step in the direction of applying the macrorules of construction and generalisation, which in the simplified version are ignored.

4.2.3. Blocklike and wavelike summarising

There are, in principle, two ways of compiling summaries on the basis of the information about hierarchy and superstructure. These can be called blocklike and wavelike summarising according to the two patterns of linear organisation which were pointed out in chapter 2. In a blocklike summary, the superstructure components succeed one another in the canonical order, which means that the situation block is followed by the problem block, etc. A wavelike summary in turn is composed of minitexts along the linear pattern suggested by the surface text; it is only at the highest level(s) that the summary may become blocklike, with only one or two sentences realising each superstructure component. These two summarising techniques are illustrated schematically in Figure 35.

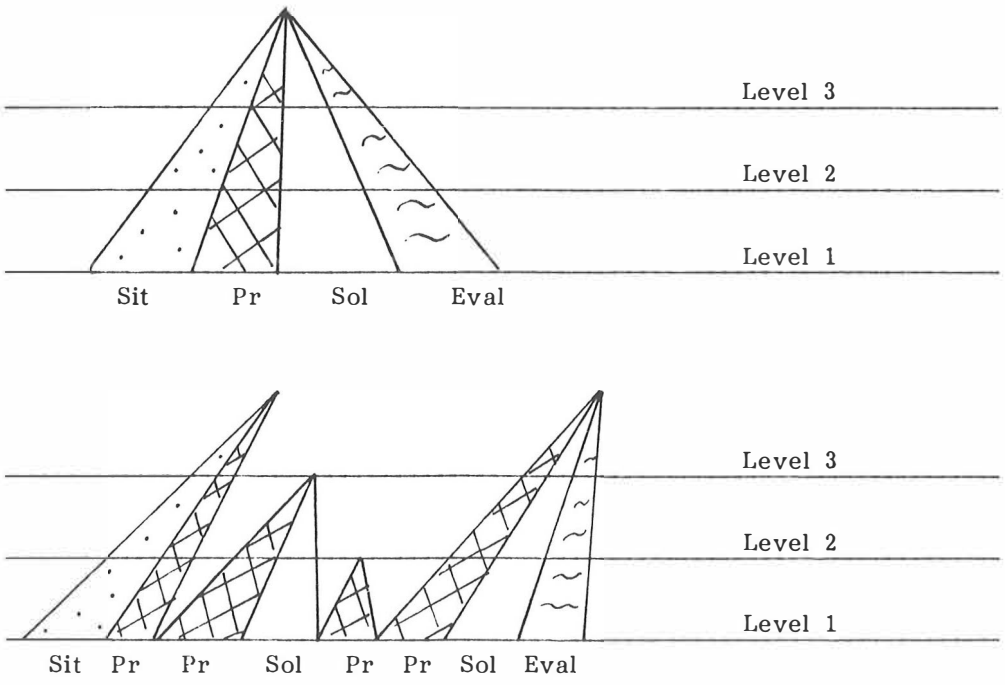

Figure 35. Blocklike vs. wavelike summarising.

A blocklike summary, compiled at any macrolevel, contains only one minitext, ie. one situation component, one problem component, etc., whereas a wavelike summary, especially at lower macrolevels, contains

more than one minitexts. In Figure 35, a level-two summary contains three minitexts and a level-three summary two minitexts.

When the text has been worked through 'from bottom to top' along the principle that subordinate sentences are deleted while superordinate sentences remain untouched, a macrolevel is reached where each superstructure category is represented by only a sentence or two. These top level summaries represent the whole text. In the sample texts, a summary minitext is actually found as the first paragraph of the text and functions as an introductory paragraph. When a still higher macrolevel is derived, priorities such as eligibility for a title must be considered, and a choice must be made as to which superstructure component, after all, is dominant in relation to the others. At this stage, the equality principle has to be given up in favour of the component which best seems to convey the purpose of the text. Does the text function mainly as an assertion or as a recommendation? In journalistic articles, the choice of title is often an editorial decision and the title may be more sensational than the article itself. The intuitive impression of the present writer is that the titles of argumentative texts can be roughly divided into two groups, assertive titles and directive titles. Titles seem to be distributed between these two groups.

4.3. A description of the sample texts in terms of macrostructure

Let us now look at the concrete summaries derived with the techniques of blocklike and wavelike summarising from the sample texts, presented in Tables 24 and 25. The summaries contain only the dominant sentences at the highest level of the sentence hierarchy (see Appendix 3).

A comparison of the blocklike and wavelike summaries of Text 1 shows no great differences in the linear organisation. This is because Text 1 has a relatively blocklike surface structure. It is to be noted that both of these 'summaries' require textlinguistic polishing before they can be presented as respectable summaries of the texts. The sentence-initial disjunct *in this way* in sentence (13) would have to be deleted.

For Text 2, the differences in the linear organisation between the blocklike summary and the wavelike summary (see Table 25) are greater than for Text 1. As has been mentioned previously, Text 2 has a wavelike surface organisation, and this wavelike structure emerges in the

Table 24. Blocklike vs. wavelike summaries of Text 1.

Blocklike summary of Text 1	
SITUATION	1. Environmental protection, ecology and natural resource management are all presently regarded as matters in which planners should rightly intervene.
PROBLEM	2. At the same time, however, it is generally recognised that the control of biotic recources is only tenuously linked to planning control. 4. A fair justification for seeking to extend a greater degree of control on the countryside can nevertheless be made out. 7. Despite the inclusion of "environmental impacts" on the planner's checklist, however, it would be untrue to suggest that these have been accorded any degree of equality with socio-economic issues in the development process. 13. In this way, ecology and resource management became the new terms which described the traditional concern for the preservation of a visually pleasant countryside; they became equated with the pervasive but shallow concept of amenity, enabling this to be expressed in a new and impressive technical jargon. 14. As David Smith has commented about the amenity concept, however: "... no such idea, however subtle, could hold together a set of activities that extend beyond the control of land use and the provision of physical infrastructures to a wider concern for the social and economic welfare of the urban community through non-physical and even non-spatial policies." 15. Similarly, if "ecology" is equated with rural "amenity", it will remain on the fringe of planning interest, and inferior to social welfare and economic growth, rather than providing an overall context for the development of urban systems. 56. The existence of this amenity bias is a major obstacle in the establishment of a truly effective approach to resource conservation, for many well-intentioned politicians and professionals genuinely remain under the impression that our environment is adequately served by present administrative provisions.
SOLUTION	58. It is thus the joint onus upon planners and ecologists to persuade politicians that the current approach to resource planning is an oblique and superficial one. 61. If planners are to protect the environment in other than a purely cosmetic fashion, it must become an accepted fact that, in the long term, our economic and social welfare will be directly dependent upon the general condition of the natural environment.
EVALUATION	59. Admittedly, the need for the replacement of amenity criteria by ecological principles will be difficult for those responsible to accept, for the consequences may at first appear to have adverse effects upon our economic and social prosperity. 60. Nevertheless, the necessary evidence to counter this view does exist, and politicians are now becoming increasingly adept at convincing the public of the need to make short-term sacrifices in order to secure long-term benefits.

(Table 24. continued)

(Table 24. continued)

Wavelike summary of Text 1		
Minitext	Sit	1. Environmental protection, ecology and natural resource management are all presently regarded as matters in which planners should rightly intervene.
	Problem	2. At the same time, however, it is generally recognised that the control of biotic recources is only tenuously linked to planning control. 4. A fair justification for seeking to extend a greater degree of control to the countryside can nevertheless be made out. 7. Despite the inclusion of "enviromental impacts" on the planner's checklist, however, it would be untrue to suggest that these have been accorded any degree of equality with socio-economic issues in the development process. 13. In this way, ecology and resource management became the new terms which described the traditional concern for the preservation of a visually pleasant countryside; they became equated with the pervasive but shallow concept of amenity, enabling this to be expressed in a new and impressive technical jargon. 14. As David Smith has commented about the amenity concept, however: "... no such idea, however subtle, could hold together a set of activities that extend beyond the control of land use and the provision of physical infrastructures to a wider concern for the social and economic welfare of the urban community through non-physical and even non-spatial policies." 15. Similarly, if "ecology" is equated with rural "amenity," it will remain on the fringe of planning interest, and inferior to social welfare and economic growth, rather than providing an overall context for the development of urban systems.
Minitext	Pr	56. The existence of this amenity bias is a major obstacle in the establishment of a truly effective approach to resource conservation, for many well-intentioned politicians and professionals genuinely remain under the impression that our environment is adequately served by present administrative provisions.
	Sol	58. It is thus the joint onus upon planners and ecologists to persuade politicians that the current approach to resource planning is an oblique and superficial one.
	Eval	59. Admittedly, the need for the replacement of amenity criteria by ecological principles will be difficult for those responsible to accept, for the consequences may at first appear to have adverse effects upon our economic and social prosperity. 60. Nevertheless, the necessary evidence to counter this view does exist, and politicians are now becoming increasingly adept at convincing the public of the need to make short-term sacrifices in order to secure long-term benefits.
	Sol	61. If planners are to protect the environment in other than a purely cosmetic fashion, it must become an accepted fact that, in the long term, our economic and social welfare will be directly dependent upon the general condition of the natural environment.

Table 25. Blocklike vs. wavelike summaries of Text 2.

Blocklike summary of Text 2	
SITUATION	1. Women's experience encompasses all that is human; they share - and always have shared - the world equally with men. 3. In one sense, then, to write the history of women means documenting all of history: women have always been making history, living it and shaping it.
PROBLEM	4. But the history of women has a special character, a built-in distortion: it comes to us refracted through the lens of men's observations; refracted again through values which consider man the measure. 129. Women are not a marginal "minority," and women's history is not a collection of "missing facts and views" to be incorporated into traditional categories. 134. Thus, by definition, women's history is not an "exotic speciality," a contemporary fad, an obscure subdivision dealing with yet another "minority."
SOLUTION	6. And so, to construct a new history that will with true equality reflect the dual nature of mankind - its male and female aspect - we must first pause to reconstruct the missing half - the female experience: women's history. 136. Women's history poses a challenge to all historical scholarship - it demands a fundamental reexamination of the assumptions and methodology of traditional history.
EVALUATION	139. The new history will be a synthesis of traditional history and women's history. 144. Only a history based firmly on this recognition and equally concerned with men and women and with the establishment and the passing of patriarchy can claim to be truly a universal history.

(Table 25. continued)

(Table 25. continued)

Wavelike summary of Text 2		
Minitext	Sit	1. Women's experience encompasses all that is human; they share - and always have shared - the world equally with men. 3. In one sense, then, to write the history of women means documenting all of history; women have always been making history, living it and shaping it.
	Pr	4. But the history of women has a special character, a built-in distoriton: it comes to us refracted through the lens of men's observations; refracted again through values which consider man the measure.
	Sol	6. And so, to construct a new history that will with true equality reflect the dual nature of mankind - its male and female aspect - we must first pause to reconstruct the missing half - the female experience: women's history.
Minitext	Pr	129. Women are not a marginal "minority," and women's history is not a collection of "missing facts and views" to be incorporated into traditional categories. 134. Thus, by definition, women's history is not an "exotic speciality," a contemporary fad, an obscure subdivision dealing with yet another "minority."
	Sol	136. Women's history poses a challenge to all historical scholarship - it demands a fundamental reexamination of the assumptions and methodology of traditional history.
	Eval	139. The new history will be a synthesis of traditional history and women's history. 144. Only a history based firmly on this recognition and equally concerned with men and women and with the establishment and the passing of patriarchy can claim to be truly a universal history.

macrolevel which is discussed here. In the wavelike summary, there are two minitexts, both of which contain a solution component. At the corresponding macrolevel (see Table 24), Text 1 in turn has a solution component only in the second minitext. The blocklike summary of Text 2 requires hardly any textlinguistic polishing in order to approach a respectable summary of the text. Even the sentence-initial connectives *thus* in sentence (134) and *and so* in sentence (6) can be left where they are. The anaphoric item *this recognition* in sentence (144), however, must be replaced by an autosemantic item such as *the recognition that women are half of mankind.*

At this point no further 'summaries' of the texts are presented, although it would be possible to carry on at a level one step lower in the sentence hierarchy and pick out the sentences found there: the outcome would be a longer summary of the text. This exercise, however, would not serve the purposes set at the beginning of this chapter. The practical purpose of the chapter has been fulfilled, since it has been shown how summarising items are identified in the text. Next it is necessary to answer the question of whether there are specific types of macropropositions for each superstructure category and whether there is a general-particular structure within the sets of macropropositions. To answer these questions, the sets of dominant sentences in Appendix 3 will be looked at. These sentences were picked from three top levels of the sentence hierarchy and arranged according to PS category. These sets or 'blooks' of sentences will be reviewed in the light of the following questions: (1) Do the sentences in each block have such features which justify blocking them together into PS-component-specific categories? In other words, are there sets of particular types of macropropositions for the situation component, problem component, solution component, and evaluation component? (2) Is there a general-particular structure within each set?

4.3.1. Types of macroproposition

The dominant sentences picked out for each block in Appendix 3 represent macropropositions. Consideration of the type of macroproposition which emerges from each block will take into account illocution, sentence type, and the main clause theme of those sentences. The illocutions and

sentence types of the dominant sentences within the various PS components were discussed above (in 3.6.2.), and only the main points of that discussion are repeated here.

The situation block is predominantly stative, and most of its dominant sentences are statements of their illocution. They are, in Werlich's (1976) terms, of the phenomenon-identifying/phenomen-linking type or of the phenomenon-recording type; they are often generalisations or even generic sentences. In Werlich's typology, the phenomenon-identifying/-linking sentences characterise the expository text type and the phenomenon-recording sentences the narrative text type. The problem block is predominantly assertive, and most of its dominant sentences are assertions in their illocutionary value. The predominant type is an evaluation. For evaluations, Werlich uses the term quality-attributing sentence. This type is said to characterise the argumentative text type. The solution block is predominantly directive, and its dominant sentences are proposals or recommendations of their illoctuionary value. Their sentence type is not the 'simple action-demanding sentence' which Werlich (1976:29) identifies with the instructive text type. The sentences which carry the directive illocution are in the declarative form. The evaluation block includes only six sentences. These are evaluative sentences which answer the question 'What is it/will it be like?

On the basis of the observations concerning the illocutions and the sentence types prevailing within the various blocks, it is justified to draw the conclusion that the dominant sentences which form the various blocks are divided into four or five categories. These sentence types represent the types of macropropositions which emerge from each block. These types are (1) the phenomenon-identifying/linking generalisation with the illocutionary value of a statement; (2) the phenomen-recording type with the illocutionary value of a statement; (3) the quality-attributing type with the assertive illocution, which manifests itself as a negative evaluation; (4) the action-demanding type with the directive illocution, which manifests itself as a proposal or recommendation, and (5) the evaluative sentece with a future or present time reference. The first two types emerge from the situation block, the third type from the problem block, the fourth from the solution block and the fifth from the evaluation block.

In Werlich, sentence type is a text type feature. It was suggested

above in chapter 3 that in addition to sentence type, dominant sequence types and dominat illocutions could also be regarded as text type criteria. Although the concern here is the argumentative text type, it is still possible to attribute different 'text type features' to the various components of the text, and, as has been done in this section, to the various blocks of macropropositons. The possibility that the blocks may also differ thematically from one another is considered next. This hypothesis is parallel to the hypothesis (see Hakulinen 1982:11 and Lautamatti 1980) that text types may differ in respect of their themes. If the blocks of macropropositions differ in respect of the 'text type features' of illocution and sentence type, they might also differ in their themes.

The hypothesis that the blocks might differ in respect of their themes was tested by comparing the main clause themes in the various blocks. The theme is defined as in chapter 3 (section 3.4.2.1.) as the lexical topical subject of the main clause. Demostrative and personal pronouns, when they appear as main clause subjects, are classified according to their antecedent. The formal subject *it*, in the instance of cleft sentences, for example, is classified according to the subsequent nominal clause or complement (mostly a *that*-clause or an infinitive construction). In existential sentences the sentence-initial *there is/are* is ignored and the subsequent noun phrase is identified as a theme. To classify the themes, two categories are established: simple themes and propositional themes. The first group contains modified or unmodified nouns which in the contexts in which they appear cannot be paraphrased by a clause, a nominal clause or an infinitive construction. The second group contains themes which in themselves are or which can be paraphrased by nominal clauses, infinitive constructions or other constructions which show that they contain one or more propositons. The categorisation of themes is given in Appendix 4. Simple themes from Text 1 include, eg., *ecology*, *countryside conservation*, and *no such idea* and those from Text 2 include, eg., *women*, *family history*, and *historical writing*. Propositional themes from Text 1 include, eg., *such closely related aims* (which can be paraphrased, in the context in which it appears, as *the fact that their aims are so closely related*), and *a fair justification for seeking to extend a greater degree of control to the countryside*. Propositional themes from Text 2 include, eg., *the ways in which these patterns would find expression* and *the limitation of this*

approach (which can be paraphrased as *this approach is limited in that ...*). In addition, the constructions from cleft sentences and existential sentences include, eg., *that the present 'official' concern for the environment is little more than the continuation of this; why environmental matters have been submerged; to persuade politicians that ...; to take account of this ... range,* and *basic differences in the way boys and girls now and in the past experienced the world and, ..., the social roles they were trained to fulfill.*

The propositional group, however, does not include, eg., *their work* or *the most basic objective of planning*, because in the contexts in which they appear, they cannot be paraphrased by propositional versions. In sentence (95) of Text 2, for instance, *their work* cannot be paraphrased as *(the fact) that women work*, and it is therefore classified as a simple theme. Similarly, *the most basic objective of planning* in sentence (19) of Text 1 cannot be paraphrased as *(the fact) that planning has objectives*, and it is therefore classified as a simple theme.

The themes of the situation, problem, solution and evaluation blocks, as they are listed in Appendix 4, were compared in respect of their distribution into the two categories established above, and the results are given in Table 26.

Table 26. A comparison of the themes in the situation, problem, solution and evaluation blocks.

Block / Type of theme	Simple		Propositional		Total	
Situation	12	70%	5	30%	17	100%
Problem	18	44%	23	56%	41	100%
Solution	5	33%	10	67%	15	100%
Evaluation	1	20%	4	80%	5	100%
Total	34	44%	44	56%	78	100%

The comparison of the themes summarised in Table 26 shows that the majority (70%) of the themes in the situation block fall in the category of simple themes, whereas the majority (56%, 67% and 80% respectively) of

the themes in the problem, solution and evaluation blocks fall in the category of propositional themes. Anward (1983) points out that texts which belong to the type of 'framställning' (primarily expository and argumentative texts), in contrast to narrative texts, tend to have 'heavy' subjects. The above observation about the distribution of themes in the two argumentative texts reflects the same tendency. On the basis of the comparison in Table 26 it seems, in addition, that the 'heavy' subjects (which mostly coincide with the themes) accumulate in the problem, solution and evaluation components. The thematic differences summarised above would not alone justify the conclusion that the macropropositions which emerge from the four blocks are different. Added to the illocutionary and sentence type differences pointed out earlier, however, the thematic differences[1] strengthen the impression that there are in fact five types of macropropositions that emerge from the various blocks. The types of macropropositons can be compared to the types of 'propositions' established by Fahnestock and Secor (1983). This comparison is set out in Table 27.

Table 27. A summary of the types of macropropositions.

Type of MP	Domain	Illocution	Sentence type	Theme	F & S's type
1	Situation	Stative	Phenomenon-identifying/linking	Simple	Categorical proposition
2	Situation	Stative	Phenomenon-recording	Simple	-
3	Problem	Assertive	Quality-attributing	Propositional	Evaluative & causal propositions
4	Solution	Directive	Action demanding	Propositional	Proposals
5	Evaluation	Assertive	Quality-attributing	Propositional	Evaluative proposition

1 More extensive material would be needed to judge whether these or greater differences actually prevail statistically and to calculate whether the differences are significant.

There is one macroproposition type which does not have an equivalent in Fahnestock and Secor's classification. This is type 2, the phenomenon-recording type, which appears in the situation component. The reason why this type does not occur in Fahnestock and Secor is that they only record propositions which could constitute a 'thesis' in argumentation. A phenomenon-recording sentence does not meet this criterion, because it answers the question 'What happened?'. As soon as past phenomena are not only recorded but also evaluated or causally assessed, the sentence used is categorised as an evaluative or causal proposition.

4.3.2. The general-particular structure

It was established in the previous section that there are particular types of macropropositons which go together with specific superstructure categories. The blocks of macropropositons which were compiled by picking out the dominant sentences for each PS category were seen to be relatively homogeneous in respect of illocution, sentence type, and theme. They were therefore considered representative of particular macroproposition types. An attempt can now be made to see whether, in addition to homogeneity in macroproposition type, there is a semantic hierarchy to be identified within each block, ie. among the sentences in each block. The hierarchy would manifest itself as a general-particular structure which would reflect the position of the sentences in the sentence hierarchy established previously (see Appendices 2 and 3). The hypothesis is that the sentences at higher levels in the sentence hierarchy are more general than those at the lower levels.

The judgement of whether there is a general-particular relation among sentences could be made in terms of sentence themes and rhemes, as implied in Tirkkonen-Condit (1982), where sentence themes and rhemes of mutually related sentences are reviewed for possible hyponymy, to establish whether there is a general-particular relation between the sentences. In the present material such thematic comparisons are made more complicated by the fact that a great proportion of the themes are propositional.

The judgement can also be made by comparing the generality/specificity of the propositions expressed in the sentences. In doing this, it is

possible to use the questions introduced in chapter 3 (see 3.4.2.) for the elicitation of elaborations and enlargements. These interactional roles manifest aspects of the general-particular relation, and the question techinique which was used to identify these interactional roles can also be used here to establish whether there is a general-particular relation between the sentences which represent macropropositions. The kinds of questions used by Hoey (1983:344) for the identification of the generalisation - example and the preview - detail relations can also be applied. In addition, it is possible to see whether the connectives *for example* or *in particular* can be inserted to establish whether there is a general-particular relation between sentences. The question technique and the insertion of connectives will both be applied to see whether a general-particular structure prevails within the blocks of macropropositions identified in the previous section.

Since the situation block of Text 1 and the evaluation blocks of both texts consist of only two or three sentences each, they are left outside this review. The material to be reviewed includes the situation block of Text 2, and the problem and solution blocks of texts 1 and 2. In reviewing each of the blocks for a general-particular structure, it will first be established if the sentences representing macropropositions in each block can be divided into groups on the basis of their content. The next step is to work out the extent to which each 'content group' is structured along the generality-specificity dimension.

4.3.2.1. The situation block of Text 2

There are two 'content groups' of macropropositions which emerge from the situation block of Text 2. One could be labelled *Women and women's experience* and the other *Women's history*. In each group, the sentences are arranged so that those at the top of the sentence hierarchy are picked out first; these are the sentences which according to the hypothesis should be more general than the sentences which are lower in the hierarchy. After the top sentences, questions designed to elicit elaborations, details, specifications, etc., are inserted. Finally, it will be considered whether the remaining sentences qualify as answers to the questions. This exercise builds on main clauses: the subclauses, connectives and disjuncts are largely ignored. Original sentence numbers

are given for each sentence fragment.

The use of the question technique appears from Table 28, where the questions are typed in block letters. The organisation of sentences is such that it assumes that the generality-specificity relations among the sentences are in line with the levels of the sentence hierarchy established previously. To test whether the organisation works, it is possible to evaluate the naturalness of the dialogue in Table 28. It is also possible to try the insertion of the connectives *for example, to give you an example, in particular* as the first words of the sentences which contend to be more specific, and the insertion of the connectives *in a word, to summarise* in the sentences which contend to be more general. These tests reveal that the organisation does work, in other words, that the hypothesis concerning the coincidence of the hierarchy and generality-specificity relations is correct.

The organisation in Table 28 works especially in the upper section. The contending particulars (19, 74-79, 80, 94, 95, 99, 102) can be naturally connected to the preceding generalisation by means of the connective *for example*. Conversely, the generalisaton in (1), if it followed the particulars, could be connected to them by means of the connectives *in a word* or *to summarise*. In the lower section, ie. in the content group of *Women's history*, the particulars (10, 41, 53) can be connected to the preceding generalisation in (3) by means of *to give you examples*.

