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THE ROLE OF TEXT STRUCTURE IN ENCODING IDEOLOGY AND INDIVIDUAL PERSPECTIVE



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1. INTRODUCTION

Over the past few decades the relation between discourse and ideology has been the focus of much discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis (e.g. Fairclough 1989a, 1989b, 1992; Fowler 1991; Fowler *et al.*, 1979; Simpson 1993) has developed as a sub-area of discourse analysis concerned with the exploration of the linguistic encoding of ideology. Within this current of linguistics discourse is a mode of talking associated with a certain institution and thus determined by the nature of such institution (Kress 1985: 28). Or, as Fairclough puts it, discourse is "language as social practice determined by social structures" (1989a: 16). Critical linguists adopt Halliday's (1978) concept of language as consisting of systems of options among which the speaker or writer makes meaningful selections. Given that language is used within society, linguistic features at any level reflect social processes and therefore specific linguistic choices are used to convey cultural and social values and particular ideologies.

Since discourse is language as social practice it reflects the system of knowledge and beliefs of the institution where it has been produced and the social positions and identities of its users. That is, discourse is the clearest expression of ideology (Fairclough 1989a, 1989b; Kress 1985). Discourse contributes to perpetuating class conflict and to legitimising existing power relations. It is a means of realising and supporting power relations and at the same time of challenging or changing them.

Given that discourse reflects ideology it will select the most appropriate linguistic elements to convey that ideology. For instance, racist discourse will select linguistic forms that contribute to expressing concepts such as

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agency, power or causality in a specific way, and thus, to perpetuating specific attitudes and representations of a particular race. At this point it is important to clarify the relation between discourse and text. For the purpose of this paper I will adopt the neat distinction between text and discourse proposed by Kress (1985: 27): while discourse belongs to the social domain, text belongs to the linguistic domain. Discourse is realised and expressed in a text. Similarly, Fairclough (1992: 71) regards text as a dimension of discourse, the linguistic form in which discursive practice is manifested.

The connection between language and ideology has been explored mainly at the lexical level and at the grammatical-syntactic level (e.g. Fowler 1985, 1991; Fowler *et al.*, 1979; Seidel 1985; Sykes 1985). Attention has been paid to how transitivity and thematic choices express notions such as agency and causativity, to the syntactic transformations of the clause, to the complex relation between meaning and word and the concept of lexicalisation, to the ideological investment of lexical meanings, to modality. Although ideology is reflected at any level of discourse, there is an aspect of the relation between discourse and ideology that has seldom been analysed: the way ideology is reflected in the structure of the text. The fact that a type of discourse is written according to a schema, with a sequencing of elements which is predictable, may embody an ideology. Similarly, the conventionalised way in which a dialogical interaction is structured (e.g. the turn-taking system in a job interview) also reflects and perpetuates the social relations between the participants.

The analysis of the way textual structure contributes to encoding ideology must be undertaken within the framework of "genre". Genres have been defined by Berkentotter and Huckin (1995: 4) as "dynamic rhetorical forms that are developed from actors' responses to recurrent situations". A genre is a conventionalised communicative event which is associated with a specific social activity and which has a particular structure. Berkentotter and Huckin (*ibid.*) add that genre conventions (including generic form) "signal a discourse community's norms, epistemology, ideology and social ontology". Therefore, conforming to these conventions results in the reproduction or reinforcing of social structures.

My argument here is that since writers are social agents and texts have a social origin, all aspects of a text, including the textual structure which organises it or its generic form, are shaped by the social context where the text is produced. Underlying the common rhetorical structures of texts are factors of social and cultural identity. Although the recognisable conventionalised structure of some texts seems to be natural to the members

of the social group who use them, this structure is in fact the result of social and cultural dimensions. Conventionalised patterns are socially regulated ways of interacting. This does not mean, however, that text producers cannot reflect their own subjective perspective. Since the textual patterns and generic forms used by a group are part of the discourse knowledge of this group, the users can conform to or deviate from them and manipulate them to achieve specific purposes.

The purpose of this paper is twofold: to examine how generic structure contributes to reflecting and, therefore, reinforcing social structures; and, to explore how textual structures can be manipulated by users to represent the world in a specific way and to encode a particular ideology.

2. THE RECEIVER'S INTERPRETATION OF THE TEXT

To understand how ideology is embodied in text structure we first have to know how and why the receiver reaches a specific interpretation of a text. A particular discourse is both a piece of social practice and a piece of discursive practice, associated to specific processes of text production, distribution and consumption (Fairclough 1989a, 1989b). The production and consumption of the text involves socio-cognitive elements, since text production and text interpretation are based on mental representations¹ (of the world, of text conventions, of social structure). Interpretation requires an interaction between what is in the readers' mind, their background knowledge, and the text, the way in which the text has been structured (Carrell 1988). Attention should therefore be paid to two concepts: schemata and text structure.

2.1. SCHEMATA

Schemata are configurations of background knowledge which serve as interpretative procedures (Fairclough 1989a: 158). Widdowson (1983: 34-35) defines them as "cognitive constructs which allow for the organisation of the information in long-term memory and which provide a basis for prediction", Fairclough (1989a: 158) as "representation(s) of a particular type of activity [...] in terms of predictable elements in a predictable sequence" and Cook (1994: 11) as "mental representation of typical instances, and the suggestion is that they are used in discourse processing to predict and make sense of the particular instance that the discourse describes". As can be seen from these definitions, part of the importance of the concept *schema* for cognitive processes derives from its predictive power: the readers' mental representation

(or schema) of the conventions and the sequencing of a type of text helps them predict what they will find when facing an instance of that type of text.

Carrell (1983) makes a distinction between two types of schemata which facilitate the interpretation of a text: *content* and *formal schemata*. Content schema is background knowledge about the parcel of the world dealt with in the text, that is, about the content area of the text. Formal schema is "background knowledge about the formal, rhetorical, organisational structure" of the text (Carrell 1983: 84). Cook (1994) adds another type of schema which may help to account for the organisation of certain text types. He distinguishes, thus, three types of schemata: *world schema*, *text schema* and *discourse schema*. World schema is concerned with the organisation of knowledge of the world and corresponds to Carrell's content schema. Text schema is "a typical ordering of facts in a real or fictional world" (Cook 1994: 15).² Finally, discourse schema is "a typical ordering of functional units" (Cook 1994: 15) and corresponds to Carrell's notion of formal schema. Since I am concerned with text structure I will focus on text and discourse schemata.

2.2. TEXT STRUCTURE

Text and discourse schemata are mental representations of text structure. Van Dijk (1980) makes a distinction between two types of text structure: *macrostructure*, or thematic structure, and *superstructure*, or schematic structure. Macrostructure is the global semantic structure of a text, which makes explicit the hierarchical order of the topics or themes of a text. Superstructure is the global schematic structure of a text, a formal structure consisting of "a set of characteristic categories and a set of rules or strategies that specify the ordering of these categories" (Van Dijk, 1988: 14). These categories organise the meaning or macrostructure of a text. Superstructures provide an order for the text and, in this way, they organise the reading and understanding process and create expectations regarding the semantic content.

Thus, superstructures are textual correlates of abstract schemata. They are rhetorical structures which organise the content of the text and the interactive development of the discourse. This concept includes that of discourse patterns, or top-level organisational principles of text, described by Winter (1977) and Hoey (1983) (i.e. *Problem-Solution*, *Hypothetical-Real*). They are ways of organising the topic by establishing links between the elements of this topic. The schematic structure of a genre is also included within the concept of superstructure. For instance, in the genre of formal meeting Van

Dijk (1980: 197-198) observes the following canonical structure: Opening, Assessment, Topic, Discussion, Decision, Questions.