There is one sentence in the situation block of Text 2 which does not fit into the general-particular framework of Table 28. This is sentence (87): *All people, in every society, are assigned specific roles and indoctrinated to perform to the expectations and values of that society.* This sentence was earlier described as a generic sentence, and it is indeed at a higher level of generality than any other sentence in the block. Its theme *all people* is more general, ie. semantically more inclusive, than *women*, which is the theme of most of the other sentences. According to the sentence hierarchy, however, sentence (87) is lower than sentences (1) and (3). This is an instance in which the sentence hierarchy position and the position on the generality-specificity scale are in conflict. It was suggested in chapter 3 that sentence (87) could be interpreted as an expression of the imaginary reader's opinion. This interpretation leaves the sentence in a sense outside the body of the text and helps to explain why it does not fit into the general-particular pattern.

Table 28. The general-particular structure within the situation block of Text 2.

Women and women's experience
(1) Women's experience encompasses all that is human; they share ... the world ... with men.
GIVE ME SOME DETAILS OF WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE AND THEIR SHARING THE WORLD WITH MEN.
(19) Women ... have a different experience as to consciousness, depending on whether their work, their expression, and their activity is male-defined or woman-oriented.
(74) There are basic differences in the way boys and girls now and in the past experienced the world and ... the social roles they were trained to fulfil.
(79) The ways in which these ... patterns would find expression would change ... but the fact of different sex role indoctrination remained.
(80) Throughout most of America's past, life was experienced at a different rhythm by men and women.
(94) American women have always shared in the economic life of the nation.
(95) Although the majority of women have always worked for the same reasons as men, their work has been characterized by marginality, temporariness and low status.
(99) ... women often participated in their own subordination.
(102) ... women have shaped history through community building and participation in politics.
Women's history
(3) To write the history of women means documenting all of history.
GIVE ME SOME DETAILS OF HOW WOMEN'S HISTORY HAS BEEN WRITTEN.
(10) The first level at which historians ... approach women's history is by writing the history of 'women worthies' or 'compensatory history.'
(41) Another set of questions asked by historians of women's history concerns oppression and its opposite, the struggle for women's rights.
(53) Family history has offered many insights valuable to the study of the history of women.

4.3.2.2. The problem block of Text 2

The sentences representing the macropropositions of the problem component can be arranged into two content groups along the same lines as in the situation block, ie. into the groups labelled *Women and women's experience* and *Women's history*. The procedure of the analysis is the same as before: the contending generalisations are given first and the contending particulars are then elicited by means of questions. There is also a question which elicits summarising generalisations. The results are given in Table 29.

The dialogue in Table 29 is relatively natural, which suggests that there is a generality-specificity division which follows the outlines of the sentence hierarchy. However, there are only two levels of specificity and not three, as suggested by the sentence hierarchy in Appendices 2 and 3. Sentence (7), for instance, is higher in the sentence hierarchy than sentences (13), (29), (39), (47), (52), (57), (104), (105) and (110), but this does not show in Table 29. Similarly, sentences (129) and (134) are higher than (115) and (116), but this does not show. On the other hand, the general-particular relations which are in fact shown in Table 29 are in harmony with the sentence hierarchy: the specific items are lower in the sentence hierarchy than the general items. The organisation suggested here also appears to work in so far as can be tested by the insertion of connectives. The connective *for example* can be inserted in the sentences which contend to be particulars, and *in a word* or *to sum up* are plausible insertions in (115), (116), (129) and (134).

4.3.2.3. The solution block of Text 2

In the situation and problem blocks, the sentences representing macropropositions were divided into two content groups according to whether they were primarily concerned with women and their experience or women's history. In the solution block, there is no need to maintain this division, as the sentences in this block are all concerned with women's history. The solution block (see Appendix 3) consists of recommendations as to how the female experience is to be incorporated in the new women's history. The division of these recommendations along the generality-specificity dimension is shown in Table 30.

Table 29. The general-particular structure within the problem block of Text 2.

Women and women's experience
(66) The central question raised by women's history is: what would history be like if it were seen through the eyes of women and ordered by values they define?
GIVE ME EXAMPLES OF WOMEN'S HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE.
(88) ... for women this (the assignation of roles) has always meant social indoctrination to a value system that imposed upon them greater restrictions of the range of choices than those of men.
(91) Women's indoctrination to motherhood became oppressive, a patriarchal cultural myth.
(92) ... women have been trained to fit into institutions shaped, determined and ruled by men.
(93) ... their (women's) definitions of selfhood and self-fulfillment have remained subordinated to those of others.
(100) ... they (women) were not *passive* victims; they always involved themselves actively in the world in their own way.
Women's history
(4) ... the history of women has a special character, a built-in distortion: it comes to us refracted through the lens of men's observation.
GIVE ME EXAMPLES OF THE BUILT-IN DISTORTION IN WOMEN'S HISTORY CAUSED BY MALE VALUES.
(7) ... historical writing ignored the history of women and the female point of view.
(13) The ... history of 'notable women' ... must not be mistaken for 'women's history'...
(29) ... male and female historians ... have generally dealt with such phenomena (women's reaching toward other women) only in terms of 'contribution history' ...
(39) The essential role of women on behalf of themselves and other women is seldom considered a central theme in writing their history.
(47) While inferior status and oppressive restraints were aspects of women's historical experience, the limitation of this approach (history of oppression) is that it makes it appear that women were largely passive ...

(Table 29. continued)

(Table 29. continued)

(52) The question of oppression does not elicit that story (of women functioning on their own terms), and is, therefore, a tool of limited usefulness to the historians.

(57) ... the questions asked by social history and family history ... do not encompass it (women's history).

(104) ... historians have taken notice mostly of the first of these functions and of the organisational work of women only insofar as they 'contributed' to social reform.

(105) Women's political work has been recognized only as it pertains to women's rights and woman suffrage.

(110) The history of women's struggle for the ballot has received ... attention by historians, but this narrow focus has led to the impression that the only political activity in which women engaged ... was working for woman suffrage.

HOW WOULD YOU SUMMARISE WOMEN'S HISTORY IN RELATION TO THESE PARTICULARS?

(115) ... women, half of the nation, are cast in the marginal role of a powerless minority.

(116) That this impression of the female past is a distortion is by now obvious.

(129) Women are not a marginal 'minority,' and women's history is not a collection of 'missing facts and views' to be incorporated into traditional categories.

(134) ... Women's history is not an 'exotic speciality,' ... dealing with yet another 'minority.'

The organisation in Table 30 suggests that there are three levels of specificity. These levels are the same as those suggested by the sentence hierarchy in Appendices 2 and 3. The connective test supports the general-particular organisation suggested in Table 30. The contending particulars tolerate the insertion of the connectives *for example* or *in particular*.

4.3.2.4. The problem block of Text 1

The sentences representing macropropositions in the problem block of Text 1 are divided into two groups according to content. The 'content groups' are titled *The conflict between planning and the control of biotic resources* and *The explanation of the conflict.* The organisation along the

Table 30. The general-particular structure within the solution block of Text 2.

(6) ... to construct a new history that will with true equality reflect the dual nature of mankind - its male and female aspect - we must first pause to reconstruct the missing half - the female experience: women's history.

(136) Women's history poses a challenge to all historical scholarship - it demands a fundamental reexamination of the assumptions and methodology of traditional history.

GIVE ME EXAMPLES OF HOW WE MUST RECONSTRUCT THE FEMALE EXPERIENCE AND WOMEN'S HISTORY AND CHALLENGE THE ASSUMPTIONS OF TRADITIONAL HISTORY.

(58) The most advanced conceptual level by which women's history can now be defined must include an account of the female experience as it changes over time and should include the development of feminist consciusness as an essential aspect of women's historical past.

(124) The emergence of feminist consciousness as a historical phenomenon is an essential part of the history of women.

(117) It is premature to attempt a critical evaluation or synthesis of the role women played in the building of American society.

(118) It is not premature to suggest that the fact of the exclusion of women from all those institutions that make essential decisions for the nation is itself an important aspect of the nations's past.

(68) To find an answer to this basic question (of what history is like if seen through the eyes of women), it is useful to examine the life cycles and the turning points in individual lives of men and women of the past.

GIVE ME EXAMPLES OF HISTORY AS SEEN THROUGH THE EYES OF WOMEN.

(18) In order to comprehend society in all its complexity at any given stage of its development, it is essential to take account of this wide range of differences (in experience caused by race and social class).

(106) Historical interpretation of the community-building work of women is urgently needed.

(113) It is one of the urgent and as yet unfulfilled tasks of women's history to study the ways in which women influenced and participated in political events, directly, or through the mass organisation they built.

generality-specificity dimension has been carried out under these headings. The organisation follows the outlines of the sentence hierarcy in Appendices 2 and 3, and is presented in Table 31. There are two inaccuracies, however. Sentence (28) appears at the same level as (29), although in the sentence hierarchy it is one level lower. Sentences (20-21) are not included in Table 31 at all.

Within this block, the general-particular structure is less obvious than in the previous blocks. In the first section in Table 31, however, the general-particular relation seems plausible. Sentence (16) is more specific than sentences (2), (4) and (7) on account of the fact that it conveys a reference to a particular conflict of opinion. The connective test points in the same direction: the connective *for example* can be inserted in (16). In the second section of Table 31, the contending generalisation in (13-15) can be seen as a statement of a principle (ie: the priciple that if ecology is equated with amenity, it will remain on the fringe of planning interest), and the contending particulars in (28-31) can be seen as aspects of the operation of the principle. Again, the connective *for example* is tolerated, which shows that elements for a general-particular relation do exist. The question which elicits further particulars is followed by sentences (37), (41), (43) and (47), which convey a reference to historical facts in (37-41), to the present-day situation in (43), and to a general rule which operates still today in (47). Of these, (47) is not more specific than, for instance, (31). But there is a general-particular relation between the entire sections (28, 29, 30, 31) and (37, 41, 43, 47) of the type found earlier: it is a relation between generic, timeless material and timebound material. This is shown by an insertion test: (47) tolerates the insertion of the temporal disjunct *still today*. Sentences (48) and (49) are easy to accept as generalisations in relation to the preceding items by virtue of their form. They appear as general rules of the type *if X, then Y*. Each tolerates the insertion of the connectives *to sum up* or *in a word*. The last generalisation in (56) could also be initiated by these connectives.

To test the generality-specificity organisation suggested in Table 31, it is possible to compare sections (13-15) and (28-31) in respect of what intuitively seem to be their discourse topics[1]. In both of these sections,

1 Since these are concrete sequences from the text, it is justified to assume that they can have discourse topics.

Table 31. The genral-particular structure within the problem block of Text 1.

The conflict between planning and the control of biotic resources
(2) ... the control of biotic resources is only tenuously linked to planning control.
(4) A fair justification for seeking to extend a greater degree of control to the countryside can ... be made out.
(7) Despite the inclusion of 'environmental impacts' on the planner's checklist ... it would be untrue to suggest that these have been accorded any degree of equality with socio-economic issues.
GIVE ME SOME DETAILS OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN PLANNING AND THE CONTROL OF BIOTIC RESOURCES:
(16) There appears to be a wide gulf between ... opinions expressed at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, and official dogmas as they work out in practice.
The explanation of the conflict
(13) ... ecology and resource management became the new terms which described the traditional concern for the preservation of a visually pleasant countryside; they became equated with the pervasive but shallow concept of amenity.
(14) ... no such idea ... could hold together a set of activities that extend beyond the control of land use and the provision of physical infrastructures to a wider concern for the social and economic welfare of the urban community ...
(15) ... if 'ecology' is equated with rural 'amenity', it will remain on the fringe of planning interest and inferior to social welfare and economic growth, rather than providing an overall context for the development of urban systems.
EXPLAIN IN MORE DETAIL HOW THE AMENITY APPROACH CAUSES THE CONFLICT BETWEEN PLANNING AND THE CONTROL OF BIOTIC RESOURCES.
(28) ... 'amenity' becomes the heading under which the whole panoply of ecological matters ... must be subsumed.
(29) ... the essential nature of the planning process is well suited to the 'timeless' image of a serene and unchanging countryside, and is abetted in its superficial treatment of resource dynamics by countryside legislation.
(Table 31. continued)

(Table 31. continued)

(30) ... ecology cannot comfortably be integrated with traditional planning practice: it must ... remain a secondary issue.

(31) ... ecological arguments have generally failed to be accorded a politically respectable pedigree, and are widely considered to be at variance with perceived social welfare objectives.

EXPLAIN IN MORE DETAIL WHY ECOLOGY IS A POLITICALLY UNPOPULAR ISSUE.

(37) ... this led to a view which '... simultaneously feared and scorned the effects of urbanisation yet all too obviously benefited from its ... advantages.'

(41) The inevitable outcome was a cosmetic approach to conservation ...

(43) ... the present 'official' concern for the environment is little more than a direct continuation of this.

(47) Any bureaucratic response to environmental lobbying will be in the form of an enlightened and philanthropic reaction to our own barbarian values in economics, and the solution will be a cosmetic one.

HOW WOULD YOU SUM UP THE CAUSES FOR THE CONFLICT BETWEEN PLANNING AND ECOLOGY?

(48) If, by the introduction of ecology into planning, we mean simply the provision of a new jargon in which to dress up ... amenity arguments, it is easy to understand why ecology has been reduced to an esoteric ... and politically unpopular issue.

(49) If ecological information is to be thus misused, it becomes clear why environmental matters have become submerged in the developmental process ...

WHAT GENERALISATION CAN BE MADE SUCH THAT THE ABOVE PARTICULARS ARE INSTANCES OF IT?

(56) The existence of this amenity bias is a major obstacle in the establishment of a truly effective approach to conservation.

the discourse topic seems to be *ecology*. In the former, *ecology* stands for a concept or idea, whereas in the latter, *ecology* or *ecological matters* or *ecological arguments* stand for an issue or for concrete action. The semantic relation is then one between abstract and concrete or, rather, between more abstract and less abstract. This can be taken as a signal of a general-particular relation between the sequences in question (cf. Grimes 1975:216).

4.3.2.5. The solution block of Text 1

The solution block of Text 1 comprises only five sentences. These have been arranged in Table 32 in the way suggested by their position in the sentence hierarchy: there are two contending generalisations and three particulars. The particulars are presented first and the generalisations last in the same linear order as they have in the text itself. The question test in Table 32 indicates that this arrangement is justified. The connective test points in the same direction. The connective *for example* can be inserted in each of (50), (52), and (53). Alternatively, the connective *in a word* or *in summary* can be inserted in the contending generalisations in (58) and (61).

Table 32. The general-particular structure within the solution block of Text 1.

(50)	... we must ... overcome the basic difficulty of translating ecological information into the planning process.
(52)	... if the ecologist's arguments are to carry political weight, he must be able to demonstrate ... that our present activities are producing an environment which will ultimately become too squalid and unreproductive to provide a decent standard of living.
(53)	... economists will only be convinced if it can be shown that the conservation of genetical variety represents economically rational behaviour.
	WHAT MORE GENERAL RECOMMENDATION ARE THE ABOVE RECOMMENDATIONS INSTANCES OF?
(58)	It is ... the joint onus upon planners and ecologists to persuade politicians that the current approach to resource planning is an oblique and superficial one.
(61)	If planners are to protect the environment in other than a purely cosmetic fashion, it must become an accepted fact that, in the long term, our economic and social welfare will be directly dependent upon the general condition of the natural environment.

4.4. An evaluation of the macrostructure description

The main purposes of this chapter were to identify the sentences and sequences in the text which have global relevance and are represen-

tative of its macrostructure, and to test whether the derived blocks of macropropositions are distinguishable into particular types and have an identifiable general-particular structure. It has been shown that the derivation of macrostructure is in principle possible, if the superstructure of the text is known and its sentence hierarchy identified. It has been possible to derive tentative summaries of the texts on the basis of the information on superstructure and sentence hierarchy presented in the earlier chapters of the study. It has also been shown that specific types of macropropositions can be identified with particular superstructure categories: the situation block, the problem block, the solution block and the evaluation block of macropropositions can be typologically distinguished. There is also evidence of a general-particular structure within each block. The general-particular hierarchy largely coincides with the sentence hierarchy established earlier: sentences at higher levels of the sentence hierarchy also tend to be more general than those at lower levels. Thus the hypothesis of macrostructure as a stratified organisation seems to be valid.

On the basis of the observations made in this chapter it seems justified to draw the conclusion that macrostructure exists as it were independently of the linear surface organisation of the text. The macrostructure constitutes the semantic building blocks for the text, ie. the blocks of macropropositions each with a general-particular structure. The building blocks can be used for alternative surface organisations. The linear organisation of the text can be blocklike or wavelike, for example.

It remains to be verified by further study whether the items of global relevance identified by the method of this study coincide with the choices of globally relevant material made by ordinary readers. The validity of the method can be tested experimentally for instance by asking a group of subjects to choose from a text the items (sentences, paragraphs, etc.) which they consider globally relevant or eligible for a summary, or by means of other suitable instructions. Their choices can then be compared to those derived by the method. An alternative and, it seems, better method for carrying out the experiment is to ask the subjects to produce summaries, reviews or translations of the text, because such a task compels them to make a thorough analysis. The subjects can be asked simply to do this, and the identification can be given as an additional task.

Two pilot studies of the latter type have been carried out with one of the Finnish control texts and one English text (see Tirkkonen-Condit, forthcoming). The first experiment was administered to a group of 49 first-year students at the Savonlinna School of Translation Studies; their task was to write a summary and to pick out the ten 'most important' paragraphs from a text which has a total of 27 paragraphs. The overall result was that out of the top ten paragraphs chosen by the method, five were chosen by a majority of the subjects. In the second experiment the subjects were a group of eight third-year students whose task was to write a summary and to select the six 'most important' sentences out of a total of 29 sentences in the text. The overall result was that out of the top six sentences chosen by the method, four were chosen by at least half of the subjects and two were chosen by all. The sentences chosen by all were the ones that best convey the macropropositions of the problem and solution components of the text. The correlation figures and the inter-subject reliability figures of these pilot experiments have not been computed, but the overall results alone seem encouraging.

5. TEXT STRUCTURE AND TRANSLATION

It is assumed in this study that the reader accumulates a knowledge of the structure of the text in the process of reading it. This knowledge includes the aspects of text structure which have been outlined in the previous chapters, ie. a knowledge of the PS structure, the I & I structure and the macrostructure of the text. It is a hypothesis here that this structural knowledge is needed in tasks such as translation. The purpose of the present chapter is to provide evidence in support of this hypothesis by looking at the translation problems which arise when an extract of a text is translated without access to the entire text. In such a situation, the translator cannot accumulate an adequate knowledge of the PS structure, the I & I strucutre and the macrostructure of the text. A translator who is not exposed to the full range of structural features cannot adequately detect even the structual signals which appear in the extract. The extract may also be too short to allow the emergence of important structural signals. If the translator has a chance to read the whole text, however, the possible 'underrepresentation' of structural signals in the extract is not a problem.

In this chapter, attention will be paid mainly to the problems which may arise when the source text for a translation examination is a text extract and the translators do not have access to the whole text. This was the normal practice in the final and other translation examinations at the former Language Institutes, and the practice continues in the schools of translation studies. Text extracts cut off from their contexts are also used as source texts in the examinations for authorized translators. The examples of translations in this chapter are from the corpus of translations used in Tirkkonen-Condit (1982).

5.1. Translation problems related to Text 1

The extract which constituted the source text in the Language Institutes' final examination in 1977 and in a translation examination in the University of Jyväskylä in 1980 covers sentences (34-44) of Text 1. A copy of the source text in the format in which it was given in the trans-

lation examinations is in Appendix 5. The extract is low in the hierarchical structure of the text. This can best be seen from Figure 3 in chapter 2; the extract covers paragraphs 11 and 12 and a part of paragraph 13. It begins with a historical account of past approaches to countryside conservation and their evaluation and then moves back to the present time. However, it covers only a part of a sequence functioning as an explanation, which in turn relates to a negative evaluation outside the extract. The status of the extract is shown schematically in Figure 36.

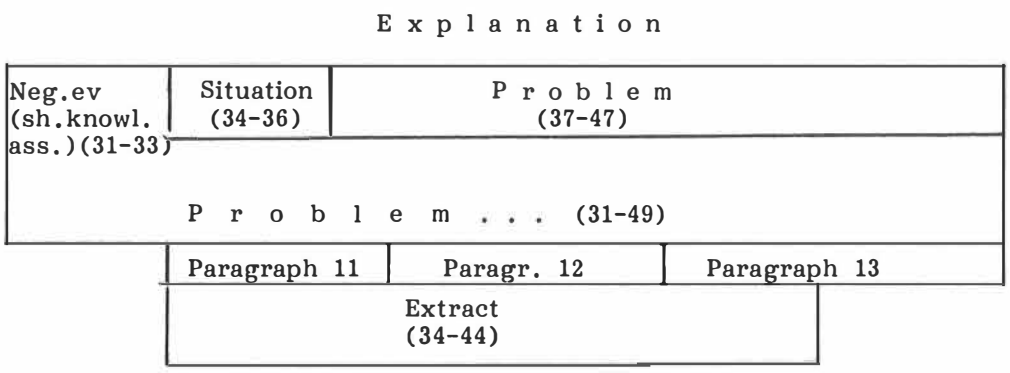

Figure 36. The status of the extract from Text 1 used as a source text in the translation examinations in 1977 and 1980.

The most common problem area in the corpus of translations relates to sequence (37-40), which is a quotation. The translators have not always been able to discern that the quotation as a whole constitutes a negative evaluation of past approaches. To illustrate one such translation, the first paragraph of translation SL1/77 is contrasted with its source text in Example 29.

In the source text, sentence (37) is a negative evaluation and at the same time the beginning of a problem component. It begins with the adversative connective *however* and reveals a conflict in the views to the environment which developed in the aftermath of the Industrial Revolution. In sentence (38) this conflict of views is referred to as *such an ambivalent attitude*. Sentence (39) is an elaboration of (38) and constitutes a negative evaluation of the views which developed as a result of the ambivalent attitude. Sentence (40) is a conclusion based on (38-39).

In translation SL1/77 (see Example 29), sentence (37) does not con-

Example 29. Translation SL1/77 and its source text contrasted.

(34) Englannissa maaseudun suojelu on aina yhdistetty terveellisen, miellyttävän ja kauniin ympäristön oletettuihin etuihin. (35) 1600- ja 1700-luvuilla, jolloin valistuneet metsänhoitajat ja puutarha-arkkitehdit ensimmäistä kertaa ryhtyivät puolustamaan maaseutua, sitä pidettiin yleisesti parempiosaisten virkistysalueena. (36) Myö-hempi heräte, joka sai alkunsa varsinkin keskiluokan torjuvasta suhtautumisesta teollisen vallankumouksen räikeyksiin, kuului osaltaan sivistymättömien ja pinttyneiden asenteiden aiheuttamaan vastareaktioon. (37) Tämä asenteet kohdistuivat kulttuuriin, talouteen, sosiaaliseen vastuuseen ja ympäristöön. Tämä johti kuitenkin, kuten D.L. Smith on todennut, näkemykseen, joka "ilmaisi samanaikaisesti pelkoa ja halveksuntaa kaupungistumisen vaikutuksia kohtaan, vaikka kaupungistumisesta oli aivan selvästi taloudellista ja sosiaalista hyötyäkin. (38) Oli tuskin todennäköistä, että tällainen ambivalenttinen asenne johti mihinkään seuraavan kaltaiseen syvälliseen diagnoosiin: (39) "Hyvän ja pahan alueellinen erottaminen kaupunkiympäristössä ja keskikaupungin ja laitakaupungin ulkonäön väliset ilmeiset erot johtivat siihen, että yhä vaikutusvaltaisemman keskiluokan oli hyvin helppo nähdä ongelmien perustuvan pääasiallisesti ulkoisiin seikkoihin." (40) Ja niinpä "viktoriaaninen kaupunki uskoi, että vehreiden ja hienojen esikaupunkien oikea kehittäminen oli pelastuksen avain. Näissä esikaupungeissa kaupungin ja maaseudun edut yhdistyivät sopivasti."