Thus, the superstructure of some texts can be seen from two different perspectives: they may exhibit a conventionalised generic structure based on their genre category membership, and they may follow a clearly recognised discourse pattern (e.g. Problem-Solution; Hypothetical-Real). The difference between generic structure and discourse pattern is that generic structure is socially constrained. As was previously said, since genres appear to answer rhetorical needs, generic structure results from the social context where the instances of the genre have been generated. Therefore, although it seems to be natural, it is not, but reflects the features of the social occasion where the genre is used. The social occasion determines the generic form of the text. By contrast, discourse pattern is not associated with a specific social occasion: the discourse pattern which organises the text is the producer's choice.

2.3. INTERPRETATION OF TEXT STRUCTURE: INTERACTION OF SCHEMA AND TEXT STRUCTURE

When decoding a text the reader maps some kind of schemata onto the text. Thus, as has been said, processing and interpreting a text involves an interaction between the readers' background knowledge and the text. That is, there is an interaction between schemata (cognitive constructs of the reader) and text structures. The readers' schemata allow them to recognise the rhetorical organisation of the text and to process it, and at the same time, leads them to expect specific categories in that text. That is, text interpretation derives from an interaction between the receiver's schemata and features of the text, which activate a specific schema. As Fairclough (1989a: 144) explains:

Interpretation of text structures [...] involves matching the text with one of a repertoire of schemata, or representation of characteristic patterns of organisation associated with different types of discourse. Once an interpreter has decided she is involved in a telephone conversation, for example, she knows she can **expect** particular things to happen in a particular order (greetings, establishing a conversational topic, changing topics, closing off the conversation, farewells) [my own emphasis].

In the production of any text there will be elements common to other texts, arising out of its generic membership —i.e. the sharing of socio-cultural values and meanings and the constraints of the social context— and elements

specific to the text, arising out of the individual choices of the producer. The producers can choose the discourse pattern that best serves their purpose or they can manipulate generic form.

Consider the following text, which was distributed in the campus of an English university. This type of texts handed out in the street seek a response from the receiver, a reaction to the situation described in the text.

**The University of X
Guild of students**

THE CYPRIOT SOCIETY

Peace and happiness in Cyprus ceased due to the Turkish Invasion of 1974. The attempt to declare the occupied area as an "independent state" 14 years ago, was condemned by the international community and it is still only recognised by Turkey itself.

Despite Turkish claims of bringing peace to the island, both the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities have suffered as a result of the invasion.

- 6,000 Greek Cypriots were killed.
- Some 200,000 people, 30-40% of the population, were forced to leave their homes, and
- 1,619 Greek Cypriots are still missing.

Harmony and co-operation between the two communities which existed for centuries has come to an end.

The Washington Post

"In Paphos (south) today, where some 500 Turkish Cypriots were being transferred to the (occupied) north, the main square resounded with the sobbing and wailing of elderly women abandoning their homes after a life time. Greek and Turkish Cypriots mingled easily with no apparent hostility towards each other. Many of the departing Turkish Cypriots handed over the keys of their home to the Greek Cypriot refugees, with apparent pleasure, "to look after them", as one said" (11.8.1975).

Shouldn't we, the new generation of Cyprus, be allowed to live together and have freedom of movement in our own country? Why is Turkey allowed to ignore international law and human rights? How would you feel?

I do not want to provide any detailed description of this text, only to have a look at some points of ideological importance. The first interesting point is the production and consumption of the text. The first element that occurs in the text informs about the social identity of the producer. The text has the official stamp of the Guild of Students on the right hand corner, which gives it a semi-official character and indicates the support of this institution for the claims in the text. There is a clear attempt to promote solidarity from the student community, who belong to the same component of the social structure as the producers. The heading of the text identifies the collective producer ("The Cypriot society"), turning the text into a kind of manifesto, with all the ideological implications that this genre has.

The text, designed to prompt receivers into giving a response, has two clearly distinguishable parts: the description of a problematic situation and the urgent request for help. The first part of the text—which occupies almost the whole text (except for the last paragraph)—explains the adverse situation: the Turkish invasion and its negative consequences. The producers make use of intertextuality, incorporating a fragment of the *Washington Post* in the part describing the problem, in order to show that they are concerned with a real problem, not only one perceived as such by the Cypriot community. The topic of the part describing the problem is the Turkish government and the affected Cypriot population. The last part of the text asks for a solution, appealing to the readers to support the Cypriot community. This part brings the problem of the Cypriot community nearer to the British students, with the inclusion of "we" and "you". The producers try to get the students involved and to make them identify with the Cypriot students. The text producers use text structure to differentiate clearly two social groups and to include the receivers within one of these groups.

Within the issue of ideology two aspects have to be distinguished: the ideology of a community embedded in the structure of the genres used by that community; and, the ideology and perspective that the text producer encodes when writing a particular text, which may involve the manipulation of text structure. Therefore, in the remainder of the paper I will analyse the ideological investment of text structure, focusing on two aspects: naturalisation and manipulation. Naturalisation is concerned with the fact that the occurrence of specific categories and not others and the conventional ordering of categories in the schema associated with a genre is in itself an ideological element. Manipulation is concerned with the fact that when encoding an argument the writer takes into account the readers' expectations

to articulate the different elements and organise the discourse in a specific way, thus conveying a specific ideology.

3. NATURALISATION OF DISCOURSE TYPES

One of the most effective ways to legitimise power relations is the *naturalisation* of certain discursive practices. When a dominant discourse type has been naturalised it is not seen as arbitrary or belonging to a particular social group within an institution, but as the natural discourse type of the institution (Fairclough 1989a: 91-92). The relation between naturalisation and ideology is clearly explained by Fairclough (1989a: 33):

Institutional practices which people draw upon without thinking often embody assumptions which directly or indirectly legitimise existing power relations. Practices which appear to be universal and commonsensical can often be shown to originate in the dominant class of the dominant bloc,³ and to have become naturalised. Where types of practices, and in many cases types of discourse, function in this way to sustain unequal power relations, I shall say that they are functioning ideologically.

Thus, naturalisation of discourse types is concerned with the maintenance and upholding of existing power relations. Fairclough's concept of naturalisation is related to Berger and Luckman's (1966) notions of *habitualisation* and *institutionalisation*. They argue that our sense of reality results from a social negotiation over the meaning of objects and actions. Language is one of the main mechanisms for this negotiation. The habitualisation and institutionalisation of actions narrow our choices and imply control. However, critical discourse practitioners do not subscribe to a theory of "unremitting determinism" (Kress 1990: 87). The fact that some discourse types have become naturalised does not imply that the users of language do not have any freedom of action. Critical discourse researchers argue that there may be a struggle between discourse types which are ideologically diverse, one of them being the dominant discourse type, the one that is considered to reflect common sense practices. There are opposing discourses which question the naturalness of the worldview represented in naturalised discourse types in an attempt to challenge and change existing power relations.

A clear example of naturalisation is the legitimisation of the capitalist system, based on an unequal power relation between workers and owners of

the means of production, through discourse. In western societies, institutions, including the media, act to support the capitalist system. As Murdock (1973: 158) points out, most newspapers "have a vested interest in the stability and continuing existence of the present system". The basis of the capitalist society is an economic system where the power to work is sold to the group who owns the means of production (Fairclough 1989a: 32; Mey 1985). It is a system grounded on the exchange of labour and money. The unequal power relations that this system involves are reflected, and in this way legitimised, in the structure of some texts. The following advert reveals how capitalist ideology underlies media discourse:

(1) Senior Management- Implementation
Based Moscow
Up to US \$160,000 package

The Company

With activities spanning the entire CIS & Russian region, this Fortune 100 organisation has developed the past five years a prolific portfolio Ventures and a thorough knowledge of dealing in this challenging hi-tech marketplace. Plans this year are to increase still further the pace of growth, establishing it as one of the major investors in this area.