(34) Countryside conservation has always been associated in Britain with the supposed benefits of environmental health, pleasantness and civic beauty. (35) In the 17th and 18th centuries, when enlightened foresters and landscape architects first rallied to its defence, the countryside was largely looked upon as a recreation ground for the better-off. (36) The later impulse, which sprang in particular from the middle-class repulsion of the worst excesses of the Industrial Revolution, formed part of a more widespread reaction to barbarian establishment attitudes towards culture, economics, social responsibility and the environment. (37) However, as D.L. Smith has observed, this led to a view which "... simultaneously feared and scorned the effects of urbanization yet all too obviously benefited from its economic and social advantages." (38) Such an ambivalent attitude was hardly likely to lead to a penetrating diagnosis: (39) "The spatial separation of good and bad in the urban environment and the obvious differences in the appearance of the inner city and the outer suburb made it extremely easy for the increasingly influential middle-classes to see the problems primarily in physical terms." (40) And consequently: "The Victorian city believed that the clue to salvation lay in the proper development of sylvan and genteel suburbs within which town and country benefits were to be evenly mixed."

vey the idea that there was ambivalence in the approaches prevailing in the period which followed the Industrial Revolution. Sentence (37) in SL1/77 can perhaps be understood as a negative evaluation, but the criticism seems to be directed towards unjustified fears in respect of urbanisation. Nevertheless sentence (38) in the translation conveys a reference to 'this ambivalent attitude' *(tällainen ambivalenttinen asenne)*, as if the attitude had been criticised for ambivalence. Further, the translation reveals a misunderstanding of the interactional role of sentence (39) in relation to (38). This is shown by the cataphoric phrase *seuraavan kaltaiseen* (of the following kind); sentence (39) has been misunderstood as if it constituted a penetrating diagnosis. This interpretation of the relation between (38) and (39) rules out any plausible causal relation between (39) and (40_1) in the translation: if the Victorians were unable to make a diagnosis according to which problems were to be seen primarily in physical terms, as is maintained in (37-38) of SL1/77, how were they to believe along the lines of such a diagnosis? Another disturbance caused by this misunderstanding is that the quotation as a whole cannot be seen as a negative evaluation let alone a coherent one. This amounts to a failure in the conveyance of the PS structure of the source text.

Some translations give the impression that the whole source text, ie. the extract which constituted the source text, has been interpreted as an account of successive events. The translators had no way of telling that the extract was a part of an explanation, since the act to be explained was left outside the extract. The extract starts with three sentences which form a temporal sequence, and the translators may have had the impression that the temporal sequence continues through the whole text. The typical sequence which prevails in the problem component (31-49), ie. evaluation + explanation + conclusion, could not be observed, because its beginning and its end were outside the extract. Even the problem component (37-47) could not be observed as a whole. The match which emerges within this problem component between the propositions expressed in the initial evaluation (37) and the terminal conclusion (47) cannot be observed, since the terminal conclusion falls outside the extract. Thus it is not surprising that some translators interpreted the text as an account of successive eventes, ie. as a narrative text.

In translation SL1/77 (see Example 29), for instance, the causal connection breaks badly and makes way for a temporal interpretation. There are two instances in the above paragraph of SL1/77 in which a longer sentence in the source text has been chopped up into two shorter sentences. These are sentences (36) and (40). For instance, sentences (40_1) and (40_2) in the translation convey the idea of temporal progression from the state of affairs expressed in (40_1) to the state of affairs expressed in (40_2). First the Victorians believed that the salvation lay in the development of suburbs and subsequently, in these suburbs, town and country benefits *were* suitably combined *(yhdistyivät)*. While the source text treats the benefits of suburbs hypothetically, the translation changes the mood and tense, so that sentence (40_2) can be understood as an account of a successive past event.

Another aspect of the presentation of the source text to the translators is worth pointing out. If the translators had had access to the text in its original format, they would have seen the interplay of the quotation and the writer's own comments better than they could from the typed version of the extract. They would also have seen the bibliographical reference to Smith's article, including its title *Amenity and Urban Planning*. All this information might have made it easier for them to interpret sequence (37-40) as a criticism of past attitudes towards the environment instead of a mere account of past events.

It is often suggested that thematic equivalence is a major aspect of translation equivalence (see House 1977 and Enkvist 1978:13). The thematic structure of a translation (JY23/80) will now be compared to the thematic structure of its source text. This comparison is carried out in order to explain the impression, created by the translation, that it belongs to a non-argumentative text type. As will be remembered, it was tentatively suggested in chapter 4 that thematics may act as a text type marker and as a marker of the components of PS structure. The problem, solution and evaluation components had a relatively high share of propositional themes. The count which showed this feature was based on the main clause themes of the dominant sentences in each PS component. In dealing with the relatively short extract which constitutes the source text in the Language Institutes' final examination in 1977 and in an examination at the University of Jyväskylä in 1980, all main clause themes are counted. A comparison of the source text themes and the themes in

translation JY23/80 is presentend in Table 33. It shows that there is a clear preference for propositional themes in the source text.

The first three sentences, ie. (34-36), constitute the situation component of the minitext which is partly covered by the extract. The themes of sentences (34) and (35) are categorised as simple themes, whereas the theme of (36) falls in the category of propositional themes. Six out of eight themes in the part of the problem component which is covered by the extract are categorised as propositional themes. These are the themes of sentences (37), (38), (39), (42), (43) and (44). Only two sentences in the problem component part of the extract have simple themes. In translation JY23/80, only four out of ten themes in the problem component are propositional. The fact that the themes of this extract are predominantly of the propositional type can be treated as a feature which marks out its genre as 'framställning' in Anward's (1983) terminology, ie. as a representative of factual prose rather than the more personal narrative style. It can also be treated as a particular marker of the problem component. Along these lines it can be suggested that major deviances from this thematic feature in a translation may account for a different overall stylistic impression. To make it possible for the reader of the present study to judge the stylistic impression given by translation JY23/80, the translation is presented in full in Example 30. The themes are underlined.

Some of the thematic changes in JY23/80 in respect of its source text appear in those instances in which the translation replaces a long sentence by two shorter sentences. This chopping up naturally causes the emergence of new themes, since a new sentence in most cases has a constituent which can be identified as the main clause theme. But the new themes can be classified as more or less deviant from the pattern set by the source text. In Table 33 they are classified according to compatibility with the macrotheme, as this is defined in Tirkkonen-Condit (1982), and according to whether they are propositional or simple.

In Tirkkonen-Condit (1982:245), the macrotheme is defined as the theme of the sentence depicting the macroproposition and the macrorheme as the rheme of such a sentence. The macroproposition in turn is defined as the sentence which best summarises a passage, whether this sentence is a dominant sentence or a sentence constructed to summarise the passage. For the purposes of this chapter, the latter, more sophisticated notion of macroproposition is adopted. The simplified notion

Table 33. A comparison of the themes in the source text and translation JY23/80

	Theme in the source text	Category	Theme in JY23/80	Category	Compatibility with source text theme or macrotheme
SITUATION	(34) countryside conservation	simple	(34) luonnonsuojelu	simple	+
	(35) the countryside	simple	(35_1) luontoa (35_2) valistuneet metsänhoitajat ja maisema-arkkitehdit	simple simple	+ -
	(36) the later impulse, which sprang in particular from middle-class repulsion of the worst excesses of the Industrial Revolution	propositional	(36_1) teollisen vallankumouksen pahimmat seuraukset (36_2) tämä	propositional propositional	- -
PROBLEM	(37) this	propositional	(37) tämä	propositional	+
	(38) such an ambivalent attitude	propositional	(38) tällainen kaksinainen asennoituminen	propositional	+
	(39) the spatial separation of good and bad in the urban environment and the obvious differences in the appearance of the inner city and the outer suburb	propositional	(39_1) teollistumisen hyvät ja huonot seuraukset (39_1) kaupungin keskusta ja esikaupungit (39_2) yhä tärkeämmän keskiluokan	propositional simple simple	- - -
	(40) the Victorian city	simple	(40_1) seurauksena (40_2) tällaisissa esikaupungeissahan	simple simple	- -
	(41) the inevitable outcome	simple	(41_1) tuloksena (41_2) luonnon yhteyttämiseen perustuva tuottamistehtävä ja luonnon herkkä tasapaino	simple propositional	+ -
	(42) it (a superficial concern for nature)	propositional	(42) huomiota	simple	-
	(43) it (that the present 'official' concern for nature is little more than a direct continuation of this)	propositional	(43) -	-	
	(44) the aims of the 1967 Countryside Act	propositional	(44) -	-	

Example 30. Translation JY23/80

(34) Brittein saarilla on luonnonsuojelua aina oletettu edistävän ympäristön terveellisyyden, mukavuuden ja kaupunkien kauneuden vaalimisella. (35) 1600- ja 1700-luvuilla luontoa pidettiin lähinnä vain varakkaiden virkistysalueena. (35) Tuolloin valistuneet metsänhoitajat ja maisema-arkkitehdit ryhtyivät ensimmäisinä puolustamaan luontoa. (36) Myöhemmin teollisen vallankumouksen pahimmat seuraukset herättivät vastenmielisyyttä lähinnä keskiluokassa: luonnonsuojeluun alettiin kiinnittää huomiota. (36) Tämä liittyi laajempaan barbaarisen teollisen yhteiskunnan kulttuuri- ja talousasenteiden, sen sosiaalisen vastuuttomuuden ja ympäristön riiston vastustamiseen. (37) Tämä johti, kuten D.L. Smith on huomannut, kuitenkin siihen, että "samanaikaisesti pelättiin ja halveksittiin kaupungistumisen vaikutuksia ja kuitenkin täysin selvästi hyödyttiin sen taloudellisista ja sosiaalisista edistysaskeleista." (38) Tällainen kaksinainen asennoituminen ei edistänyt tilanteen syvällistä ymmärtämistä. (39) Kaupunkiympäristössä teollistumisen hyvät ja huonot seuraukset olivat eri paikoissa ja kaupungin keskusta ja esikaupungit olivat erinäköisiä. (39) Niinpä yhä tärkeämmän keskiluokan oli helppo nähdä ongelmat paikkaan liittyvinä. (40) Seurauksena olikin se, että "Viktorian aikakaudella pelastuksen uskottiin löytyvän metsäisten ja hienojen esikaupunkien kehittämisessä. (40) Tällaisissa esikaupungeissahan olisi kaupungin ja maaseudun edut yhdistettyinä."

(41) Tuloksena olikin kauneusarvoja korostava suhtautuminen luonnonsuojeluun (41) luonnon yhteyttämiseen perustava tuottamistehtävä ja luonnon herkkä tasapaino sivuutettiin vähällä huomiolla. (42) Vaikka oltiinkin pinnallisesti kiinnostuneita luonnosta, huomiota kiinnitettiin yhtä vähän kaiken perustana olevaan ekologiseen kiertokulkuun kuin pinnallinen hyväntekeväisyys kiinnitti huomiota syvällisiin sosiaalisiin ongelmiin.

(43) Voidaan jopa väittää, että nykyinen "virallinen" kiinnostus luontoa kohtaan on tuskin muuta kuin tällaisen ajattelutavan jatke. (44) Mieti esimerkiksi vuoden 1967 (Skotlannin) ympäristölain päämääriä sen pitkän nimen perusteella: "Laki edistämään Skotlannin luonnon nauttimista..."

used in chapter 4, according to which dominant sentences as such represent macropropositions, is not useful for a detailed analysis of a short passage. The analysis is now concerned with short extracts of texts in greater detail than in chapter 4, and for this purpose the more sophisticated notion of macroproposition is useful. Therefore, it is necessary to construct sentences which best summarise the situation and problem components of the extract and to regard these as macropropositions. The macroproposition constructed for the situation component in (34-36) is THE COUNTRYSIDE HAS ALWAYS BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH SUPERFI-

CIAL AND UTILITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS, in which THE COUNTRYSIDE is the macrotheme and the rest of the constructed sentence is the macrorheme. The macroproposition constructed for the problem component is THE AMBIVALENT ATTITUDE TO THE COUNTRYSIDE LED TO A COSMETIC APPROACH TO CONSERVATION, in which THE AMBIVALENT ATTITUDE TO THE COUNTRYSIDE is the macrotheme and the rest the macrorheme.

When a translation is evaluated in respect of compatibility with the macrotheme or macrorheme, the test is whether the theme or rheme is a paraphrasis of, or semantically included by the macrotheme or macrorheme. There are sentences in the source text itself, however, in which the main clause theme is not compatible with the macrotheme in the above sense. In these instances the thematic compatibility of the translation is judged according to whether that particular main clause theme in the source text has an adequate equivalent in the translation. The main clause theme of sentence (40) is such an instance. Its theme, *the Victorian city*, does not comply with the macrotheme. Here the translation is judged according to whether it has a theme which can be considered an adequate equivalent of this main clause theme in the source text.

A comparison of the themes in the situation component shows that only the first two themes in the translation are compatible with the source text pattern. The themes of sentences (35_2), (36_1) and (36_2) in the translation deviate from the macrotheme or the sentence theme of the source text.

The extent to which the macrorhemes are conveyed by the translation (see Example 30) must also be considered. The rhemes of sentences (34), (35_1), (35_2), (36_1) and (36_2) are compared to the macrorheme of the situation component HAS ALWAYS BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH SUPERFICIAL AND UTILITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS. The comparison shows that only the rheme of sentence (35_1) in the translation is compatible with this macrorheme in the sense that it is semantically included by the macrorheme. The rhemes in the rest of the situation component of the translation can be summarised by the phrase MADE ATTEMPTS TO PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT, which is not a paraphrasis of the macrorheme in the source text. The situation component of the translation is both thematically and rhematically largely incompatible with the source text.

A comparison of the themes in the problem component shows an even

greater variance. Out of ten themes in the translation, only three are compatible with the macrotheme or the sentence themes of the source text. The share of propositional themes is reduced: in the source text, six out of eight themes are propositional; in the translation only four out of ten, as shown by Table 33. The macrorheme of the problem component, in turn, is maintained in JY23/80 relatively well: the rhemes of sentences (37-44) in JY23/80 can be summarised by the macrorheme LED TO A COSMETIC APPROACH TO CONSERVATION, which means that they are semantically included by the macrorheme. The negative evaluation contained by the problem component of the source text is adequately conveyed by the translation. The impression of a non-argumentative text which the translation in Example 30 gives is probably due in part to the dispersion of themes, on account of which the thesis gets confused in a mass of details. The number of themes in the translation is greater than that in the source text as a result of the fact that it has more sentences. The incompatible 'new' themes, which emerge as a result of the fact that long sentences in the source text have been replaced by two shorter sentences in the translation, include *kaupungin keskusta ja esikaupungit* (inner city and outer suburbs); *yhä tärkeämmän keskiluokan* (the increasingly influential middle-classes); *tällaisissa esikaupungeissahan* (in this kind of suburbs), and *huomiota* (attention). These themes are not summarisable into one macrotheme, and therefore the discussion seems to be dispersed over many topics.

What has been referred to as the macrotheme largely coincides with the notion of discourse topic, as this is understood by Lautamatti (1980) and Tomlin (1983), for instance. On intuitive grounds, the discourse topic of the extract of Text 1 is countryside or countryside conservation. The discourse topic of the whole text, on the other hand, is semantically wider and more abstract and can be summed up as conservation of natural resources or environmental conservation. One of the main points of the whole article is to explain how the prevailing superficial and utilitarian approaches to the environment and environmental conservation developed: they developed as a result of utilitarian approaches to the countryside, which was seen merely as an amenity. The translators, who had access only to the extract, had no way of finding out how these two notions, environmental conservation and countryside conservation, were related to each other in the entire article. It is there-

fore not surprising that they treated these notions as if they were interchangeable. In some translations, for instance in JY23/80 (see Example 30), the term *maaseutu* (countryside) or *maaseudun luonnonsuojelu* (countryside conservation) hardly appear at all. This translator, among others, probably came to the conclusion that the discourse topic of the extract is conservation in general. Some other translators vacillated between the terms *maaseutu* (coutryside), *luonto* (nature), and *maaseudun luonto* (nature in the countryside). It is not possible to determine, on the basis of the extract alone, how the discussion on the topics of countryside and countryside conservation relates to the contents of the rest of the article. If the translation assignment had covered the entire article, uncertainty about the discourse topic of this passage would probably have been eliminated.

The translation assignment, in the format in which it was given to the translators in the examination (see Appendix 5), conveys the idea that the extract in itself constitutes a 'text' to be translated for the use of participants to a seminar on the environmet. When the extract is treated as an independent text, the kind of solution concerning the discourse topic made by JY23/80 seems acceptable. In that 'text' it makes no difference whether the macrotheme or topic which emerges from it is countryside, environmental conservation, or conservation of nature in general.

Another area of problems which may be accounted for by limited exposure to the text is lexical anomaly. Lexical anomaly, especially if it accumulates in a translation, seems to have a distorting effect on the overall impression created by the translation as a text (Tirkkonen-Condit, forthcoming). In Tirkkonen-Condit (1982:184), lexical anomaly in translations is categorised into five groups, one of which is frame incompatibilty. This category of lexical anomaly is discussed below in the light of the considerations of global structure which have come up in the present study. These considerations may help to explain the frequency of frame incompatibility in the translations produced without access to the entire text.

According to the frame theory (see Brown and Yule 1983:238), knowledge is stored in memory in the form of data structures or frames, which represent stereotyped situations, activities or states. In a new situation, a frame is selected from memory and adapted to fit the reality

by changing the details of the frame, if necessary. A frame representing a typical office, for instance, constitutes 'a set of typical office individuals and typical activities in offices' (van Dijk 1977:99). A particular office that a person comes across in real life or reads about in a text can be treated as an instance of the office frame, and the individuals and activities as instances of those which belong to it. The notion of frame seems to fit better concrete entitites and activities than abstract ones. It is conceivable, however, that abstract entities such as the environment and the countryside are also stored in the memory as frame structures. It is conceivable that when the translators worked on the extract of Text 1, they resorted to the frame knowledge which each of them had within the frames of countryside, environment, conservation, nature, natural resources, industrial revolution, urbanisation, and possibly utilitarianism and amenity. Part of this frame knowledge was old knowledge which was stored in the memory in a stereotypical format and was as such usable, and part of the knowledge had to be adapted to fit the reality created by the text. It is possible, for instance, that the countryside frame does not incorporate in everybody's memory the element of photosynthetic growth, and that after reading the text, this element becomes a stereotypical part of the countryside frame. In the process of reading, learning takes place, and one way of describing this learning is to describe it in terms of changes or sophistication of the frame structures.

In chapter 4 of the present study it was suggested that a text consists of minitexts, each of which contributes aspects of basically the same problem and its solution. The text often proceeds in a wavelike manner, and incorporates repetition: the macropropositions are built up gradually when the reading of the text proceeds. When we think of semantic frames as the elements by virtue of which it is possible to understand a text, it seems reasonable to expect that the learning which takes place in terms of frame sophistication also calls for repetition and gradual proceeding towards more sophisticated frames. What this means in practice is that the more of the text the reader has had access to, the more sophisticated are the frame structures which he can resort to. At the beginning of the text there is also uncertainty as to the choice of the frames. The reader does not know which of the potential frames that suggest themselves are ultimately relevant to the text (cf. Brown and

Yule 1983:241). For a reader of a mere extract, this ambiguity is never resolved.

When a translator produces a Finnish translation on the basis of a source text, she uses the knowledge frames activated by the text not only to comprehend the text but also to adapt them to Finnish reality and to activate the vocabulary, terminology and concepts which could appropriately be used in the translation. In the instance of Texts 1 and 2, the frames needed for the interpretation of the texts seem culturally relatively neutral. They probably have largely the same stereotypical features in the minds of British, American and Finnish readers. This makes their adaptation simpler. The adaptation of frames from one culture to another and the activation of appropriate lexis in the target language is perhaps a central process in translation. Another way of describing the process is to say that the translator conjures up images of parallel texts in the target language. The point of this exercise is to activate the terminology and expressions which go together with the semantic frames activated by the text.

What, then, is the position of a translator who has had access to only a short extract of a text instead of the whole text? She has not had a chance to gradually evolve the macropropositions of the text in the course of proceeding from one minitext to another, and to absorb elements into the knowledge frames stored in her memory, nor to decide which knowledge frames are ultimately relevant to the text. For such a translator, there is uncertainty about what the ultimate frames are and what their accurate contents are. In a word, the translator does not know exactly what to adapt. In such a position, the activation of lexis in the target language can hardly be successful. In Example 31, the first paragraph of translation TRE13/77 is quoted to illustrate a translation in which there are lexical items and phrases which can be described as incompatible with the semantic frame or frames activated by Text 1 as a whole.

The words and phrases judged as incompatible with the semantic frames activeted by Text 1 are numbered in Example 31 from (1) to (4). In item (1), frame incompatibility lies in the fact that *yhteiskunnan kauneus* (the beauty of society) cannot be associated with the physical aspects of the environment but rather with sociologically defined harmony. Even in sociological contexts the expression would seem meta-

phorical. The translations *viihtyisyys* or *asuinympäristön kauneus* are examples of frame-compatible equivaents for *civic beauty* in the source text. The second misfit *huvipuisto* (an amusement park) is a dictionary translation of *recreation ground* in the source text. This translation would be possible in a text in which *recreation ground* is in free variation with *amusement park*. Text 1 is not such a text. Although the countryside can be used for recreation, as suggested by Text 1, it cannot be referred to as an amusement park, as suggested by the translation. The third instance of frame incompatibility in TRE13/77 is *hyvä ja paha* (good and bad) in which there is an implication, for a Finnish reader, of *morally* good and bad. The reader who reads more of the text will know that *good and bad* here belong to the amenity frame and not to a moral judgement frame. A frame-compatible translation of *good and bad* is *hyvä ja huono*. The fourth instance of frame incompatibility is the literal translation of *spatial* with *spatiaalinen*. This is a term used in psychological literature on cognitive faculties, for instance. Examples of frame-compatible equivalents for the adjective *spatial* are *alueellinen* or *paikallinen*. It is possible that these, and other instances, of frame incompatibility would have been eliminated if the translator had had a chance to read the whole text.

Example 31. An extract of translation TRE13/77 illustrating frame incompatibility.

Maaseudun suojelu on Isossa-Britanniassa aina yhdistetty ympäristön terveyden, miellyttävyyden ja yhteiskunnan kauneuden (1) oletettuihin etuihin. Kun valistuneet metsänhoitajat ja maisema-arkkitehdit 1600- ja 1700-luvulla ensimmäisen kerran kokosivat voimansa puolustaakseen maaseutua, sitä (2) pidettiin suuressa määrin varakkaiden ihmisten huvipuistona. Myöhempi syvsäys, joka juonti juurensa erityisesti keskiluokan vastenmielisyydestä teollisen vallankumouksen pahimpia kohtuuttomuuksia kohtaan, oli osa laajemmalle levinnyttä reaktiota barbaarisen järjestelmän asenteisiin kulttuuria, kansataloutta, yhteiskunnallista vastuuta ja ympäristöä kohtaan. Kuten D.L. Smith on havainnut, tämä johti kuitenkin näkemykseen, joka "samanaikaisesti pelkäsi ja halveksi kaupungistumisen vaikutuksia, mutta kuitenkin aivan liian ilmeisesti hyötyi sen taloudellisista ja yhteiskunnallisista eduista." Näin horjuva asenne (3) oli tuskin johtava (4) syvälliseen diagnoosiin: "Hyvän ja pahan spatiaalinen erottaminen kaupunkiympäristössä ja sisäisen kaupungin ja ulomman esikaupungin ulkomuodossa olevat ilmeiset erot saivat aikaan sen, että lisääntyvää vaikutusvaltaa saavien keskiluokkien oli erittäin helppo tarkastella ongelmia ensi sijassa aineellisina." Tästä seurasi, että "viktoriaaninen kaupunki uskoi pelastuksen avaimen olevan metsäisten ja hienojen esikaupunkien asianmukaisessa kehittamisessa, esikaupunkien, joissa kaupungin ja maaseudun edut tasaveroisesti yhdistettäisiin."

(TRE 13/77)

5.2. Translation problems related to Text 2

The extract which was used as the source text in the Language Institutes' final examination in 1978 covers sentences (87-98) of Text 2. Again the passage covered by the extract is relatively low in the hierarchy of the text. A greater problem for translation, however, is caused by the fact that the two paragraphs in the extract are parts of different minitexts. The status of the extract is shown in Figure 37.

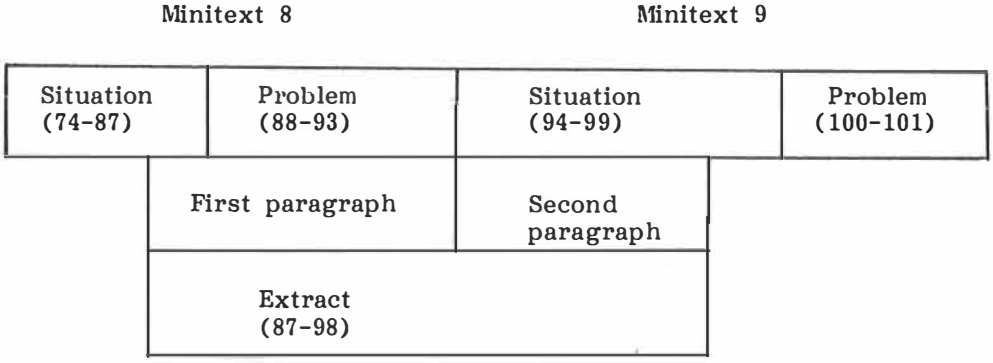

Figure 37. The status of the extract of Text 2 used as a source text in the translation examination of 1978.