The Role

With a large number of business opportunities at implementation stage this role will involve planning, directing, organising and controlling the setting up of significant Joint Venture business units. You will become involved at the business plan stage and will ensure the successful completion of the project. Your role will encompass relationship building with local partners, ensuring company objectives and standards are being maximised, and supervising Finance, Sales & Marketing and General Management.

The Person

Comprehensive knowledge of the cellular and/or wire telephone business is the primary requirement, preferably gained in Eastern Europe. An effective communicator, highly motivated and active, the person will fit into this rapidly growing environment. Russian language is a benefit rather than a priority, of more relevance is the ability to effectively manage projects whilst being conscious of time, cost and personal issues.

Please send a full resumé with covering letter to the address/fax below, quoting reference T110027 on all correspondence. Applications will be treated in the strictest confidence.

A genre is a goal-oriented highly conventionalised communicative event. Types of texts or genres that have been naturalised present the social relations of the institutions which produce them as natural and thus convey a specific

ideology, from which the text has to be interpreted. If a way of representing the world and encoding reality is naturalised it is not seen as arbitrary and, thus, the underlying ideology becomes invisible.

The generic structure of this advert reflects the traditional advertising for a post in a company: a heading identifying the post, the salary, description of the company, details of the post, description of the suitable candidate, procedures for applying. Thus, adverts of this kind include as distinct elements in the structure the goods that are exchanged, i.e. what the company offers and what the company asks for. This structure helps to maintain the capitalist principle that work is a product that can be bought. The company is a consumer of the employee's labour, a product that has to fulfil several requirements. In exchange for his/her abilities and qualifications the candidate is offered a high salary and a post involving responsibility in the company. The advert reproduces a naturalised view of "real" social relations. Each participant in the transaction has his/her role and it seems that each one gets equal profit from this exchange.

In this connection Mey (1985) argues that language "veils" reality and thus the "existing state of affairs" is "cemented"; in other words, it is considered natural. Mey considers that the actual state of power relations (i.e. the fact that they are not relations of equality) is misrepresented by means of language. He states that the semantic content conveyed by means of the lexicon gives the impression that the relation of employment is symmetrical and reversible: "A employs B" has the same meaning as "B is employed by A". It seems that the employer and the employee are in a relation of equality, that they have the same rights. The generic structure of adverts for posts also contributes to this impression: the company, the employer, offers the employee a great deal in exchange for his/her work. The ideological function of text structure consists in naturalising the representation of work relations as a transaction and at the same time in misrepresenting the actual state of affairs, since in fact there is no symmetry in the relation, but it is the employer who gets the profit generated by the employee's labour. The effect of this misrepresentation is the perpetuation of the system. In Mey's words (1985: 21):

The oppressed are led to believe that they are not oppressed at all, but that the ruling system is to their own advantage. In this way they cannot become aware of their oppressed state. Their lack of awareness, in turn, prevents them from criticizing the system that oppresses them [...]. And language, societies' veil, serves this rule-bound, system-dominated state of mind in a most appropriate

way. Behind people's back, so to speak, the system thusly cements the existing state of affairs.

"The oppressed" are not "aware of their oppressed state" because discourse represents these power relations as common sense, as natural, which makes it difficult for the interpreter to perceive the social and ideological meaning of this representation. This does not mean, however, that the assumptions that text producers present as commonsensical cannot be revealed as arbitrary.