A copy of the extract, in the format in which it was presented in the translation examination, is given in Appendix 5. In terms of the present description, the extract covers the last sentence of the situation component and the whole problem component of minitext 8, which accounts for the first paragraph of the extract, as well as the beginning of the situation component of minitext 9, which accounts for the second paragraph of the extract. The two paragraphs are thus parts of different minitexts, neither of which appears in full in the extract. The consequences of this for translation are that the problem-solution structure is not adequately conveyed and that the text type features remain concealed.

The part of minitext 8 which is left outside the extract seems important for a full understanding of the subsequent problem component. Sentences (74-79) of Text 2 describe the different ways in which boys and girls experienced their social roles, and sentences (80-86) describe

the different life rhythms of men and women. Then comes sentence (87), the first sentence of the extract, which maintains that all people in every society are assigned specific roles. This sentence can be seen as a manifestation of the reader's opinion that women do not have identifiable historical experience different from that of men. It is this view that the writer opposes. It elicits the writer's own thesis, and at the same time the problem component. Sentence (88) contains the thesis, ie. a negative evaluation; sentences (89-90) contain a justification, and sentence (91) contains a conclusion. Sentence (92) adds another aspect to the negative evaluation, and sentence (93) contains another conclusion.

The problem component in (88-93) can be summarised as maintaining that the particularly female experience concerning social roles was a negative one: it was an experience of restriction, indoctrination and subordination. Women got more than their fair share of indoctrination. The translation should convey the contrast between the imaginary reader's view and the writer's thesis. It should convey the opinion that women's experience was negative in contrast with men's. The second paragraph of the extract covers only part of the situation component of minitext 9. It starts a discussion on women's historical experience in the service of economic life and does not carry on the topic of social role indoctrination.

In many of the translations, the second sentence of the source text, ie. sentence (88), was not adequately marked as one that initiates a problem component. On the basis of the extract alone, it is difficult to interpret sentence (88) as a problem-initial sentence. There is some oddity in the use of the connective *but* as it appears in the extract. If there were a real text which started in the way in which the extract starts, ie. *All people, in every society, are assigned specific roles and indoctrinated to the expectations and values of that society.*, it would hardly continue, as the extract does, *But for women this has always meant social indoctrination to a value system that imposed upon them greater restrictions of the range of choices than those of men.* The connective *but*, as it appears in Text 2, contrasts the negative evaluation contained in (88) with the whole of the preceding situation component (74-87) and not only with its last sentence (87). Many translators had difficulties in translating the connective *but* in such a way that the translation does not sound unnatural as a Finnish text. The first para-

graph of translation SL9/78 is quoted in Example 32 to show that the connective *mutta* does not convey the contrast in the desired way. The literal translation with *mutta*, as in Example 32, gives the impression that women are not people at all. The desired contrast effect can be achieved in a natural way by means of the connective *kuitenkin* (however): *Naisille tämä seikka on kuitenkin aina merkinnyt indoktrinointia...*

Example 32. An extract of translation SL9/78.

(87) Kaikkien yhteisöjen kaikilla jäsenillä on tietyt roolit ja heitä opetetaan toimimaan yhteisönsä asettamien arvojen ja odotusten mukaisesti. (88) Mutta naisille tämä seikka on aina merkinnyt sosiaalista opetusta arvojärjestelmään, jossa heidän valinnan mahdollisuutensa ovat paljon rajoitetummat kuin miesten. (89) Menneisyydessä muutamat rajoituksista perustuivat naisen tehtävään synnyttäjänä ja siihen, että naisten tuli synnyttää monta lasta, jotta olisi turvattu edes muutamien lasten eloonjääminen. (90) Kun imeväiskuolleisuus väheni ja lääketieteen edistyminen mahdollisti ehkäisymenetelmien käytön lähes kaikkialla, ei sukupuolisuuteen perustuva naisten rooliopetus ollut enää ajankohtainen, vaan vanhentunut. (91) Naisten opettaminen äitiyteen, jonka piti olla heidän ensisijainen ja elinikäinen tehtävä, muodostui rasittavaksi: siitä tuli patriarkaalinen kulttuurimyytti. (92) Vieläpä senkin jälkeen kun koulutusrajoitukset poistettiin, naisia on opetettu sopeutumaan yhteisöihin, joita miehet muokkaavat, määräävät ja johtavat. (93) Tämän vuoksi naisten käsitykset persoonallisuudesta ja itsensä toteuttamisesta ovat heikommat kuin muiden.

The translators who ignored the contrast altogether probably interpreted sentence (88) and the rest of the paragraph as an elaboration in relation to sentence (87). Translation SL5/78, which is given in full in Example 33, illustrates this type. In SL5/78, the contrast between sentences (87) and (88) is concealed on account of the fact that the adversative connective is left out. Further, the element of negative evaluation which emerges from the problem component of the source text is less obvious in SL5/78. In an attempt to explain what it is that causes this impression in SL5/78, a brief comparison can be made of the thematics of the problem component in the source text and the corresponding passage in translation SL5/78. The problem component of the source text has the following themes:

(88) *this* (assignation of social roles);

(89) *some of these restrictions* (restrictions of the range of choices imposed on women);

Example 33. Translation SL5/78.

(87) Kaikissa yhteiskunnissa jokaiselle ihmiselle annetaan tietty rooli ja hänet opetetaan käyttäytymään oman yhteiskuntansa odotusten ja arvojen mukaisesti.(88) Naisten kohdalla tämä on aina merkinnyt kasvattamista sellaiseen yhteiskunnalliseen arvojärjestelmään, jossa heillä on rajoitetummat valinnanmahdollisuudet kuin miehillä.

(89)1 Tarkasteltaessa menneisyyttä huomataan, että useat naisten asemaa rajoittavat seikat perustuivat naisen tehtävään lasten synnyttäjänä. (89)2 Hänen tuli synnyttää useita lapsia, joista sitten ainakin muutama jäisi varmasti henkiin.(90) Lapsikuolleisuuden alenemisen ja laajalle levinneen syntyvyydensäännöstelyn mahdollistaneen lääketieteen kehityksen seurauksena sukupuoliajatteluun kasvattaminen ei enää vastannut tarkoitustaan vaan oli vanhanaikaista.(91) Naisen kasvattamisesta ajatukseen, että äitiys on hänen tärkein ja koko elämän jatkuva tehtävänsä, tuli patriarkaalinen kulttuurimyytti, jonka varjolla naista sorrettiin.(92) Lisäksi, vielä senkin jälkeen kun naisen koulunkäyntiä ja opiskelua koskevat rajoitukset poistettiin, on häntä koulittu sopivaksi miesten suunnittelemiin, määräämiin ja hallitsemiin instituutioihin.(93) Tämän seurauksena naisen itsenäisyys ja itsensätoteuttaminen ovat jääneet vähemmän tärkeiksi kuin muiden.

(94)1 Amerikkalainen nainen on aina osallistunut maansa talouselämään: Maataloudessa hän on työskennellyt tasavertaisena miesten kanssa tehden erilaista mutta tärkeää työtä.(94)2 Teollisuudessa nainen on yleensä työskennellyt huonosti palkatuissa töissä, joihin ei vaadita koulutusta.(94)3 Lisäksi naisia tavataan murtamassa vanhoja raja-aitoja ammateissa, joihin he eivät aikaisemmin ole päässeet koulutuksessa harjoitetun syrjinnän vuoksi ja jotka perinteisesti ovat olleet pääasiassa miesvaltaisia.(95)1 Vaikka suurin osa naisista on tehnyt työtä samoin perustein kuin miehet, nimittäin oman ja elätettäviensä toimeentulon vuoksi, on heidän palkkansa ollut minimin rajalla.(95)2 Työ on luonteeltaan väliaikaista eikä sitä arvosteta.(96) Kuten olettaa voi ovat naiset siirtyneet miesvaltaiseen työelämään ulkopuolisina, eikä heitä useinkaan ole toivotettu tervetulleiksi.(97) Täten, niiden kahden suuren sodan aikana, joihin Yhdysvallat osallistui, tärkeisiin töihin ja toimiin osallistuneet naiset siirrettiin takaisin entisiin töihinsä sodan päätyttyä.(98)1 Työntekijöinä naiset ovat aina olleet huonommassa asemassa kuin miehet, sillä heitä on avoimesti syrjitty työhön ottamisessa, koulutuksessa ja ylenemismahdollisuuksissa (98)2 ja vielä syvällisemmin sukupuolirooliajattelun kautta, joka saa naisen pitämään kaikkea työtä lisätyönä verrattuna hänen päätyöhönsä vaimona ja äitinä olemiseen.

(90) *the gender-based role indoctrination of women;*

(91) *women's indoctrination to motherhood as their primary and life-long function;*

(92) *women*, and

(93) *their* (women's) *definitions of selfhood and self-fulfillment.*

These themes, except the theme *women*, are propositional themes. They incorporate one or more propositions. These propositions can be summarised by the phrase *women's historical experiences of social role assignation*.

Most of the sentence rhemes in the problem component, ie. (88-93), of the source text convey elements of negative evaluation. As suggested above, a summary of the problem component of minitext 8 reads along the following lines: women's historical experience of social role assignation has been one of indoctrination, restriction and subordination greater than that experienced by men. One way of ensuring that this same summary will emerge from the translation is to maintain thematic equivalence in translation. The sentence themes should remain propositional and the sentence rhemes should maintain the element of negative evaluation. Translation SL5/78 in Example 33 has a propositional theme in four sentences out of seven, namely in sentences (88), (90), (91), and (94). It has a simple theme *(hänen, häntä)* in sentences (89_2) and (92), and no theme in (89_1). The negative element of the sentence rhemes is 'neutralised' in four sentences: in sentence (88), the term *indoctrination* is translated by the neutral term *kasvattaminen* (education) instead of a negative term, such as *indoktrinointi* or *pakottaminen*, and the verb *imposed upon them* is translated by *heillä on* (they have) instead of *heille määrättiin* (they were imposed on); in (90) the adjective *anachronistic* is translated *vanhanaikainen* (old-fashioned) instead of *jäänne* or some other equivalent with a negative colour; in (93) *subordinated to those of others* has been translated *jääneet vähemmän tärkeiksi kuin muiden* (remained less important than those of others). This systematic neutralisation of the sentence rhemes creates an impression that the negative evaluation as a whole is less clear than in the source text. To summarise, the phenomena observed above, ie. the lack of contrast between sentences (87) and (88), the neutralisation of the negative evaluation in the rhemes, and the smaller share of propositional themes, are held responsible for the impression that the PS structure of the source text is concealed in translation SL5/78.

A reader of the extract intuitively expects that the two paragraphs in it will be related to each other in a way which makes the extract a coherent text. One way to relate the paragraphs is to see them in a general-particular relation. The second paragraph can be seen, for in-

stance, as an exemplification of the first. The whole 'text' then becomes an account of what women in general have experienced, containing an exemplification of what women in America have experienced. The tendency to interpret the extract as a coherent text with a general-particular structure is natural, and it shows in the translations in at least two ways: first, as a tendency to change the tense to the simple present especially in the second paragraph; and second, as a tendency to change the plural *women* into the singular, especially in the first paragraph.

The tendency to change the tense from the present perfect or past tense to the simple present tense, when the translation proceeds from the first paragraph to the second, can be seen in translation SL5/78 quoted in Example 33: sentences (94_3), (95_2), and (98_2) are in the simple present tense. The tendency to change the plural *women* into the singular especially in the first paragraph can also be seen in translation SL5/78: the singular form *nainen* appears in sentences (89_1), (89_2), (91), (92), and (93). As a result of these tendencies, the discussion acquires a generic character and concerns *the woman* and her experience. It gives the impression that all women have the same experience and that the discussion deals with any woman and the inherent features of womanhood. This is a different impression from the one conveyed by the article, ie. of women as a group, and as a majority group at that. The change of tense into the simple present tense in the second paragraph strengthens the impression that the second paragraph is an illustration of what womanhood is like in America today.

These interpretations are understandable in the light of the fact that the translators did not know that the article is about *the history* of American women. They did not know that the present perfect is used because the article discusses the past - though not always a distant past - and that it is about women's experience as it has been in the past, and as it has been interpreted in traditional history.

The uncertainty about the status of the second paragraph would have diminished if the extract had covered three more sentences. In its existing format, it covers only part of the situation component of minitext (94-101). If the whole minitext had been present, its problem component (100-101) would have given support for the interpretation of the second paragraph of the extract. The omitted problem (100-101) of the minitext, (94-101), begins: *Yet they were not passive victims; they*

always involved themselves actively in the world in their own way. Its omission has the consequence that the translators were left ignorant of the fact that the text criticizes conventional historical accounts of women's historical past. Although the inclusion of the problem component (100-101) in the extract would have given a hint of this criticism, it would still have left the translators ignorant of the fact that the article as a whole deals with women's history. Without this contextual support, the second paragraph is not easily interpretable as a hisorical account. In isolation of the problem component, it gives the impression that it relates to today's phenomena and exemplifies the first paragraph. In other words, the interpretation of the second paragraph of the 'text' changes with access to more of the text.

5.3. Translation problems as evidence for structure

In the above sections, an attempt has been made to describe the factors which cause impressions of non-equivalence in the corpus of translations. It has been suggested that aspects of structure inherent in the source texts have not been adequately conveyed in the translations. In other words, the impressions of non-equivalence have been attributed to inadequacies in the conveyance of the structural features of the source texts to the translations. It has been suggested, further, that the reason why the structural features of the source texts have not been adequately conveyed is that it was not possible for the translators to fully perceive them in the texts. The translators had access only to those extracts which they were to translate, and they did not have the opportunity to perceive the accumulation of structure and structural signals, which they would have had if they had read the entire text. The perception of structure in a part of a text seems to be dependent on the opportunity to perceive the accumulation of structure in the process of reading the text.

It was shown that the passages which constitute the source texts of the translation examinations are located low in the hierarchical organisation of Texts 1 and 2, and that they do not coincide with any self-contained structural units of the texts. This makes the perception of structure in the extracts even more difficult.

There are translations in the corpus which give the impression that

the pasage from Text 1 was interpreted as merely an account of successive events, as a narrative passage, rather than as a situation-problem sequence in which the problem, ie. the writer's thesis, contains a negative evaluation of the approaches to countryside conservation. Long sentences are divided into shorter sentences with the result that new, typologically and macrothematically incompatible themes emerge. The discussion seems to get dispersed over several topics and the thesis gets confused in a mass of details. Ambiguity about the discource topic and ultimately, about semantic frames, shows in the inaccuracy or anomaly of lexical choices.

Similarly, the problem-solution structure is concealed in some translations of the extract from Text 2. The inability to perceive the PS structure in the passage, combined with a need to assign it some structure which would make it a coherent text, results in the imposition of a general-particular structure on the passage. In the source text, the writer's thesis that women do have an identifiable female historical experience, namely an experience of oppression and subordination, is contrasted with the imaginary reader's view that all people are assigned social roles. In some translations, the thesis is turned into a mere elaboration of the statement that all people are assigned social roles, accompanied by an exemplification of how American women fulfil their roles.

It is suggested here that these interpretations would have changed if the translators had had access to the entire text. The translators would then have been able to perceive the accumulation of the various aspects of structure. It would have been possible for them also to capture and to convey in the translation the structural features, among others, which signal the PS structure, the interactional structure and the macrostructure. On this basis, the impressions of equivalence would also have improved.

The hypothesis that access to the entire text changes the interpretations and hence translations of a passage could be tested experimentally by having two groups translate the same passage, one group with and the other group without access to the rest of the text. The administration of such a test fell beyond the scope of this research. It is felt, however, that the translation problems pointed out in this chapter in themselves provide tentative evidence for the hypothesis that the kind

of global structure suggested in this work remains to some extent concealed to a reader of a mere extract. It provides tentative evidence for the hypothesis that knowledge of the structure is needed in translation.

On the basis of the observations made of the translations in the corpus, it seems justified to recommend that translation examinations should be administered in such a way that the passage to be translated is given in its context. This would make it also possible to define the simulated translation assignment more realistically. It could be assumed in the assignment, for instance, that the extract to be translated in the examination is only a part or a sample of a larger task. The use of extracts of articles, such as those from Texts 1 and 2, as source texts in translation examinations would make more sense, if it were assumed that the ultimate assignment covers the entire texts. The translators could orientate to the task more realistically, if they did not have to pretend that the extract must in itself constitute a self-contained, coherent text.

6. CONCLUSION

In this study two sample texts have been described by means of a method which was developed as the description progressed. The three compartments of the method, ie. the problem-solution description, the interactional and illocutionary description, and the macrostructure description, were at first isolated, but they grew gradually together. The result is that the information gained from the I & I description is used in the PS description and the information gained from the combined I & I and PS descriptions is used in the macrostructure description. The sample texts are claimed to be typical representatives of the argumentative type by virtue of linguistic signals and intuitive text type knowledge, complemented by a preliminary review of control texts. It is claimed, therefore, that the information derived in the course of describing the structure of the sample texts adds to the knowledge of the argumentative type. It is also claimed that the method developed in this study adds to the battery of criteria which can help to define the type of a concrete text.

One of the major motivations of the present study was the need to shed light on aspects of translation and translation quality assessment. The particular concern of the study is the role which knowledge of the overall structure of the text has in translation. The hypothesis is put forward that the structural features of a passage cannot be fully perceived from a mere extract and that structure cannot therefore be adequately conveyed in the translation of the extract if there is no access to the entire text. To test this hypothesis, a corpus of translations produced in such conditions was exposed to an analysis with the tools here developed. The observations made of the translations seem to support this hypothesis. They also suggest that the structural description has psychological validity.

The superstructure of the text is described in terms of the problem-solution pattern. The PS description in chapter 2 reveals that the texts consist of a hierarchical configuration of minitexts whose internal linear organisation can be described as a sequence of the components of situation, problem, solution, and evaluation. An argumentative text or minitext has always a problem component, while the other components are

optional. Attribution of the problem-solution structure to an argumentative text assumes psychological validity from the proposition in Kummer (1972) that argumentation is a problem-solution process. The process of argumentation, as it is manifested in the sample texts, consists of a sequence in which a distortion in people's ways of thinking and its consequences are pointed out (situation and problem) and a sound attitude with its projected outcome is recommended (solution and evaluation).

The two sample texts are compared in terms of their proceeding towards the solution. Text 1 is shown to defer the solution towards the end of the text, whereas Text 2 has aspects of the solution scattered throughout its structure. It is suggested that there may be two opposite tendencies of text structure, a tendency towards a blocklike structure and a tendency towards a wavelike structure. An explanation for these different tendencies is sought in the varying assumptions of shared knowledge of the problem and the nature of the solution. Conventions prevailing in particular genres may also account for the amount of implicitness. The maxims of quantity and relevance may vary from one genre to another.

Chapter 3 gives a closer analysis of the situation problem, problem-solution, and solution-evaluation relations established in chapter 2. These and other interactional relations, as identified in the sample texts, are shown to be manifestations of Grimes's (1975) rhetorical relations. In addition to the interactional roles of situation, problem, solution and evaluation, which are derived from Grimes's response pattern, eight other interactional roles are identified. The roles of justification, explanation and conclusion manifest Grimes's evidence and explanation patterns; elaboration and enlargement manifest the specificity pattern; reformulation manifests the equivalence pattern, and addition manifests the collection pattern. There is only one interactional role, metastatement, which is not accommodated by Grimes's rhetorical patterns. All minitexts are assigned interactional roles, and the entire text is described as a sequence of minitexts referred to as the global units, ie. Initiation, Elaboration and Conclusion. As such a sequence, the text can be regarded as a manifestation of Grimes's specificity pattern. There is evidence that the Elaboration units are more specific than the Initiation and Conclusion units. The PS pattern and the specificity pattern are thus both apparent in the superstructure of the texts. The PS pattern

accounts for the internal organisation of the minitexts, while the specificity pattern accounts for the relations between the global units.

The interactional roles identified in the sample texts are classified according to relative hierarchy along the lines suggested by Grimes (1975). Response relations are paratactic, which implies, for instance, that problem and solution are at the same hierarchical level. Specificity, evidence, explanation and equivalent are hypotactic relations, which implies that elaborations, justifications, explanations and reformulations are subordinate in relation to the preceding act, whereas enlargements and conclusions are superordinate. Additions are coordinate in relation to the preceding act. Subordinate acts are deletable, which implies that they can be deleted from a sequence without making the sequence unintelligible. Deletability is used as a test of whether a particular act is subordinate.

As illocutionary acts, most sentences in the sample texts are representatives; representatives are divided into statements, assertions, reported assertions, and shared-knowledge assertions. In addition to representatives, there are directive acts; directives are divided into proposals, recommendations and questions. There is also one act classified as a warning. Sequences are divided into assertive, stative and directive sequences according to the illocutions of their dominant sentences.

The present study adopts a dialogical approach to the description of the written monologue, as suggested by Gray (1977), for instance. The entire text is viewed as a dialogue with an imaginary reader. The imaginary reader's questions are reconstructed to reveal the kind of interaction which goes on as the argumentation proceeds, eg., from situation to problem, or from problem to solution. The questions also reveal the type of interaction which goes on within particular components of the PS structure. The anticipation strategies of the writer are revealed. It is revealed, in particular, that the writer of an argumentative text anticipates challenging questions from the reader. At the point of transition from situation to problem, the writer anticipates the question 'What is the point of you telling me all this?'; once the writer has asserted his 'point' (ie. the problem), he anticipates the question 'On what grounds are you asserting this?'. This question elicits a justification of the assertion. The writer's purpose is to convince the reader, and he is prepared to provide evidence on points which are not expected to be based

on shared knowledge or shared values. When the reader's agreement is expected to have been won, he is expected to say, eg., 'OK. I agree. What should be done about this problem?'. The imaginary reader's questions are also used as a test of whether a particular act, ie. a sentence or a sequence, has a particular interactional role. The identification of interactional roles also uses the connective test and considerations of deletability, linear position, and thematics.

The transition from one PS component to the next is shown to be signalled by type of conjunction, metatextual signals such as subtitles, and by paragraphing. Minitext boundaries are shown to fall on paragraph boundaries. There are 'extra' paragraph boundaries in addition to those which coincide with minitext boundaries. The extra boundaries are explained by considerations of hierarchy and paragraph length. Minitexts together form the hierarchical organisation of the entire text, and paragraphing is shown to be sensitive to this organisation.

The detailed interactional analysis has three purposes: (1) to show that there are linguistic markers which make it possible to distinguish the PS structure in a text; (2) to explicate the features which mark out the PS structure of the argumentative text, as distinct from other text types, and (3) to lay down the priciples for detemining the hierarchical organisation of the text. The I & I analysis fulfils these tasks, although there is room for criticism on points of detail. For instance decisions on PS structure, hierarchy, and the mutual relations of the global units can be subjected to criticism, as is pointed out in 3.8. The rough outlines of the description, however, form a system whose elements support each other.

The interactional sequences, illocutions and dominant sentence patterns act as markers of the PS components and of text types. The situation component has statement as its dominant illocution and often a general-particular structure. The problem component has assertion as its dominant illocution; it is realised by a sequence which comprises a negative evaluation, a justification or an explanation, and a conclusion. Its dominant sentences are evaluative. The solution component has a directive illocution; it constitutes a proposal or a recommendation. The evaluation component has a dominant sentence which answers the question 'What is it/will it be like?'. In addition, there may be thematic differences between the components; the problem, solution and evaluation

components have a concentration of propositional themes.

There is tentative evidence that the argumentative problem and solution components differ from the problem and solution components found in other text types in respect of illocution, sequence type and dominant sentence type. The control texts of the descriptive and narrative types, which are cursorily reviewed, have a problem-solution structure, and the purpose of the review is to look at the illocutions and the sequences identified within their problem and solution components. The dominant and only illocution in both the problem and the solution components is statement, and the sequences found resemble the sequences in the situation components in the argumentative texts. The observation on illocutions is in sharp contrast with what is observed in the argumentative texts. It is tentatively suggested on the basis of the texts discussed that the dominant and subsidiary illocutions prevailing in texts with a PS structure can be used as typological markers in deciding whether a particular text is argumentative or non-argumentative. This review also shows that the battery of interactional roles needs complementation, if it is to be successfully applied to a detailed analysis of other than argumentative texts.

The macrostructure description of chapter 4 shows that access to the superstructure and hierarchy information makes it possible to derive summaries at varying levels of specificity. These summaries are regarded as the concrete representatives of macrosturucture. The simplified method of macrostructure derivation builds on dominant sentences selected from the various levels of text hierachy and arranged into blocks according to superstructure category. The result is a situation block, a problem block, a solution block, and an evaluation block of macropropositions. The blocks are made up of dominant sentences appearing in particular PS components, and the macropropositions which emerge from each are distinguishable into specific types according to PS component. The blocks are shown to manifest varying degrees of general-particular structure within their internal organisation.

The observations made in chapter 4 seem to bear out the hypothesis that macrostructure is stratified and that it is superstructure-constrained. They also point to the possibility that macrostructure exists independently of the linear organisation of the text. It constitutes the semantic building blocks for the text, and the building blocks can be used

for alternative surface organisations such as the blocklike and wavelike patterns pointed out in this study.

The pilot experiments administered for testing the validity of the method of macrostructure derivation developed in the study produced encouraging overall results.

The observations made in chapter 5 of the corpus of translations produced without access to the entire texts are held as tentative evidence for the hypothesis that structural features cannot be fully perceived from a mere extract and that, therefore, structure could not be adequately conveyed in the translations.

It is shown that the extracts used as source texts for translation were chosen in such a way that they do not constitute self-contained entities, such as whole minitexts, which would be representative of the PS structure of the text and which would reveal the interactional structure prevailing within the PS components. The consequence is that in many translations the argumentative text type features are concealed. The contrast between the situation and problem, and the negative evaluation contained by the problem component, are not adequately conveyed in the translations. The PS structure is sometimes turned into a general-particular structure. Long sentences are divided into shorter sentences, often with the consequence that the overall stylistic impression which emerges is alien to argumentation.

The extracts are also too short to reveal the macrostructure of the texts. The macrotheme and the macrorheme which emerge from the extracted passages for the reader of the entire text may have remained concealed. This has the consequence that the macropropositions conveyed by the translations are often different from those which emerge from the source texts. The themes, for instance, do not make up a macrotheme but are dispersed over a number of 'new' themes, which are typologically and macrothematically different from the source text themes. Ambiguity about the macrotheme and the discourse topic, and ultimately, about the semantic frames suggested by the text, shows in an anomaly of lexical choices, described as incompatibility with the semantic frames activated by the text.

The areas of lexis and terminology are closely related to factual knowledge. Knowledge of the content area increases as the reading of the text proceeds and allows, among other things, the semantic frames to become more sophisticated. Ambiguity about the main discourse topic

diminishes, as the apparent multiplicity of topics which a single paragraph may suggest can be related to the topic structure of the whole text (see Kieras 1981). It has been established (Brislin 1976) that the frequency of mistakes in translation decreases as the translation proceeds. It is perhaps justified to assume that the reading of the entire text has a similar effect on translation mistakes. The accumulation of knowledge of the content area and of the concepts and terminology which go together with it may in part account for the cumulative improvement of translation quality.

The method of structural description developed in the present study is shown to be a useful tool in the explication of the overall stylistic impressions of equivalence in the translations. The impression of equivalence seems to vary with the degree to which the translations succeed in conveying the structural features emphasised in this study. This can be regarded as tentative evidence for the validity of the structural description.

6.1. Implications for the teaching of reading comprehension, summary writing and translation

One of the purposes of the present study is to shed light on aspects of text comprehension and translation. A way of describing the product of comprehension is to describe the text to be comprehended. The contention is that the text producer and the comprehending addressee have a picture of the text structure, however implicit. The description suggested here can be said to explicate this implicit knowledge. A method of explicating the various aspects of text structure simultaneously seems to be compatible with recent approaches to the teaching of reading skills (see Farago 1979). Although the aim is not to describe the process of text production and comprehension, connections to these processes can be speculated on. It is shown that the problem-solution pattern is repeated in terms of the minitexts as the text proceeds. Various aspects of basically the same problem and solution are thereby added to the text. The PS structure of the whole text gets engraved on the minds of the addressees as they proceed from one minitext to another. When the whole text has been read, each PS category is complete in its various aspects

and, possibly, with a general-particular structure; each PS category can be summarised. The reader has a collection of summaries categorisable into types which coincide with particular PS categories. There are summaries which categorise matters, those which assert theses and evaluations, and those which constitute proposals. This is the macrostructure representation from which different configurations of surface texts can be made out. The summaries made of a text need not all follow the same pattern. There are alternatives for linear organisation, for instance.

The method for summary derivation used in this study is not sophisticated enough to be used in compiling summaries for real-life purposes. But for students who find it difficult to write summaries, the idea of picking out the dominant sentences representing the various superstructure categories may be a useful first step. They may find it easier to write a summary on the basis of those sentences than on the basis of the whole text. The method may have pedagogical applications in the teaching of reading comprehension and summarising.

Implications for the teaching of translation can also be seen. It was observed that both extracts used as source texts in the translation examinations were chosen in such a eay that they distort the problem-solution structure of the texts: neither is allowed to cover a whole minitext. Thus, for instance, the criterial features of the argumentative problem component cannot be adequately perceived. It is acknowledged that the choice of an extract for a translation test is not an easy task. It is difficult to find a passage of a suitable length which constitutes a self-contained entity and is representative of the text type. On the basis of the observations made of the two extracts and their corpus of translations, it is suggested that access to the whole text should be given to students, when a text extract is to be translated. If the text as a whole is available, the choice of the extract for translation becomes a matter of lesser importance, because the extract need not be self-contained. Its status in the text, the relations among its paragraphs, the criterial sequences and other text type features will emerge in the course of reading the whole text. The simulated translation assignment can be defined more realistically, as it can be assumed that the ultimate translation covers more than only the extract to be translated in the examination. There is no need to pretend that a one-page extract constitutes, for instance, 'the background material for the use of Finnish delegates to an

international seminar.'

The present study implies an emphasis on the need to look upon the source text as well as its translation as an entity which is composed of mutually dependent parts, instead of looking at them sentence-by-sentence or paragraph-by-paragraph. A global approach to the text allows the gradual growth of an intuitive knowledge of the structure of the text, which in turn enables its conveyance to the translation. It may also be a useful exercise in the teaching of translation to explicate the structure of texts along the lines suggested in the present study, in which texts are looked upon globally, as configurations of minitexts, and in detail, as sequences of sentences. Such analysis in the teaching of translation may help comprehension and it may also sensitize the students to the features which mark out texts as representatives of particular text types.

6.2. Directions for further research

In the present study, judgements about translation equivalence have been made in the light of the knowledge of the argumentative text structure. These judgements have been tentative, because the study has a limited material, and because it relies, in many respects, on the intuitive judgement of the analyst. It has not been possible, at this stage, to teach the method to others to test its reliability. This is a qualitative study, whose main purpose is to develop a method for the description of argumentative and possibly other factual prose texts. The preliminary review of the Finnish control texts, which is not reported specifically in the study, indicates that the markers of the argumentative text type identified in the English sample texts have similar manifestations in the Finnish texts. A task for further reserch is to carry out a more extensive contrastive study of English and Finnish texts with the method outlined here and with a team of analysts. By virtue of such a study it would be possible to compare in more detail, and more reliably, the structural conventions and structural signals across the two languages, eg., along the lines suggested by Kussmaul (1978). Judgements of translation equivalence could then also be made more objective.

In the genres in which convention is relatively fixed and well known, a contrastive preliminary study may not be needed at all, and

translations can be related directly to the well-known parallel text norm, as was done, for example, by Zydatiss (1982), who compared a German instructive text and its English translation. In argumentative texts, however, the convention is not fixed in the same way, and intuitions about the norm vary. Sometimes even professional translators seem to violate the argumentative text norm, as this is intuited by the present writer. It would be interesting to explicate the impressions of naivety, for instance, which sometimes emerge from the translated articles on the editorial page of the *Helsingin Sanomat*. It may be the case that the Finnish convention in argumentation is more succint in some respects than, say, the American convention. It may not tolerate anecdotal and other 'evidence' of matters which seem obvious or well known to the reader.

A detail which has been touched upon in the present study is the division of long sentences in the source text into shorter sentences in the translation. This practice can be justified by an appeal to the statistical evidence that the average sentence length in Finnsih factual prose is only 13.3 words (Hakulinen et al. 1980), which is considerably less than the sentence length in the translations which have not divided the long sentences. However, the division of long sentences tends to result in problems of equivalence, as was pointed out in chapter 5. The practices of good professional translators could be subjected to research to shed light on this area. On the basis of the present corpus of translations, it seems that the division of long sentences does not necessarily result in a lack of equivalence. It is shown in Tirkkonen-Condit (1982: 110), for instance, that thematics can be handled so that compatibility with the macrotheme is maintained.

It was suggested earlier that an experiment should be administered to test the hypothesis according to which access to the entire text improves the quality of translation in the respects focussed on here. In such a test, the translators are divided into two groups, one of which has access to the entire text and the other has not. It will be equally important to show that the translations which best convey the criterial structural featurs focussed on in the present study are the ones which also give the best overall stylistic impressions of equivalence. The judgement of the stylistic impressions will have to be carried out by a team of experienced evaluators.

As has been shown above, the method proposed in the present study needs sophistication and further testing. It is hoped, nevertheless, that the considerations of text structure that have been taken up, even in their tentative form, will open up useful perspectives for those who need tools for explicating text structure and for comparing texts and their translations.

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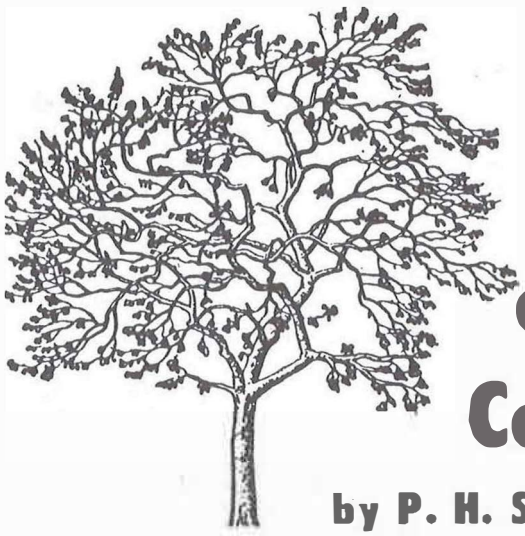

Environmental Conservation or Countryside Cosmetics?

by P. H. Selman

Planners are now accustomed to considering the views of ecologists in developments affecting the countryside, despite the lack of relevant planning legislation. However, official attitudes tend to confuse resource management with the preservation of amenity. This shallow treatment of ecology is reinforced by the incompatibility between the dynamic nature of biosystems and the static representations of planning proposals.

Environmental protection, ecology and natural resource management are all presently regarded as matters in which planners should rightly intervene. At the same time, however, it is generally recognised that the control of biotic resources is only tenuously linked to planning control. Critics of town and country planners would argue that they should not be encouraged to participate in fields excluded from their auspices by the General Development Order[1] for fear that they might meddle amateurishly through lack of training or experience.

A fair justification for seeking to extend a greater degree of control to the countryside can nevertheless be made out. First, planners command a uniquely good position from which to take an overview of the cumulative results of piecemeal developments, and to weigh up the relative merits of competing claims upon rural resources. Second, in the most general sense, planners control "activities" which take place in "habitats": this is of considerable importance for wildlife conservation, especially in regard to the shift of emphasis from species preservation to habitat protection.

Despite the inclusion of "environmental impacts" on the planner's checklist, however, it would be untrue to suggest that these have been accorded any degree of equality with socio-economic issues in the development process. If any likelihood does indeed exist that we are exploiting our renewable resources beyond the point of recovery, there is very little official recognition of the fact, or of its attendant dangers.

The contention here is that planners espoused the cause of the eco-activist far too lightly, without giving sufficient attention to the implications of what they were taking on. The more respectable environmental arguments coincided conveniently with the degree of deferred gratification which a middle-class planning fraternity could afford itself. This measure of enlightened concern was, however, only sufficient to ensure that "ecology" was tacked onto the planner's long list of interests, so that some thought could officially be given to the continued despoliation of the face of the earth. The fact that ecology could radically alter the whole basis and direction of social and eocnomic planning was hardly considered.

In this way, ecology and resource management became the new terms which described the traditional concern for the preservation of a visually pleasant countryside; they became equated with the pervasive but shallow concept of amenity, enabling this to be expressed in a new and impressive technical jargon. As David Smith[2] has commented about the amenity concept, however:

> ". . . no such idea, however subtle, could hold together a set of activities that extend beyond the control of land use and the provision of physical infrastructures to a wider concern for the social and economic welfare of the urban community through non-physical and even non-spatial policies."

Similarly, if "ecology" is equated with rural "amenity", it will remain on the fringe of planning interest, and inferior to social welfare and economic growth, rather than providing an overall context for the development of urban systems.

The Restricted Scope of Resource Planning

There appears to be a wide gulf between even the relatively conservative opinions expressed at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment[3], and official dogmas as they work out in practice.

Although ecology is readily upheld as being a subject worthy of general attention, it has failed to capture the imagination of the politicians and professionals who govern land use policy. Even the more limited objective of containing the loss of agricultural land has failed if we are to believe the preliminary findings of the Second Land Utilisation Survey.[4]

Perhaps the most basic objective of planning is to ensure the wise use of limited resources; similarly, if we look at conservation, we find that it is a philosophy directed at the manner and timing of resource use. Such closely related aims would suggest that planning and conservation should go hand in hand. The fact that they do not can largely be explained by two observations. First, the statutory planning system is inherently too static in its nature (even after the introduction of structure planning) to readily accommodate the essentially dynamic behaviour of biosystems; and second, the science of ecology has been subjugated by the planner to conform to his concept of amenity, accompanied as it inevitably is by a well-established preservation ethic.

The planner has two principal tools with which to direct the manner and timing of resource use — development plans and development control. Although in their updated versions development plans are less static than the 1947 breed, they still effectively treat land resources as fixed and invariant attributes — only economic and social factors are treated in a dynamic manner, and these only to a limited extent. In development control, the principal criterion for granting planning permission in outline is that of the zoning on the development plan (or in local plans, the policy statement, which in practice will probably prove to be little removed from a colour on a map), thereby perpetuating its fundamentally static nature. In the granting of detailed planning permission the most significant *planning* consideration (as opposed to highway and drainage conditions and so forth) which can be brought to bear on rural matters is amenity. Similarly, tree preservation orders — the planner's main means of control over any specific natural resource — must have amenity as their sole criterion. Thus, "amenity" becomes the heading under which the whole panoply of ecological matters, which may have repercussions on our most vital life-support systems, must be subsumed.

In this manner, the essential nature of the planning process is well suited to the "timeless" image of a serene and unchanging countryside, and is abetted in its superficial treatment of resource dynamics by countryside legislation. Consequently, ecology cannot conformably be integrated with traditional planning practice: it must merely be grafted onto the periphery and remain a secondary issue and, to many planners, even a frivolous one.

At the same time, ecological arguments have generally failed to be accorded a politically respectable pedigree, and are widely considered to be at variance with perceived social welfare objectives. The more far-reaching environmental strategies — although not necessarily more radical than ambitious programmes of welfare redistribution — have lacked the same degree of public acceptance. To understand why, it is necessary to take a bried look at the growth of the environmental movement.

The Historical Basis of Amenity Preservation

Countryside conservation has always been associated in Britain with the supposed benefits of environmental health, pleasantness and civic beauty. In the 17th and 18th centuries, when enlightened foresters and landscape architects first rallied to its defence, the countryside was largely looked upon as a recreation ground for the better-off. The later impulse, which sprang in particular from middle-class repulsion of the worst excesses of the Industrial Revolution, formed part of a more widespread reaction to barbarian establishment attitudes towards culture, economics, social responsibility and the environment. However, as Smith[2] has observed, this led to a view which

> ". . . simultaneously feared and scorned the effects of urbanisation yet all too obviously benefited from its economic and social advantages."

Such an ambivalent attitude was hardly likely to lead to a penetrating diagnosis:

> "The spatial separation of good and bad in the urban environment and the obvious differences in the appearance of the inner city and outer suburb made it extremely easy for the increasingly influential middle-classes to see the problems primarily in physical terms."

And consequently,

> "The Victorian city believed that the clue to salvation lay in the proper development of sylvan and genteel suburbs within which town and country benefits were to be evenly mixed."

The inevitable outcome was a cosmetic approach to conservation, emphasising the visual amenity of the countryside and playing down its role as a productive but sensitive resource based on photosynthetic growth. Although there was a superficial concern for nature, it showed as little regard for the underlying ecological implications as did vague philanthropy for deep-rooted social problems.

It could be argued that the present "official" concern for the environment is little more than a direct continuation of this. Consider, for instance, the aims of the 1967 Countryside (Scotland) Act[5] as expressed in its long title:

> "An act to make provision for the better *enjoyment* of the Scottish countryside . . .",

and again in section 66:

> ". . . every Minister, government department and public body shall have regard to the desirability of conserving the natural *beauty* and *amenity* of the countryside."

Why has this amenity, consumer-oriented approach been perpetuated at government level, and not been supplanted by a widely accepted, rigorous political analysis, as has occurred in sociology and economics? The answer is obvious: we also all too obviously benefit from the economic and social advantages of despoiling the environment — at least in the short-term. Any bureaucratic response to environmental lobbying will consequently be in the form of an enlightened and philanthropic reaction to our own barbarian values in economics, and the solution will be a cosmetic one — plant a few trees and forget about the fundamental issues.

Making Ecology a Popular Issue

If, by the introduction of ecology into planning, we mean simply the provision of a new jargon in which to dress up well-worn amenity arguments, it is easy to understand why ecology has been reduced to an esoteric, socially divisive and politically unpopular issue. If ecological information is to be thus misused, it becomes clear why environmental matters have been submerged in the development process: it is not that the ecological case is inherently weak, but rather that planners have not yet put forward that case with sufficient seriousness.

In order to improve our present performance, therefore, we must first overcome the basic difficulty of translating ecological information into the planning process. The governmental approach to environmental conservation must change its emphasis from the preservation of amenity to the retention of maximum biological diversity and the rational evaluation and use of natural resources; planning must adapt to a longer-term and less superficial perspective of biotic resources, and even be prepared to let ecologic principles determine the framework of statutory plans.

However, if the ecologist's arguments are to carry political weight, he must be able to demonstrate, using the policies contained in development plans as his evidence, that our present activities are producing an environment which will ultimately become too squalid and unreproductive to provide a decent standard of living. Likewise, economists will only be convinced if it can be shown that the conservation of genetical variety represents economically rational behaviour. It has, for instance, been stated by Barkley and Seckler [6] that:

> ". . . the basic source of error in income accounts is their failure to reflect the changing values of non-market goods. The benefits of growth are apparent, the costs of growth are insidious."

Conclusion

Ecology appears to have been grafted onto the periphery of planning, to a large extent simply permitting the well-worn concept of amenity to be couched in a more scientific jargon.

The existence of this amenity bias is a major obstacle in the establishment of a truly effective approach to resource conservation, for many well-intentioned politicians and professionals genuinely remain under the impression that our environment is adequately served by present administrative provisions. It is not generally accepted that, despite the reform of planning law and practice, despite the addition of executive and advisory functions to the Nature Conservancy Council, despite the creation of a Department of the Environment, we have as yet only scratched the surface of the deep-rooted environmental problems which face us.

It is thus the joint onus upon planners and ecologists to persuade politicians that the current approach to resource planning is an oblique and superficial one. Admittedly, the need for the replacement of amenity criteria by ecological principles will be difficult for those responsible to accept, for the consequences may at first appear to have adverse effects upon our economic and social prosperity. Nevertheless, the necessary evidence to counter this view does exist, and politicians are now becoming increasingly adept at convincing the public of the need to make short-term sacrifices in order to secure long-term benefits. If planners are to protect the environment in other than a purely cosmetic fashion, it must become an accepted fact that, in the long term, our economic and social welfare will be directly dependent upon the general condition of the natural environment.

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Appendix 1: Text 2

JOENSUUN KORKEAKOULUN KIRJASTO

Current History

MAY, 1976 VOL. 70, NO. 416

In this issue, women's evolving role in America is explored from several perspectives. As our introductory article points out: "Women are not a marginal 'minority,' and women's history is not a collection of 'missing facts and views' to be incorporated into traditional categories. . . . Women's history demands that men and women be made the measure of significance. The new history will be a synthesis of traditional history and women's history."

The Majority Finds Its Past

By Gerda Lerner
Professor of History, Sarah Lawrence College

Women's experience encompasses all that is human; they share--and always have shared—the world equally with men. Equally in the sense that half, at least, of all the world's experience has been theirs, half of the world's work and many of its products.* In one sense, then, to write the history of women means documenting all of history: women have always been making history, living it and shaping it. But the history of women has a special character, a built-in distortion: it comes to us refracted through the lens of men's observations; refracted again through values which consider man the measure. What we know of the past experience of women has been transmitted to us largely through the reflections of men; how we see and interpret what we know about women has been shaped for us through a value system defined by men. And so, to construct a new history that will with true equality reflect the dual nature of mankind--its male and female aspect—we must first pause to reconstruct the missing half--the female experience: women's history.

Until very recently, historical writing ignored the history of women and the female point of view. Beginning five years ago—as a direct outgrowth of the interest in the past of women engendered by the new women's movement—American historians began to develop women's history as an independent field. They began by asking new questions of traditional history, but they soon found themselves searching for a new conceptual framework and a methodology appropriate to their task.

The first level at which historians, trained in traditional history, approach women's history is by writing the history of "women worthies" or "compensatory history." Who are the women missing from history? Who are the women of achievement and what did they achieve? The resulting history of "notable women," while significant and interesting in itself, must not be mistaken for "women's history." It is the history of exceptional, usually middle or upper class women, and does not describe the experience and history of the mass of women. It does not help us to understand the female point of view nor does it tell us about the significance of women's activities to society as a whole. Like men, women of different classes have different historical experiences. The historical experiences of women of different races are also disparate. In order to comprehend society in all its complexity at any given stage of its development, it is essential to take account of this wide range of differences.

Women also have a different experience as to consciousness, depending on whether their work, their expression, and their activity is male-defined or woman-oriented. Women, like men, are indoctrinated in a male-defined value system and conduct their lives accordingly. Thus, colonial and early nineteenth century female reformers directed their activities into channels that were merely an extension of their domestic concerns and traditional roles. They taught school, cared for the poor, the sick, the aged. Only as their consciousness developed did they turn their attention toward the special needs of women.

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(24) Alongside such extensions of traditionally female roles came the questioning of tradition, often followed by tentative steps in new directions: Anne Hutchinson holding weekly meetings for men and women in which she, not the male clergy, commented on the Bible; Frances Wright daring to assert women's freedom of sexual choice; Margaret Sanger discovering in one moment of insight and empathy that societally enforced motherhood was a wrong no longer to be tolerated.

(25) Then came the reaching out toward other women: sewing circles and female clubs; women workers organizing themselves; women's rights conventions; the building of mass movements of women. (26) By such steps women became "woman-oriented." (27) Out of such activities grew a new self-consciousness, based on the recognition of the separate interests of women as a group. (28) Out of communality and collectivity emerged feminist consciousness—a system of ideas that not only challenged patriarchal values and assumptions, but attempted to substitute for them a feminist system of values and ideas.

(29) Yet male and female historians, trained traditionally and tacitly assuming patriarchal values, have generally dealt with such phenomena only in terms of "contribution history": describing women's contribution to, their status in, and their oppression by male-defined society. (30) Under this category they have asked a variety of questions: (31) What have women contributed to abolition, to reform, to the Progressive movement, to the labor movement, to the New Deal? (32) The movement in question stands in the foreground of inquiry. (33) Women made a "contribution" to it, and the contribution is judged first of all with respect to its effect on the movement and second by standards appropriate to men. (34) The female "leaders" of such reform movements are measured by a male-oriented value system and ranked according to their impact on male-dominated and male-oriented institutions. (35) The ways in which women were aided and affected by the work of these "great women," the ways in which they themselves grew into feminist awareness, are ignored. (36) Jane Addams' enormous contribution in creating a supporting female network and new structures for living are subordinated to her role as a Progressive, or to an interpretation that regards her as merely representative of a group of frustrated college-trained women with no place to go—in other words, a deviant from male-defined norms. (37) Margaret Sanger is seen merely as the founder of the birth control movement, not as a woman raising a revolutionary challenge to the centuries-old practice by which the bodies and lives of women are dominated and ruled by man-made laws. (38) In the labor movement, women are described as "also there" or as problems. (39) The essential role of women on behalf of themselves and of other women is seldom considered a central theme in writing their history. (40) Women are the outgroup, Simone de Beauvoir's "other."