Fairclough (1989a: 158) provides a good example of naturalisation in media discourse. Newspaper reporting of industrial accidents consist of the following elements: cause of the accident, how it was dealt with, consequent damage or injury, long-term outcomes. Fairclough remarks that this structure is the result of a naturalisation process, since there is no reason for the structure to be composed of these particular elements. In fact, other elements that could be part of this structure (e.g. the safety record of the firm) are not, and, therefore, they are not regarded as relevant information. The result of this naturalisation process is that elements which are not presented as separate structural elements are not given due attention and "tend to disappear from view and consciousness" (Fairclough 1989a: 158). By the same token, elements which are differentiated as categories within a structure are given prominence. Van Dijk (1988: 74) remarks that, both in the U.S. Press and in much of the world's press, when events in which the U.S. is involved are reported there tends to be a separate element of the structure of the news reporting which deals with the relevance of the event to U.S. politics. This reflects and reinforces the role of the U.S. as the "guardian" of world politics.

Kress (1985: 28) describes the relation between genre and the expression of discourse in the following way:

At any given time in history and in any given social group certain genres are available for the expression of specific discourses. Each generic form has particular possibilities and limitations, which are an inherent part of that genre. Hence the expression of a discourse within a specific genre carries with it the meanings, potentialities and limitations of that genre.

This point can be illustrated with the genre of the research paper. The discourse dealing with science is realised in different genres. The expression of this discourse by means of a specific genre results in the construction of certain meanings. If scientific discourse is expressed by means of a research

paper the implications deriving from the genre is that what is said is true, sanctioned by authority and a worthwhile contribution to science.

The IMRD (Introduction- Method- Results- Discussion) structure of the research paper contributes to making the readers conclude that the knowledge claims presented in the article are unproblematically related to data which have been produced with objective experimental procedures and that therefore it is sensible to recognise them as valid. In the introduction the author justifies his/her own investigation by pointing to an unresolved issue or question within the existing knowledge in a research area. The Material and Method section lists or describes the procedures used for obtaining the data. The Results section presents evidence on which the conclusion of the paper is grounded. And, finally, the Discussion "fills the gap" of the Introduction, by interpreting the research findings and providing a conclusion. Knorr-Cetina (1981) showed that this apparent objectivity is a construction, a meaning derived from the genre. The research paper is the result of a process of rhetorical construction which must follow conventions specific to this genre, among them the paradigm of Problem-Solution.

Thus, the structure of the paper answers its persuasive needs. Bazerman (1983: 169) states that in order to persuade and establish the value of a piece of research "within a particular market" "the paper must first reconstruct the market, define the needs of the market and identify the research being reported as the proper vehicle for the satisfaction of those needs". This statement can be said to reflect the structure of Introductions as defined by genre analysis (Swales 1990).

1. *Establishing the territory.* The writer establishes the field (i.e. "reconstruct the market").

2. *Establishing a niche.* The writer indicates a gap in existing knowledge (i.e. "define the needs of the market").

3. *Occupying the niche.* The writer makes a proposal for introducing a new piece of knowledge, which answers the question or fills the gap in the previous moves (i.e. "identify the research being reported as the proper vehicle for the satisfaction of those needs").

The meaning that what is said is "objective" is not conveyed when discourse is expressed in other genres. For instance, if discourse is expressed in a letter to the editor it carries with it the implication that it has an opinion element. Genres are used to endow a given discourse with different meanings by means of contrasting genres. Therefore, genre-awareness has an important ideological effect. If the readers are aware of the naturalised conventions of a genre they will assign specific meanings to any discourse expressed by means

of this genre (e.g. they will regard what is expressed in a research paper as objective).

Another important concept is that of the interactional routines characteristic of particular genres (i.e. the routines concerning the conventions that control the interaction between the participants). The interaction engaged in through some genres is structured in a way that makes for class maintenance and control. Some genres connected with specific institutions allow the most powerful participant to initiate and finish the interaction, and to control the turn-taking, thus reflecting and exercising his/her power over the other participants.