(41) Another set of questions asked by historians of women's history concerns oppression and its opposite, the struggle for women's rights. (42) Who oppressed women and how were they oppressed? (43) How did they respond to such oppressions? (44) Such questions have yielded detailed and very valuable accounts of economic and social oppression, and of the various organizational, political ways in which women as a group have fought such oppression. (45) It is clear that it is useful to ask the question of history: why and how were women victimized? (46) We learn how women themselves have reacted to the conditions imposed upon them. (47) While inferior status and oppressive restraints were aspects of women's historical experience, the limitation of this approach is that it makes it appear that women were largely passive or that, at the most, they reacted to male pressures or to the restraints of patriarchal society. (48) Such inquiry fails to elicit the positive and essential way in which women have functioned in history, as Mary Beard was the first to point out. (49) I have in my own work learned that it is far more useful to deal with this question as one aspect of women's history, but never to regard it as its *central* aspect.

(50) Essentially, treating women as victims of oppression again places them in a male-defined conceptual framework: oppressed, victimized by standards and values established by men. (51) The true history of women is the history of their ongoing functioning in that male-defined world *on their own terms*. (52) The question of oppression does not elicit that story, and is, therefore, a tool of limited usefulness to the historian.

(53) Family history has offered many insights valuable to the study of the history of women, by computer analysis of data pertaining to large aggregates of anonymous people based on censuses and other public records. (54) A great deal has been learned about changes in marriage patterns, fertility rates and life stages. (55) Such studies have given rise to many new questions, like attitudes toward sexuality and the actual sexual mores of the past. (56) Gender and sexuality have been added to historical analysis, enriching historical inquiry. (57) Still, the questions asked by social history and family history, although they have much pertinence to women's history, do not encompass it. (58) The most advanced conceptual level by which women's history can now be defined must include an account of the female experience as it changes over time and should include the development of feminist consciousness as an essential aspect of women's historical past. (59) This past includes the quest for rights, equality, and justice which can be subsumed under "women's rights," i.e., the civil rights of women. (60) But the quest for female emancipation from patriarchally

determined subordination encompasses more than the striving for equality and rights. (61)It can be defined best as the quest for autonomy. (62)Autonomy means women defining themselves and the values by which they will live, and beginning to think of institutional arrangements that will order their environment in line with their needs. (63)It means to some the evolution of practical programs, to others the reforming of existing social arrangements, to still others the building of new institutions. (64)Autonomy for women means moving out from a world in which one is born to marginality, bound to a past without meaning, and prepared for a future determined by others. (65)It means moving into a world in which one acts and chooses, aware of a meaningful past and free to shape one's future.

(66)The central question raised by women's history is: 12 what would history be like if it were seen through the eyes of women and ordered by values they define? (67)Is one justified in speaking of a female historical experience different from that of men? (68)To find an answer to this basic question, it is useful to examine the life cycles and the turning points in individual lives of men and women of the past. (69)Are there significant differences in childhood, education, maturity? (70)Are social expectations different for boys and girls? (71)Taking full cognizance of the wide range of variations, are there any universals by which we can define the female past? (72)Material for answering such questions as far as they pertain to women can be found in many primary sources, some virtually untapped, others familiar. (73)Autobiographical letters and diaries, even those frequently used, yield new information if approached with these questions and rearranged from the female point of view.

(74)There are basic differences in the way boys and girls now and in the past experienced the world and, more important, the social roles they were trained to fulfill. (75)From childhood on, the talents and drives of girls were channeled into different directions than those of boys. (76)For boys, the family was the place from which one sprang and to which one returned 14 for comfort and support, but the field of action was the larger world of wilderness, adventure, industry, labor and politics. (77)For girls, the family was to be the world, their field of action was the domestic circle. (78)He was to express himself in his work and through it and social action help to transform his environment; her individual growth and choices were restricted to lead her to express herself through love, wifehood and motherhood—through the support and nurturance of others who would act for her. (79)The ways in which these gender-differentiated patterns would find expression would change in the course of historical development; the differences in the function assigned to the sexes might widen or narrow, but the fact of different sex role indoctrination remained.

(80)Throughout most of America's past, life was experienced at a different rhythm by men and women. (81)For a boy, education was directed toward a vocational or professional goal, his life ideally moved upward and outward in a straight line until it reached a plateau of fulfillment; the girl's education was sporadic and often interrupted: it did not lead to the fulfillment of her life role, but rather competed with it. (82)Her development was dependent on her relationship to others and was often determined by them; it moved in wavelike, circuitous motion. (83)In the boy's case, life crises were connected to vocational goals: separation from the family for purposes of greater 15 educational opportunity; success or failures in achievement and career; economic decisions or setbacks. (84)For the girl, such crises were more closely connected to stages in her biological life: the transition from childhood to adolescence, and then to marriage, which usually meant, in the past, greater restraint rather than the broadening out which it meant for the boy. (85)Love and marriage for her implied a shifting of domesticity from one household to another, and the onset of her serious responsibilities: childbirth, childrearing and the nurture of the family. (86)Finally came the crisis of widowhood and bereavement which could, depending on her economic circumstances, mean increasing freedom and autonomy or a difficult struggle for economic survival.

(87)All people, in every society, are assigned specific roles and indoctrinated to perform to the expectations and values of that society. (88)But for women this has always meant social indoctrination to a value system that imposed upon them greater restrictions of the range of choices than those of men. (89)During much of the historic past, some of these restrictions were based on women's function as childbearers and 16 the necessity of their bearing many children in order to guarantee the survival of some. (90)With a declining infant mortality rate and advances in medical knowledge that made widely accessible birth control methods possible, the gender-based role indoctrination of women was no longer functional, but anachronistic. (91)Women's indoctrination to motherhood as their primary and life-long function became oppressive, a patriarchal cultural myth. (92)Additionally, even after educational restrictions were removed, women have been trained to fit into institutions shaped, determined and ruled by men. (93)As a result, their definitions of selfhood and self-fulfillment have remained subordinated to those of others.

(94)American women have always shared in the economic life of the nation: in agriculture as equal partners performing separate, but essential work; in industry usually as low-paid unskilled workers; and in 17 the professions overcoming barriers formed by educational discrimination and traditional male dominance. (95)Although the majority of women have al-

ways worked for the same reasons as men—self-support and the support of dependents—their work has been characterized by marginality, temporariness and low status.[96] Typically, they have moved into the male-defined work world as outsiders, often treated as intruders.[97] Thus, after each of the major wars in which the nation engaged, women who during wartime did all essential work and services, were at war's end shunted back to their traditional jobs.[98] As workers, women have been handicapped by direct discrimination in hiring, training and advancement, and, more profoundly, by their sex-role indoctrination that made them consider any work they did as subsidiary to their main job: wife and motherhood.

[99] Thus, women often participated in their own subordination by internalizing the ideology and values that oppressed them and by passing these on to their children.[100] Yet they were not *passive* victims; they always involved themselves actively in the world in their own way.[101] Starting on a stage defined by their life cycle, they often rebelled against and defied societal indoctrination, developed their own definitions of community and built their own female culture.

[102] In addition to their participation in the economic life of society, women have shaped history through community building and participation in politics.[103] American women built community life as members of families, as carriers of cultural and religious values, as founders and supporters of organizations and institutions.[104] So far, historians have taken notice mostly of the first of these functions and of the organizational work of women only insofar as they "contributed" to social reforms.[105] Women's political work has been recognized only as it pertains to women's rights and woman suffrage.

[106] Historical interpretation of the community-building work of women is urgently needed.[107] The voluminous national and local records that document the network of community institutions founded and maintained by women are available.[108] They should be studied against the traditional record of institution-building, which focuses on the activities of men.[109] The research and the monographic work that form the essential groundwork for such interpretations have yet to be done.

[110] The history of women's struggle for the ballot has received a good deal of attention by historians, but this narrow focus has led to the impression that the only political activity in which women engaged in the past was working for woman suffrage.[111] While the importance of that issue is undeniable, it is impossible to understand the involvement of American women in every aspect of the nation's life if their political activity is so narrowly defined.[112] Women were involved in most of the political struggles of the nineteenth century, but the form of their participation and their activities were different from those of men.[113] It is one of the urgent and as yet unfulfilled tasks of women's history to study the ways in which women influenced and participated in political events, directly or through the mass organizations they built.

[114] The involvement of American women in the important events of American history—the political and electoral crises, the wars, expansion, diplomacy—is overshadowed by the fact of the exclusion of women from political power throughout 300 years of the nation's life.[115] Thus women, half of the nation, are cast in the marginal role of a powerless minority—acted upon, but not acting.[116] That this impression of the female past is a distortion is by now obvious.[117] It is premature to attempt a critical evaluation or synthesis of the role women played in the building of American society.[118] It is not premature to suggest that the fact of the exclusion of women from all those institutions that make essential decisions for the nation is itself an important aspect of the nation's past.[119] In short, what needs to be explained is not why women were so little evident in American history as currently recorded, but why and how patriarchal values affected that history.

[120] The steps by which women moved toward self-respect, self-definition, a recognition of their true position and from there toward a sense of sisterhood, are tentative and varied and have occurred throughout our history.[121] Exceptional women often defied traditional roles, at times explicitly, at other times simply by expressing their individuality to its fullest.[122] The creation of new role models for women included the development of the professional woman, the political leader, the executive, as well as the anonymous working woman, the club woman, the trade unionist.[123] These types were created in the process of changing social activities, but they also were the elements that helped to create a new feminist consciousness.[124] The emergence of feminist consciousness as a historical phenomenon is an essential part of the history of women.

[125] The process of creating a theory of female emancipation is still under way.[126] The challenges of modern American women are grounded in past experience, in the buried and neglected female past.[127] Women have always made history as much as men have, not "con-

(Continued on page 231)

Gerda Lerner has written and lectured extensively on women in history. Among her most recent books are: *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Rebels Against Slavery* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1967); *The Woman in American History* (*Reading*, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, Co., 1971); *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* (New York: Pantheon, 1972); and a forthcoming book, *The Female Experience: An American Documentary* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1976).

Rights Amendment. In most states, a married woman's domicile, or permanent home, is determined by the domicile of her husband. A domicile is the determinant of certain rights and privileges, like the right to hold public office, to receive welfare or to obtain in-state tuition benefits at a state-supported university. The Equal Rights Amendment would have the effect of permitting wives as well as husbands to choose their own domiciles. Although most states require both parents to support minor children, the duty to support a spouse generally is required of the husband only. This gender-based discrimination would violate the Equal Rights Amendment, as would intestacy laws that give greater benefits to widows than widowers. Alimony laws that do not apply equally to both sexes would also be struck down.

There have been many reforms in the laws regarding the status of women in America. These reforms, however, have been piecemeal, and there are still areas in the law in which persons are treated differently on the basis of sex. The proponents of the Equal Rights Amendment believe that, if enacted, it will provide the necessary mechanism for the equal rights of women in the law. ■

THE MAJORITY FINDS ITS PAST

(Continued from page 196)

tributed" to it, only they did not know what they had made and had no tools to interpret their own experience.[128] What is new at this time, is that women are fully claiming their past and shaping the tools by means of which they can interpret it.

[129] Women are not a marginal "minority," and women's history is not a collection of "missing facts and views" to be incorporated into traditional categories. [130] Women are at least half and often a majority of all Americans and are distributed through all classes and
25 categories of American society.[131] Their history inevitably reflects variations in economic class, race, religion and ethnicity.[132] But the overriding fact is that women's history is the history of the *majority* of mankind.[133] Their subjection to partiarchal institutions antedates all other oppression and has outlasted all economic and social changes in recorded history.

[134] Thus, by definition, women's history is not an "exotic speciality," a contemporary fad, an obscure subdivision dealing with yet another "minority." [135] Quite the contrary.[136] Women's history poses a challenge to all historical scholarship—it demands a fun-
26 damental reexamination of the assumptions and methodology of traditional history.[137] It challenges the assumption that underlies all historical scholarship, that man is the measure of all that is significant and that the activities pursued by men are by definition significant, while those pursued by women are subordinate.[138] Women's history demands that men and women be made the measure of significance.[139] The new history will be a synthesis of traditional history and women's history.

[140] It will be a history of the dialectic, the tensions between the two cultures, male and female.[141] Such a synthesis will be based on close compartive study of given periods in which the historical experience of men is compared to that of women, their interactions being as much the subject of study as are their differences.[142] Only after a series of such detailed studies can we hope to find the parameters by which to de- 27
fine the new universal history.[143] This much can be said already: the new history must be based on the understanding that women are half of mankind and have always been *essential* to the making of history. [144] Only a history based firmly on this recognition and equally concerned with men and women and with the establishment and the passing of patriarchy can claim to be truly a universal history. ■

THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

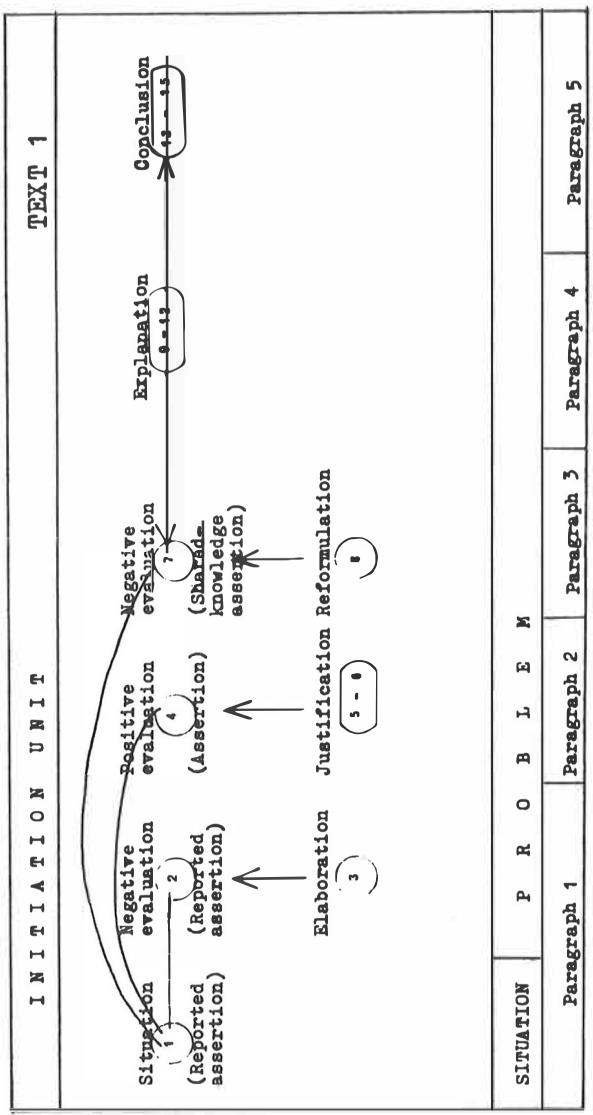
(Continued from page 205)

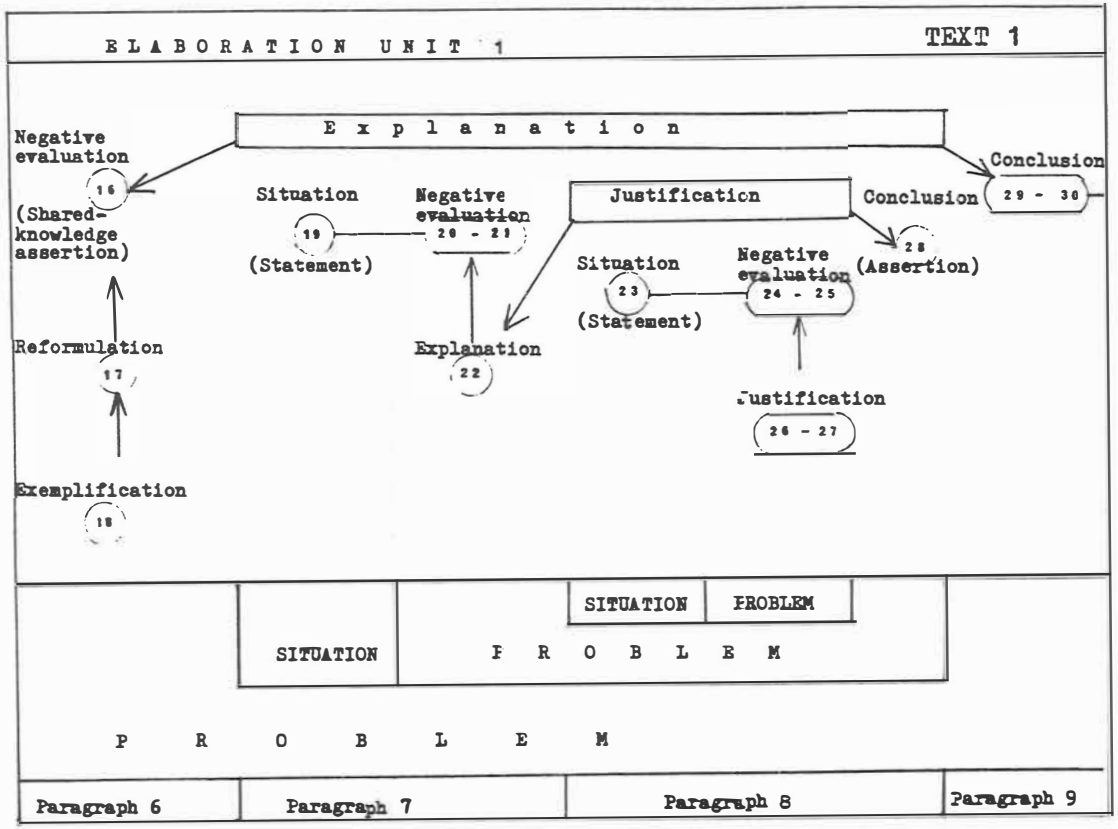
election. In 1912, Oregon gave women the vote. When the Illinois state legislature made provision for women to vote but only for the President in 1913, women living east of the Mississippi were granted the vote (even though it was limited) for the first time. Woman suffrage was revitalized in the West because of the movement's "association in that region with the Progressive movement, which was bringing a new vitality to political reform forces during the years 1910–14."[12]

The turn of the century saw a rejuvenation of the eastern suffrage movement; new woman suffrage groups appeared. However there was no interest in a federal amendment on woman suffrage. The Susan B. Anthony amendment for woman suffrage had been introduced in the Senate in 1878, where it began its 41-year battle for congressional passage. The future nineteenth amendment stated simply that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." Since 1896, there had not even been a committee report in Congress on the Anthony amendment. Dormant sentiment for the Susan B. Anthony amendment was tapped by two new arrivals on the scene, Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, who established the Congressional Union, which became the Woman's party in 1916. Because of differences over policy, the CU soon gave up its links with NAWSA to pursue an independent path. Believing that the party in power was responsible for obstructing the suffrage amendment, the Congressional Union campaigned against Demo-

[12] Grimes, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

Appendix 2: Schematic Description of Texts 1 and 2




ELABORATION UNIT 1
TEXT 1
Explanation
Negative evaluation
16
(Shared-knowledge assertion)
Reformulation
17
Exemplification
18
Situation
19
(Statement)
Negative evaluation
20 - 21
Explanation
22
Justification
Situation
23
(Statement)
Negative evaluation
24 - 25
Justification
26 - 27
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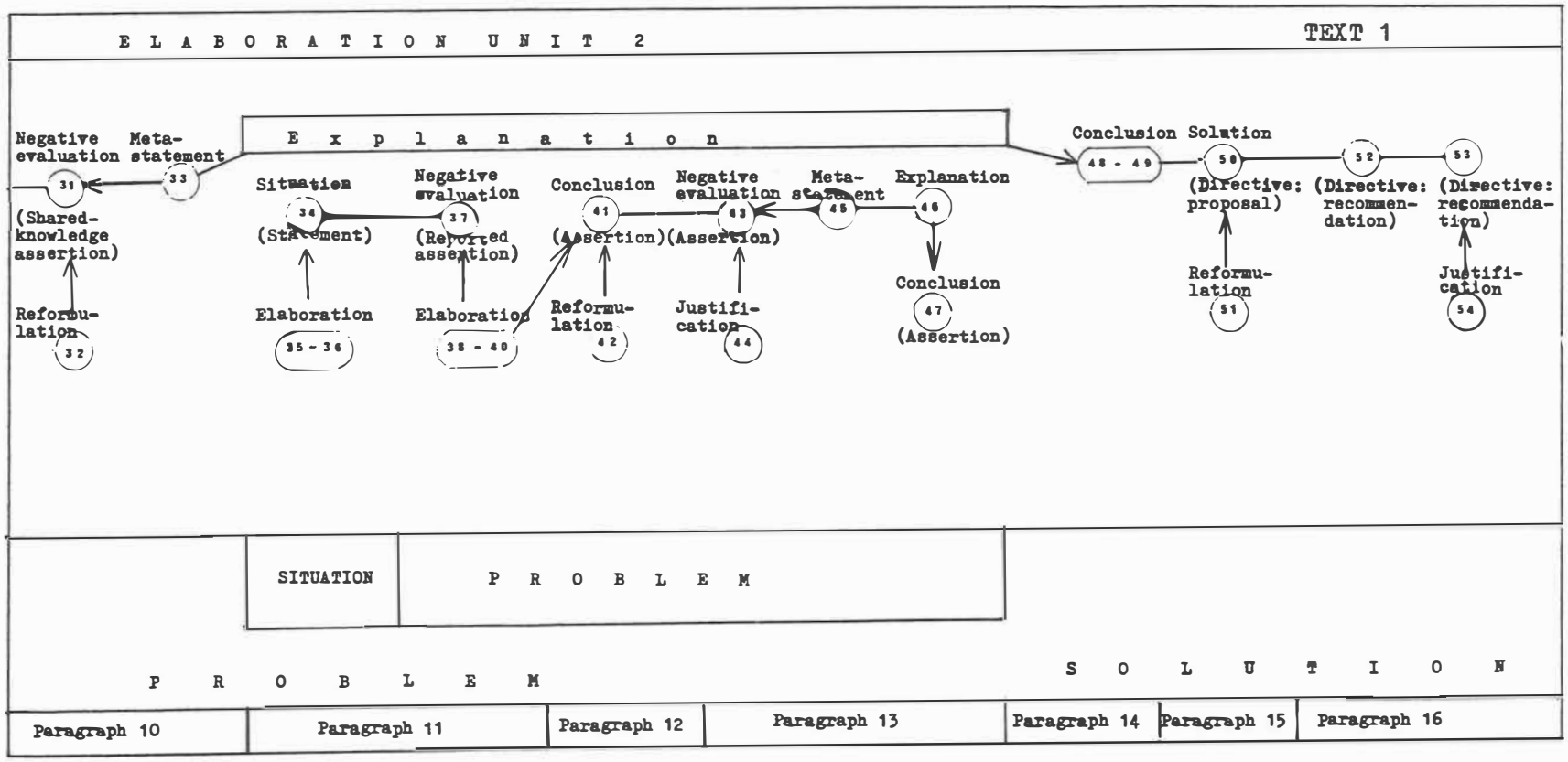
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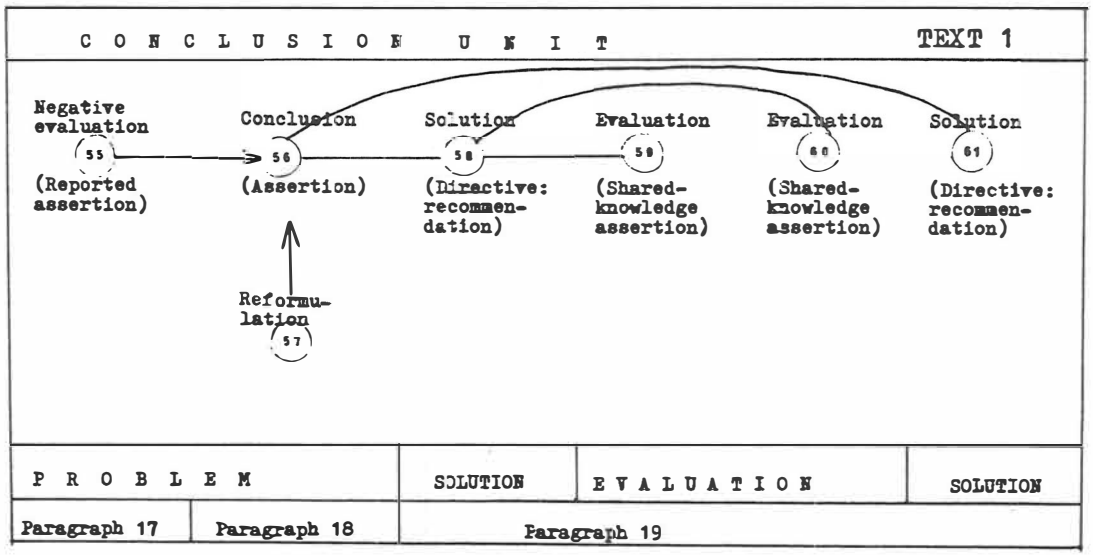
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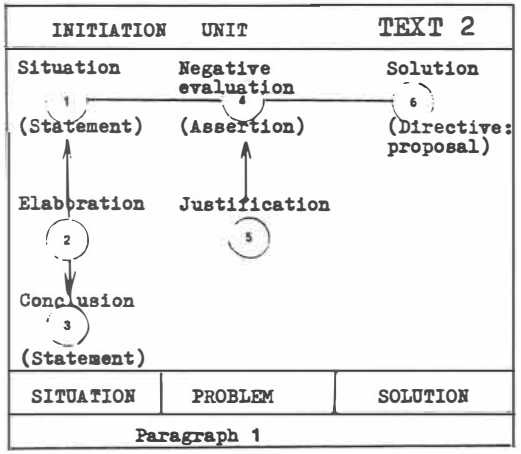
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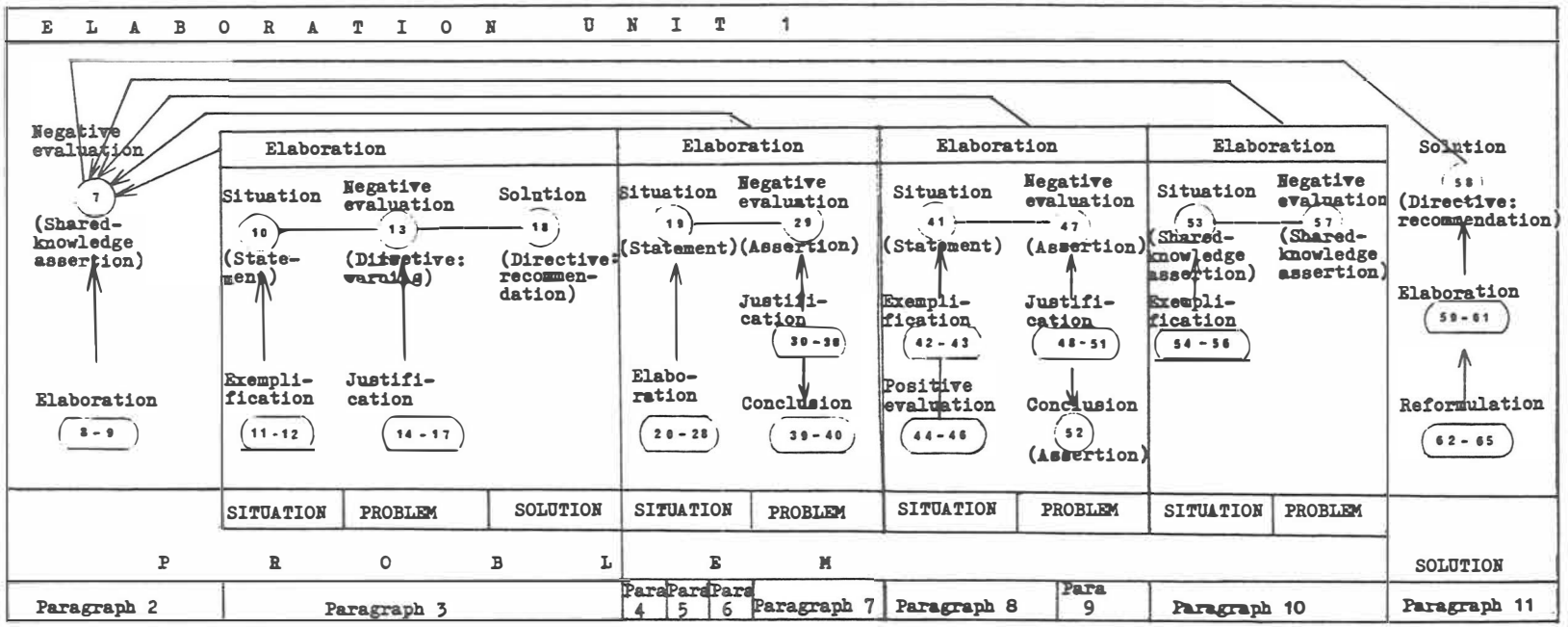
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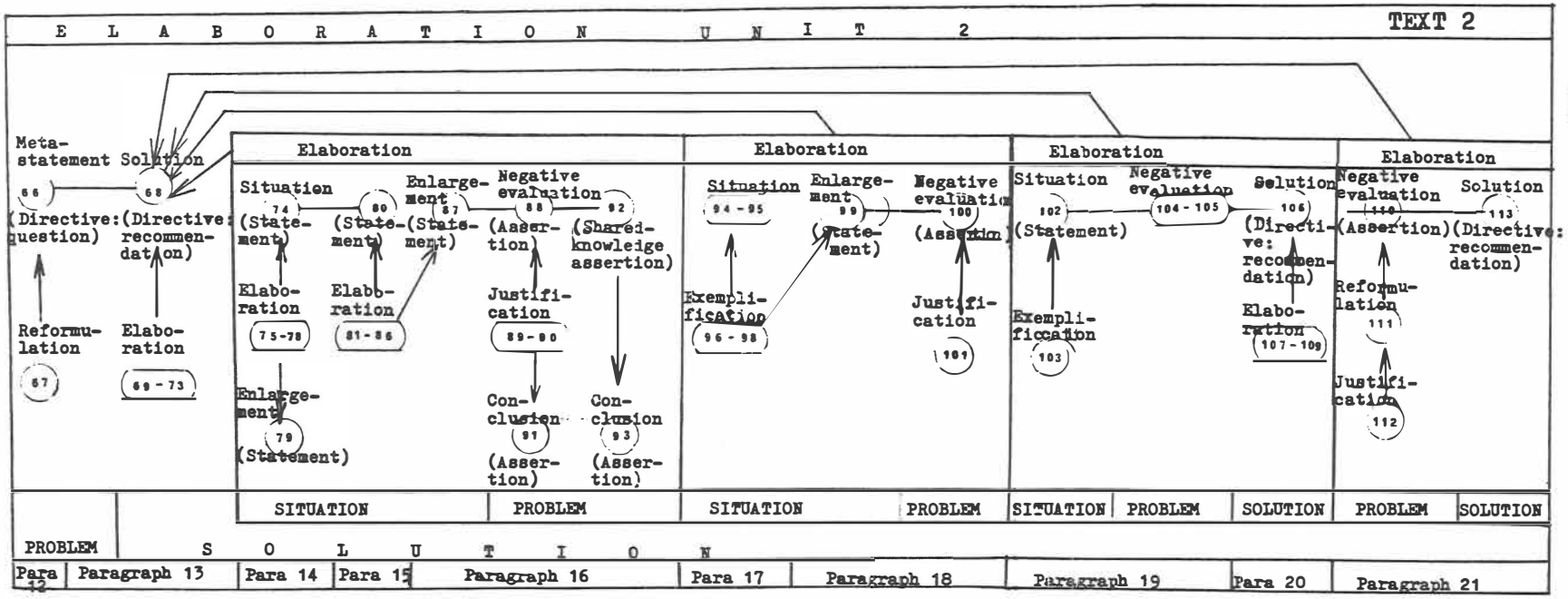
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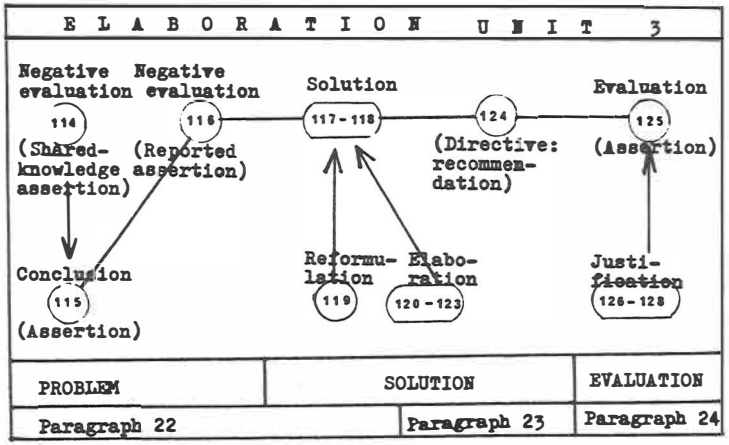
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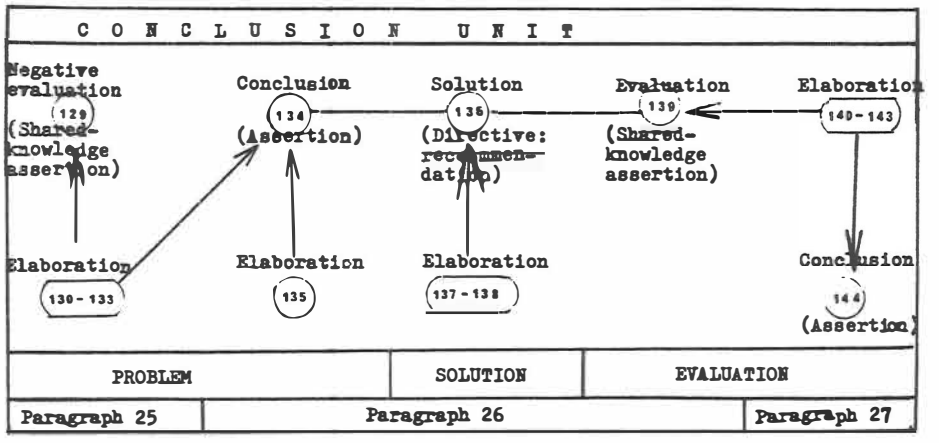
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Text 1

DOMINANT SENTENCES FROM THREE LEVELS OF MACROSTRUCTURE - SITUATION BLOCK

III	II	I	
(1)			Environmental protection, ecology and natural resource management are all presently regarded as matters in which planners should rightly intervene.
		(19)	Perhaps the most basic objective of planning is to ensure the wise use of limited resources; similarly, if we look at conservation, we find that it is a philosophy directed at the manner and timing of resource use.
		(34)	Countryside conservation has always been associated in Britain with the supposed benefits of environmental health, pleasantness and civic beauty.

Text 1

DOMINANT SENTENCES FROM THREE LEVELS OF MACROSTRUCTURE - PROBLEM BLOCK

III	II	I
(2) At the same time, however, it is generally recognised that the control of biotic resources is only tenuously linked to planning control.		
(4) A fair justification for seeking to extend a greater degree of control to the countryside can nevertheless be made out.		
(7) Despite the inclusion of "environmental impacts" on the planner's checklist, however, it would be untrue to suggest that these have been accorded any degree of equality with socio-economic issues in the development process.		
(13) In this way, ecology and resource management became the new terms which described the traditional concern for the preservation of a visually pleasant countryside; they became equated with the pervasive but shallow concept of amenity, enabling this to be expressed in a new and impressive technical jargon.		
(14) As David Smith has commented about the amenity concept, however: "... no such idea, however subtle, could hold together a set of activities that extend beyond the control of land use and the provision of physical infrastructure to a wider concern for the social and economic welfare of the urban community through non-physical and even non-spatial policies."		
(15) Similarly, if "ecology" is equated with rural "amenity", it will remain on the fringe of planning interest, and inferior to social welfare and economic growth, rather than providing an overall context for the development of urban systems.		
	(16) There appears to be a wide gulf between even the relatively conservative opinions expressed at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, and official dogmas as they work out in practice.	
	20 Such closely related aims would suggest that planning and conservation should go hand in hand.	
	21 The fact that they do not can largely be explained by two observations.	
	28 Thus, "amenity" becomes the heading under which the whole panoply of ecological matters, which may have repercussions on our most vital life-support systems, must be subsumed.	
	(29) In this manner, the essential nature of the planning process is well suited to the "timeless" image of a serene and unchanging countryside, and is abetted in its superficial treatment of resource dynamics by countryside legislation.	
		(30) Consequently, ecology cannot comfortably be integrated with traditional planning practice: it must merely be grafted onto the periphery and remain a secondary issue and, to many planners, even a frivolous one.
		(31) At the same time, ecological arguments have generally failed to be accorded a politically respectable pedigree, and are widely considered to be at variance with perceived social welfare objectives.
		37 However, as Smith has observed, this led to a view which "... simultaneously feared and scorned the effects of urbanisation yet all too obviously benefited from its economic and social advantages."
		41 The inevitable outcome was a cosmetic approach to conservation, emphasising the visual amenity of the countryside and playing down its role as a productive but sensitive resource based on photosynthetic growth.
		43 It could be argued that the present "official" concern for the environment is little more than a direct continuation of this.
		47 Any bureaucratic response to environmental lobbying will consequently be in the form of an enlightened and philanthropic reaction to our own barbarian values in economics, and the solution will be a cosmetic one - plant a few trees and forget about the fundamental issues.
		(48) If, by the introduction of ecology into planning, we mean simply the provision of a new jargon in which to dress up well-worn amenity arguments, it is easy to understand why ecology has been reduced to an esoteric, socially divisive and politically unpopular issue.
		(49) If ecological information is to be thus misused, it becomes clear why environmental matters have been submerged in the development process: it is not that the ecological case is inherently weak, but rather that planners have not yet put forward that case with sufficient seriousness.
(56) The existence of this amenity bias is a major obstacle in the establishment of a truly effective approach to resource conservation, for many well-intentioned politicians and professionals genuinely remain under the impression that our environment is adequately served by present administrative provisions.		

Text 1

III	II	I	DOMINANT SENTENCES FROM THREE LEVELS OF MACROSTRUCTURE - SOLUTION BLOCK
		(60)	In order to improve our present performance, therefore, we must first overcome the basic difficulty of translating ecological information into the planning process.
		(62)	However, if the ecologist's arguments are to carry political weight, he must be able to demonstrate, using the policies contained in development plans as his evidence, that our present activities are producing an environment which will ultimately become too squalid and unreproductive to provide a decent standard of living.
		(63)	Likewise, economists will only be convinced if it can be shown that the conservation of genetical variety represents economically rational behaviour.
(68)			It is thus the joint onus upon planners and ecologists to persuade politicians that the current approach to resource planning is an oblique and superficial one.
(61)			If planners are to protect the environment in other than a purely cosmetic fashion, it must become an accepted fact that, in the long term, our economic and social welfare will be directly dependent upon the general condition of the natural environment.

III	II	I	DOMINANT SENTENCES FROM THREE LEVELS OF MACROSTRUCTURE - EVALUATION BLOCK
		(59)	Admittedly, the need for the replacement of amenity criteria by ecological principles will be difficult for those responsible to accept, for the consequences may at first appear to have adverse effects upon our economic and social prosperity.
		(60)	Nevertheless, the necessary evidence to counter this view does exist, and politicians are now becoming increasingly adept at convincing the public of the need to make short-term sacrifices in order to secure long-term benefits.

Text 2

DOMINANT SENTENCES FROM THREE LEVELS OF MACROSTRUCTURE - SITUATION BLOCK

III	II	I
(1) Women's experience encompasses all that is human; they share - and always have shared - the world equally with men.		
(3) In one sense, then, to write the history of women means documenting all of history: women have always been making history, living it and shaping it.		
		(10) The first level at which historians, trained in traditional history, approach women's history is by writing the history of "women worthies" or "compensatory history."
		(19) Women also have a different experience as to consciousness, depending on whether their work, their expression, and their activity is male-defined or woman-oriented.
		(41) Another set of questions asked by historians of women's history concerns oppression and its opposite, the struggle for women's rights.
		(53) Family history has offered many insights valuable to the study of the history of women, by computer analysis of data pertaining to large aggregates of anonymous people based on censuses and other public records.
		(74) There are basic differences in the way boys and girls now and in the past experienced the world and, more important, the social roles they were trained to fulfill.
		(79) The ways in which these gender-differentiated patterns would find expression would change in the course of historical development, the differences in the function assigned to the sexes might widen or narrow, but the fact of different sex role indoctrination remained.
		(80) Throughout most of America's past, life was experienced at a different rhythm by men and women.
		(87) All people, in every society, are assigned specific roles and indoctrinated to perform to the expectations and values of that society.
		(94) American women have always shared in the economic life of the nation: in agriculture as equal partners performing separate, but essential work; in industry usually as low-paid unskilled workers; and in the professions overcoming barriers formed by educational discrimination and traditional male dominance.
		(95) Although the majority of women have always worked for the same reasons as men - self-support and the support of dependents - their work has been characterized by marginality, temporariness and low status.
		(99) Thus, women often participated in their own subordination by internalizing the ideology and values that oppressed them and by passing these on to their children.
		(02) In addition to their participation in the economic life of society, women have shaped history through community building and participation in politics.

Text 2

DOMINANT SENTENCES FROM THREE LEVELS OF MACROSTRUCTURE - PROBLEM BLOCK

III	II	I
(4) But the history of women has a special character, a built-in distortion: it comes to us refracted through the lens of men's observations; refracted again through values which consider man the measure.		
	(7) Until very recently, historical writing ignored the history of women and the female point of view.	
		(13) The resulting history of 'notable women,' while significant and interesting in itself, must not be mistaken for 'women's history.'
		(29) Yet male and female historians, trained traditionally and tacitly assuming patriarchal values, have generally dealt with such phenomena (women reaching towards other women) only in terms of 'contribution history': describing women's contribution to, their status in, and their oppression by male-defined society.
		(39) The essential role of women on behalf of themselves and of other women is seldom considered a central theme in writing their history.
		(47) While inferior status and oppressive restraints were aspects of women's historical experience, the limitation of this approach is that it makes it appear that women were largely passive or that, at the most, they reacted to male pressures or to the restraints of patriarchal society.
		(52) The question of oprression does not elicit that story (of women functioning in the male-defined world on their own terms), and is, therefore, a tool of limited usefulness to the historian.
		(57) Still, the questions asked by social history and family history, although they have much pertinence to women's history, do not encompass it.
	(66) The central question raised by women's history is: what would history be like if it were seen through the eyes of women and ordered by values they define?	
		(88) But for women this (the assignation of roles) has always meant social indoctrination to a value system that imposed upon them greater restrictions of the range of choices than those of men.
		(91) Women's indoctrination to motherhood became oppressive, a patriarchal cultural myth.
		(92) Additionally, even after educational restrictions were removed, women have been trained to fit into institutions shaped, determined and ruled by men.
		(93) As a result, their definitions of selfhood and self-fulfillment have remained subordinated to those of others.
		(100) Yet they were not passive victims; they always involved themselves actively in the world in their own way.
		(104) So far, historians have taken notice mostly of the first of these functions and of the oranizational work of women only insofar as they 'contributed' to social reform.
		(105) Women's political work has been recognized only as it pertains to women's rights and woman suffrage.
		(110) The history of women's struggle for the ballot has received a good deal of attention by historians, but this narrow focus has led to the impression that the only political activity in which women engaged in the past was working for woman suffrage.
	(115) Thus women, half of the nation, are cast in the marginal role of a powerless minority - acted upon, but not acting.	
	(116) That this impression of the female past (of women being cast in the marginal role of a minority) is a distortion is by now obvious.	
(129) Women are not a marginal 'minority,' and women's history is not a collection of 'missing facts and views' to be incorporated into traditional categories.		
(134) Thus, by definition, women's history is not an 'exotic speciality,' a contemporary fad, an obscure subdivision dealing with yet another 'minority.'		

Text 2

III	II	I	DOMINANT SENTENCES FROM THREE LEVELS OF MACROSTRUCTURE - SOLUTION BLOCK
(6)			And so, to construct a new history that will with true equality reflect the dual nature of mankind - its male and female aspect - we must first pause to reconstruct the missing half - the female experience: women's history.
		(18)	In order to comprehend society in all its complexity at any given stage of its development, it is essential to take account of this wide range of differences.
	(58)		The most advanced conceptual level by which women's history can now be defined must include an account of the female experience as it changes over time and should include the development of feminist consciousness as an essential aspect of women's historical past.
	(68)		To find an answer to this basic question, it is useful to examine the life cycles and the turning points in individual lives of men and women of the past.
		(106)	Historical interpretation of the community-building work of women is urgently needed.
		(113)	It is one of the urgent and as yet unfulfilled tasks of women's history to study the ways in which women influenced and participated in political events, directly or through the mass organizations they built.
	(117)		It is premature to attempt a critical evaluation or synthesis of the role women played in the building of American society.
	(118)		It is not premature to suggest that the fact of the exclusion of women from all those institutions that make essential decisions for the nation is itself an important aspect of the nation's past.
	(124)		The emergence of feminist consciousness as a historical phenomenon is an essential part of the history of women.
(136)			Women's history poses a challenge to all historical scholarship - it demands a fundamental re-examination of the assumptions and methodology of traditional history.

III	II	I	DOMINANT SENTENCES FROM THREE LEVELS OF MACROSTRUCTURE - EVALUATION BLOCK
		(125)	The process of creating a theory of female emancipation is still under way.
(139)			The new history will be a synthesis of traditional history and women's history.
(144)			Only a history based firmly on this recognition and equally concerned with men and women and with the establishment and the passing of patriarchy can claim to be truly a universal history.

Appendix 4. Simple themes and propositional themes in the dominant sentences of Text 1 and Text 2

Simple themes	Propositional themes		
(1) environmental protection, ecology and natural resource management (19) the most basic objective of planning (34) countryside conservation		Text 1	SITUATION
(1) women's experience (19) women (53) family history (80) life (87) all people (94) American women (95) their work (99) women (102) women	(3) to write the history of women (10) the first level at which historians ... approach women's history (41) another set of questions asked by historians of women's history (74)(There are) basic ways in the way boys and girls now and in the past experienced the world and, ..., the social roles they were trained to fulfill (79) the ways in which these gender-differentiated patterns would find expression	Text 2	
(13) ecology and resource management (14) no such idea (15) it (ecology) (28) 'amenity' (29) the essential nature of the planning process (30) ecology (31) ecological arguments (41) the inevitable outcome	(2) it (that the control of biotic resources is only tenuously linked to planning control) (control to the countryside) (4) a fair justification for seeking to extend a greater degree of (7) it (to suggest that these have been accorded any degree of equality with socio-economic issues in the development process (16)(there appears to be) a wide gulf between even the relatively conservative opinions expressed at the United Nations Conference ... and official dogmas as they work out in practice (20) such closely related aims (21) the fact that they do not (37) this (that people reacted to the excesses of the Industrial Revolution) (43) it (that the present 'official' concern for the environment is little more than a direct consideration of this) (47) any bureaucratic response to environmental lobbying (48) it (to understand why ecology has been reduced to an esoteric .. issue) (49) it (why environmental matters have been submerged in the development process) (56) the existence of this amenity bias	Text 1	PROBLEM
(4) the history of women (7) historical writing (29) male and female historians (92) women (100) they (women) (104) historians (105) women's political work (115) women (129) women (134) women's history	(13) the resulting history of 'notable women' (39) the essential role of women on behalf of themselves and of other women (47) the limitation of this approach (52) the question of oppression (57) the questions asked by social history and family history (66) the central question raised by women's history (88) this (the assignation of roles) (91) women's indoctrination to motherhood (93) their definitions of selfhood and self-fulfillment (110) the history of women's struggle for the ballot (116) that this impression of the female past is a distortion	Text 2	
(50) we (52) he (53) economists	(58) it (to persuade politicians that the current approach to resource planning is an oblique and superficial one) (61) it (that in the long term, our economic and social welfare will be directly dependent upon the general condition of the natural environment)	Text 1	SOLUTION
(6) we (136) women's history	(18) it (to take account of this wide range of differences) (58) the most advanced conceptual level by which women's history can now be defined (68) it (to examine the life cycles and the turning points in individual lives of men and women of the past) (106) historical interpretation of the community-building work of women (113) it (to study the ways in which women influenced and participated in political events ...) (117) it (to attempt a critical evaluation or synthesis of the role women played in the building of American society) (118) it (to suggest that the fact of the exclusion of women from all those institutions ... is itself an important aspect of the nation's past) (124) the emergence of feminist consciousness as a historical phenomenon	Text 2	
	(59) the need for the replacement of amenity criteria by ecological principles (60) the necessary evidence to counter this view	Text 1	EVALUATION
(139) the new history	(125) the process of creating a theory of female emancipation (144) a history based firmly on this recognition and equally concerned with men and women and with the establishment and the passing of patriarchy	Text 2	

Kieli-instituutit
Loppukoe 1977/kevät
Yleiskieli: englanti (Y 1)
Lähde: The Ecologist, November 1976. Ote P.H. Selmanin artikkelista Environmental Conservation or Countryside Cosmetics?
Viestintätehtävä: Käännös tulee ympäristönsuojeluseminaarin osanottajille tarkoitettuun oheismateriaalimonisteeseen

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Countryside conservation has always been associated in Britain with the supposed benefits of environmental health, pleasantness and civic beauty. In the 17th and 18th centuries, when enlightened foresters and landscape architects first rallied to its defence, the countryside was largely looked upon as a recreation ground for the better-off. The later impulse, which sprang in particular from the middle-class repulsion of the worst excesses of the Industrial Revolution, formed part of a more widespread reaction to barbarian establishment attitudes towards culture, economics, social responsibility and the environment. However, as D.L. Smith has observed, this led to a view which "... simultaneously feared and scorned the effects of urbanization yet all too obviously benefited from its economic and social advantages." Such an ambivalent attitude was hardly likely to lead to a penetrating diagnosis: "The spatial separation of good and bad in the urban environment and the obvious differences in the appearance of the inner city and the outer suburb made it extremely easy for the increasingly influential middle-classes to see the problems primarily in physical terms." And consequently: "The Victorian city believed that the clue to salvation lay in the proper development of sylvan and genteel suburbs within which town and country benefits were to be evenly mixed."

The inevitable outcome was a cosmetic approach to conservation, emphasizing the visual amenity of the countryside and playing down its role as a productive but sensitive resource based on photosynthetic growth. Although there was a superficial concern for nature, it showed as little regard for the underlying ecological implications as did vague philantropy for deep-rooted social problems.

It could be argued that the present "official" concern for the environment is little more than a direct continuation of this. Consider, for instance, the aims of the 1967 Countryside (Scotland) Act as expressed in its long title: "An act to make provision for the better enjoyment of the Scottish countryside..."

Kieli-instituutit
Loppukoe 1978, kevät
Y1, yleiskäännös englanti-suomi
Lähde: Gerda Lerner: The Majority Finds Its Past, Current History, May 1976
Viestintätehtävä: Käännetään naisten ja lasten asemaa pohtivan kansainvälisen kongressin suomalaisille jäsenille.

All people, in every society, are assigned specific roles and indoctrinated to perform to the expectations and values of that society. But for women this has always meant social indoctrination to a value system that imposed upon them greater restrictions of the range of choices than those of men. During much of the historic past, some of these restrictions were based on women's function as childbearers and the necessity of their bearing many children in order to guarantee the survival of some. With a declining infant mortality rate and advances in medical knowledge that made widely accessible birth control methods possible, the gender-based role indoctrination of women was no longer functional, but anachronistic. Women's indoctrination to motherhood as their primary and life-long function became oppressive, a patriarchal cultural myth. Additionally, even after educational restrictions were removed, women have been trained to fit into institutions shaped, determined and ruled by men. As a result, their definitions of selfhood and self-fulfillment have remained subordinated to those of others.

American women have always shared in the economic life of the nation: in agriculture as equal partners performing separate but essential work; in industry usually as low-paid unskilled workers; and in the professions overcoming barriers formed by educational discrimination and traditional male dominance. Although the majority of women have always worked for the same reasons as men - self-support and the support of dependents - their work has been characterized by marginality, temporariness and low status. Typically, they have moved into the male-defined work world as outsiders, often treated as intruders. Thus, after each of the major wars in which the nation engaged, women who during war-time did all essential work and services, were at war's end shunted back to their traditional jobs. As workers, women have been handicapped by direct discrimination in hiring, training and advancement, and, more profoundly, by their sex-role indoctrination that made them to consider any work they did as subsidiary to their main job:

ARGUMENTOIVAN TEKSTIN RAKENNEKUVAUKSESTA JA SEN SOVELTAMISESTA KÄÄNNÖSTEN ARVOSTELUUN

Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on kehittää menetelmä asiatekstien ja erityisesti argumentoivien tekstien kokonaisrakenteen kuvaamiseen. Tarkoituksena on samalla kehittää uusia tekstityyppikriteereitä, joilla voidaan määritellä kokonainen autenttinen teksti jonkin tekstityypin edustajaksi siitä huolimatta, että tekstissä on useiden tyyppien piirteitä. Tällaisten kriteerien löytäminen hyödyttää yhtä hyvin tekstiteoriaa (Isenberg 1978) kuin erilaisia tekstien tuottamiseen, tulkintaan ja muokkaamiseen liittyviä käytännön tehtäviäkin. Esimerkiksi tekstien kääntäminen, tiivistäminen ja referointi sekä käännösten, tiivistelmien ja referaattien arviointi ovat tehtäviä, joissa tekstin tyyppiluokitus on tarpeen. Tällaisia tehtäviä sisältyy runsaasti esimerkiksi kääntäjäkoulutukseen. Kääntäjäkoulutuksen tarpeet ovatkin olleet yhtenä lähtökohtana tutkimusta suunniteltaessa. Perimmäisenä tavoitteena on kehittää käännösvastaavuuden arviointiin soveltuvia rakennekuvausmalleja.

Tutkimuksen tavoite on menetelmien kehittelyssä ja se on luonteeltaan kvalitatiivinen tutkimus. Tutkimuksen kvalitatiivisesta luonteesta johtuen tutkittu tekstimateriaali jää pakostakin suppeaksi. Näinollen ei voida tehdä pitäviä yleistyksiä, jotka koskevat kaikkia argumentoivia tekstejä. Tutkimuksesta saatavat tulokset ovat suuntaa antavia ja luovat pohjaa jatkotutkimukselle. Tutkitut näytetekstit (liitteessä 1) ovat P.H. Selmanin artikkeli Environmental Conservation or Countryside Cosmetics, *The Ecologist*, 1976, Vol. 6, N:o 9, ss. 333-335, ja Gerda Lernerin artikkeli The Majority Finds Its Past, *Current History*, 1976, Vol. 70, N:o 416, ss. 193-196 ja 231. Nämä edustavat argumentoivaa tekstiä. Tyyppipiirteiden esiintymisestä suomenkielisissä vastaavantyyppisissä teksteissä on tehty havaintoja *Kanavan* esseistä ja *Helsingin Sanomien* alakertakirjoituksista.

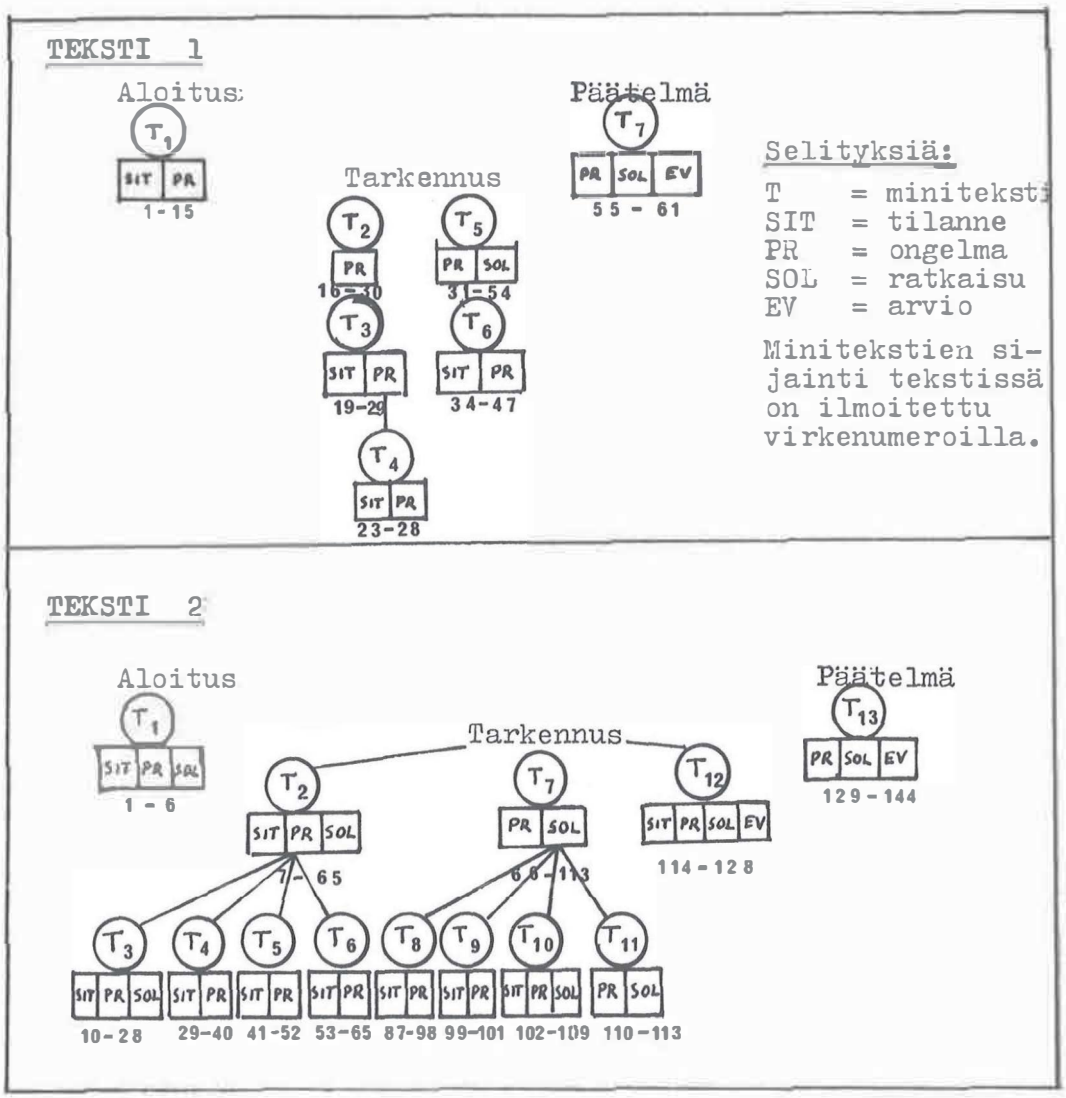
Tutkimuksessa tähdennettyjen tyyppipiirteiden todetaan saavan vastaavanlaisia ilmenemismuotoja myös suomenkielisissä teksteissä, joskaan teksteistä tehtyjä havaintoja ei erikseen tarkemmin selosteta. Sensijaan kuvataan esimerkinomaisesti kahta lyhyttä englanninkielistä 'vertailutekstiä', jotka ovat mukana kertovan ja kuvaavan tekstityypin edustajina.

Menetelmä käsittää problem-solution -analyysin, interaktio- ja illokuutioanalyysin sekä makrostruktuurianalyysin. Tekstit kuvataan mini-

tekstien muodostamiksi hierarkkisiksi järjestelmiksi. Problem-solution -rakenne eli PS-rakenne ilmenee miniteksteissä, joiden sisäinen rakenne voidaan kuvata sekvenssinä tilanne + ongelma + ratkaisu + arvio (ks. Hoey 1979 ja 1983). Argumentoivassa tekstissä ja minitekstissä ongelmakomponentti on pakollinen; muut komponentit ovat valinnaisia. Näytetekstien PS-rakenne ja minitekstihierarkia käy ilmi kuviosta 1. Teksti 1 käsittää seitsemän ja teksti 2 kolmetoista minitekstiä, jotka on luokiteltu aloitus-, tarkennus- ja päätelmäminiteksteiksi. Argumentoivan tekstin kuvaaminen PS-rakenteena saa psykologista validiteettia Kummerin (1972) näkemyksestä, jonka mukaan argumentointi on luonteeltaan ongelmanratkaisuprosessi. Näyteteksteissä argumentointiprosessi etenee siten, että ensin osoitetaan jokin ajattelutavoissa tai asenteissa ilmenevä vääristymä seurauksineen (tilanne ja ongelma) ja sen jälkeen suositellaan uudenlaista, tervettä ajattelutapaa ja ennakoidaan asennemuutoksen vaikutuksia (ratkaisu ja arvio). Tekstissä 1 vääristymä on utilitaristinen suhtautuminen maaseutuun ja luontoon, minkä seurausta on myös ristiriita luonnonsuojelun ja luonnonresurssien käytön välillä, ekologian ja kaavoituksen välillä. Ratkaisuksi esitetään uudenlaista, ekologisesti painottuvaa suhtautumista luonnonvarojen käyttöön. Tekstissä 2 vääristymä on historiankirjoituksen mieskeskeisyys, minkä seurauksena naisten historia on miesten arvostusten värittämää. Ratkaisuksi esitetään naisnäkökulman huomioon ottavaa uutta historiankirjoitusta.

Tekstien 1 ja 2 PS-rakenteita verrattaessa havaitaan tekstin 1 jättävän ratkaisun esittämisen tekstin loppupuolelle, kun taas teksti 2 väläyttelee ratkaisua jo ensimmäisessä minitekstissään. Ratkaisu voidaan argumentissa jättää kokonaankin lukijan päättelyn varaan. Erilaiset rakennetendenssit ja implisiittisyysaste lienevät yhteydessä diskurssinormiin ja yhteiseksi oletetun tiedon määrään. Tekstissä 1 lukijalla oletetaan olevan enemmän yhteistä tietoa kirjoittajan kanssa kuin tekstissä 2.

Tutkimuksessa käsitellään kirjoitettua monologia implisiittisenä dialogina lukijan kanssa (ks. Gray 1977). Rekonstruoitujen lukijakysymysten avulla selvitetään, miten kirjoittajan ja lukijan interaktio kehittyy argumentoinnin edetessä esimerkiksi tilanteesta ongelmaan tai ongelmasta ratkaisuun. Rekonstruoidut kysymykset paljastavat myös, millaista interaktio on PS-rakenteen eri komponenttien sisällä. Argumentoivan tekstin kirjoittaja odottaa lukijaltaan haasteellisia kysymyksiä. Tekstin siirtyessä tilanteesta ongelmaan kirjoittaja odottaa lukijan kysyvän esimerkiksi 'Mihin



Kuvio 1. Tekstit 1 ja 2 PS-rakenteisten minitekstien hierarkioina.

pyrit?'. Kun kirjoittaja on esittänyt varsinaisen asiansa, väitteensä, hän odottaa lukijan vaativan perusteluja. Argumentin tarkoituksena on lukijan saaminen vakuuttuneeksi väitteen todenperäisyydestä (Aston 1977), ja kirjoittaja on valmistautunut esittämään todisteita niistä seikoista, joiden hän ei oleta perustuvan yhteiseen tietoon tai yhteisiin arvoihin. Ongelmakomponentti on argumentoivassa tekstissä illokuutioltaan assertiivinen, väittävä; lukijan ei oleteta ilman perusteluja uskovan väittämiä todeksi. Ratkaisukomponentti on illokuutioltaan direktiivinen: ratkaisu sisältää

suosituksen tai ehdotuksen. Näitä ongelma- ja ratkaisukomponenttien piirteitä tähdennetään erityisesti argumentille ominaisina tekstityyppipiirteinä. Kertovassa ja kuvaavassa tekstissä niin ongelma- kuin ratkaisukin esitetään toteamuksina; lukijan oletetaan hyväksyvän ne ilman perusteluja.

Virkkeiden ja virkejonojen välisiä suhteita nimitetään tutkimuksessa interaktionaalisiksi suhteiksi, ovathan tekstin virkkeet tulosta kirjoittajan ja lukijan välisestä interaktiosta. Interaktionaaliset suhteet luokitellaan hypotaktisiin ja parataktisiin suhteisiin Grimesin (1975) retorisia predikaatteja koskevien periaatteiden mukaan. Minitekstien sisällä olevat tilanne-ongelma, ongelma-ratkaisu ja ratkaisu-arvio -suhteet ovat *response*-suhteita ja näin ollen Grimesin mukaan parataktisia. Parataktiset suhteet ovat verrattavissa lauseopin rinnasteisiin suhteisiin: suhteen osapuolet ovat hierarkkisesti samalla tasolla. Hypotaktiset suhteet taas ovat verrattavissa lauseopin alistussuhteisiin: suhteen osapuolet ovat hierarkiassa eri tasoilla. PS-rakenteen komponenttien sisäiset suhteet ja minitekstien väliset suhteet ovat nekin yhtä lukuunottamatta palautettavissa Grimesin retorisiin predikaatteihin. Alisteisia ovat perustelu, selitys, tarkennus ja uudelleenmuotoilu; rinnasteisia lisäys, hallitsevia päätelmä ja laajennus. Esimerkiksi kokonainen miniteksti saattaa toimia tarkennuksena, selityksenä tai perusteluna, jolloin se on alisteinen edeltävään jaksoon nähden. Lisäyksenä toimiva jakso on rinnasteinen ja päätelmänä tai laajennuksena toimiva jakso hallitseva. Koko tekstin kuvaaminen hierarkkisena rakenteena (liite 2) perustuu tälle suhteiden hierarkialuokittelulle.

Makrostruktuurianalyysi perustuu tutkimuksessa van Dijkin (1980) yleisille periaatteille sekä siihen tietoon tekstien virkehierarkiasta ja PS-rakenteesta, joka on saatu PS-analyysistä ja interaktio- ja illokuutioanalyysistä. Käytännössä makrorakenneanalyysi tarkoittaa sitä, että tekstistä tai tekstijaksosta johdetaan tiivistelmä, joka edustaa tekstin tai tekstijakson pääsisältöä, sen makropropositiota. Makrorakenne johdetaan tässä tutkimuksessa yksinkertaistetulla menetelmällä, van Dijkin makrosäännöistä vain nolla- ja poistosääntöjä käyttäen. Jotkut virkkeet otetaan tiivistelmään sellaisenaan, toiset virkkeet poistetaan. Teksteistä poimitaan tiivistelmään ns. dominoivat virkkeet eli ne virkkeet, jotka ovat tietyn tekstijakson hierarkiassa ylimmällä tasolla. Dominoivien virkkeiden oletetaan sellaisenaan muodostavan tiivistelmiä niistä tekstijaksoista, joita ne dominoivat. Jos tiivistelmään otetaan vain ylimmän hierarkiatason domi-

noivat virkkeet, siitä tulee suppeampi ja yleisempi; jos siihen otetaan myös alemman tason dominoivat virkkeet, siitä tulee laajempi ja spesifimpi.

Makrorakenteen tarkempaa analyysiä varten tekstien dominoivat virkkeet järjestetään ryhmiin siten, että tilannekomponenteista, ongelmakomponenteista, ratkaisukomponenteista ja arviokomponenteista poimitut dominoivat virkkeet muodostavat kukin oman ryhmänsä (ks. liite 3). Sisällön puolesta ryhmäjako on perusteltu. Esimerkiksi ongelmaryhmän virkkeet ilmaisevat tekstin ongelman eri aspekteja. Ryhmäjako on myös lingvistisesti perusteltu, sillä kunkin ryhmän virkkeiden havaitaan edustavan eri tyyppejä, kun kriteereinä käytetään esim. illokuutiota sekä Werlichin (1976) ja Fahnestockin ja Secorin (1983) luokituksia. On perusteltua puhua erityisistä tilanne-makropropositioista, ongelma-makropropositioista ja ratkaisu-makropropositioista. Tilanneryhmässä on illokuutioltaan toteavia, tyypiltään luokittelevia tai rekisteröiviä virkkeitä; ongelmaryhmässä illokuutioltaan assertoivia, tyypiltään evaluoivia virkkeitä, ja ratkaisuryhmässä illokuutioltaan direktiivisiä virkkeitä, jotka sisältävät suosituksen tai ehdotuksen.

Dominoivista virkkeistä muodostettujen ryhmien sisällä (ks. liite 3) voidaan myös havaita virkkeiden jakaantumista spesifisyyden mukaan siten, että alemmalta hierarkiatasolta tulevat virkkeet ilmaisevat spesifimpiä propositioita kuin hierarkian ylätasolta tulevat virkkeet. Dominoivien virkkeiden ryhmiä voidaan pitää tekstin semanttisina rakennuselementteinä, joita voidaan käyttää erilaisten tiivistelmien laadintaan: spesifisyysaste ja lineaarinen järjestys voi tiivistelmissä vaihdella. Makrorakenne näyttäisi olevan tietyssä mielessä riippumaton tekstin lineaarisesta organisaatiosta.

Näytetekstien kuvauksia käytetään tutkimuksessa kokeilumielessä käännösvastaavuuden arviointiin. Käännöskorpuksen muodostavat kieli-instituuttien loppukoesuomennokset vuosilta 1977 ja 1978, joiden lähdetekstit ovat peräisin niistä kahdesta artikkelista, jotka ovat tämän tutkimuksen kuvauskohteina. Käännöskorpuksen tutkimuksella haluttiin alustavasti testata lähinnä kahta hypoteesia. Ensimmäisen hypoteesin mukaan arvioijan saama intuitiivinen kuva käännösvastaavuudesta korreloisi tässä tutkimuksessa korostettujen rakennepiirteiden kanssa. Intuitiiviset arviot suomennoksista olisivat sitä myönteisempiä, mitä paremmin suomennoksissa olisi pystytty välittämään tutkimuksen tähdentämiä rakennepiirteitä. Toi-

sen hypoteesin mukaan käännösvastaavuus kärsii siitä, ettei kääntäjä saa käyttöönsä koko sitä tekstiä, josta hän joutuu kääntämään vain tietyn osan esim. koetehtävänä. Tällainen tilanne vallitsi mm. kieli-instituuttien loppukokeissa. Lyhyessä tekstiotteessa tekstityyppipiirteet eivät useinkaan ole hyvin edustettuina, ja nekin piirteet, jotka otteeseen sisältyvät, saattava jäädä havaitsematta, kun kuva kokonaisrakenteesta puuttuu.

Käännöskokeiden lähdeteksteinä käytetyt tekstiotteet (liite 5) sijoittuvat näytteksteihin siten, etteivät ne muodosta niissä edes suhteellisen itsenäistä yksikköä kuten minitekstiä. Esimerkiksi vuoden 1978 lähdeteksti, joka on ote tekstistä 2, käsittää kahden eri minitekstin osia. Vuoden 1977 lähdeteksti taas käsittää vain osan selityksenä toimivasta minitekstistä. Argumentille tyypilliset piirteet eivät lähdeteksteissä pääse kunnolla esille, ja esim. argumentin ongelmakomponentin tyyppipiirteet jäävät korostumatta. Monissa suomennoksissa argumentin piirteet hämärtyvätkin toisen hypoteesin edellyttämällä tavalla. Esim. kontrasti tilanteen ja ongelman välillä ja ongelmakomponentin sisältämä kritiikki jäävät monissa suomennoksissa välittymättä (ks. suomennosta SL1/77 kohdassa 5.1.). Joissakin suomennoksissa PS-rakenne muuttuu yleinen-spesifinen -rakenteeksi (ks. suomennosta SL5/78 kohdassa 5.2.). Pitkiä virkkeitä jaetaan useammiksi lyhyemmiksi virkkeiksi sillä seurauksella, että makropropositio muuttuu toiseksi ja ettei tyylillinen yleisvaikutelma vastaa lukijan kuvaa argumentoivasta tekstistä (ks. suomennos JY23/80 kohdassa 5.1.).

Jää jatkotutkimuksen tehtäväksi selvittää kokeellisesti puolueettoman arvioijaryhmän avulla, korreloivatko yleisvaikutelmat juuri tässä työssä korostettujen tyyppipiirteiden kanssa, niin kuin ensimmäinen hypoteesi edellyttäisi. Kokeellisesti on myös mahdollista tarkistaa, pystytäänkö rakennepiirteet havaitsemaan ja välittämään käännökseen paremmin, jos koko teksti on saatavilla. Kääntäjät jaetaan tässä kokeessa kahteen ryhmään, joista toisella ryhmällä on käytettävissään koko teksti ja toisella vain käännettävä jakso.

Tässä tutkimuksessa käännösten yleisvaikutelman arviointi jää ainoastaan tutkijan oman intuition varaan, joka ei luonnollisestikaan voi olla analyysin tuloksista täysin riippumaton. Tutkijan omaan intuitioon nojaavat myös monet itse rakennekuvauksen yksityiskohdat, koska rakenteen lingvistiset signaalit ovat usein tulkinnanvaraisia. Jatkotutkimuksessa on tarpeen turvautua team-työskeltelyyn myös menetelmän luotettavuuden kehittämiseksi.