A number of researchers have shown the enacting of power relations in the discourse of health (doctor-patient interactions) and in that of police and order. Fairclough (1992) examines an interview between a male doctor and a female patient. The conversation is structured in cycles consisting of three parts: question by the doctor, response by the patient, acceptance of the response by the doctor. It is the doctor who controls the interaction. He takes turns when he considers it necessary, while the patient only talks when she is questioned. The structure of this interview is quite similar to that of classroom discourse, where there is an unequal power relation between teacher and pupil. The *exchange structure* proposed by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) consists of up to three elements: an initiation by the teacher, a response by the pupil, and a follow-up by the teacher, which evaluates the response. Lacoste (1981) reveals that the routines in doctor-patient interviews have the effect of reducing the patient to docility. The patient is not allowed to have initiative in the interaction, which reflects the existence of an unequal status. Interactions in legal and police discourse also reflect the control of institutions and the differences in power. Sharrock and Watson (1989) report the existence of asymmetrical power relationships in police interviews. In both types of discourse (i.e. medical, legal) there is no reason why the interaction should be structured in this way. The interactional routines in these discourses are a matter of convention which results in the reinforcing of a particular ideology. As Fairclough (1989a: 99) points out: "the naturalisation of a particular routine as the common sense way of doing things is an effect of power, an ideological effect". For instance, the control of the doctor-patient interaction by the doctor reflects and perpetuates the unequal power relation between the participants.

4. MANIPULATION

The processes involved in the encoding of an argument and in the organisation of the text which are a result of the desire to reflect a particular ideology are referred to in this paper as manipulation. Therefore, manipulation involves the writer's/ speaker's conscious choice of linguistic elements and text-ordering in order to convey ideology. Manipulation may have different aspects.

First, the choice of a specific structure to convey a message may carry with it an ideological meaning or implication. A comparison of the following two adverts will show that they deal with the same topic, but are built on different structures:

(2) Some of the reasons for saving tropical forests are disappearing. Tropical forests provide precious medicines, habitat for rare birds and other wildlife, and the means of survival for hundreds of millions of people. Yet these forests are being destroyed at the rate of 50 acres a minute. Help stop the destruction now, before the reasons disappear. Keep Tropical Forests Alive.

For information write: Tropical Forest Project.

Fortune, April 1, 1996

(3) Topical, not tropical.
The Press is conspicuous in its use of paper. Some people's imaginations make an enormous leap from this fact to the false conclusion that the newspaper business is destroying the tropical rainforests. This is not true. Trees from tropical rainforests are not used to make newspapers. The woodpulp used to make newspapers comes from softwood trees from well-managed forests in Canada, Europe, Scandinavia and the U.K. So please remember, Tropical rainforests are in the news —but they don't make the newspapers.

*Issued by the newsprint and newspaper industry environmental action Group.
The European Magazine, 23-29 May 1996*

Example (2) follows the pattern Problem-Solution. This pattern consists of two basic parts closely related: *problem* and *solution*. They may be preceded by a *situation* part, which establishes the basis of the problem, and followed by an *evaluation* part, which provides the assessment of the solution. The existence of a problem in example (2) is emphasised by its repetition in the heading and in the body of the advert. The solution is not given to the

readers, but they are encouraged to help solve the problem. Example (3), which deals with the same topic, is organised following another pattern: Hypothetical-Real. This pattern consists of a binary relation between a hypothetical situation and the real element that is presented in the discourse. The Hypothesis is that newspaper business is destroying the tropical forest. The Real element is that this is not true. Following different patterns the authors try to convince the readers to take different courses of action. In the first advert the readers are prompted to act, in the second one they are exhorted not to believe that there is a problem.

The way the different categories of the structure are "filled" or realised may also have ideological significance. In the following advert, which follows the structure Problem-Solution, the potential readers have a problem ("I need a couple of raincoats cleaned overnight") and they are provided with the solution. There is a specific problem which in fact implies a more general one: the need for a hotel where the readers may have all the services they want. After stating a particular problem the advert is constructed as a list of solutions to all the problems "you" ("the consumer") may have:

(4) I need a couple of raincoats cleaned overnight.
Say the word, and our valets will clean and deliver your clothing by morning. If it is wrinkled, they will press it with equal dispatch. We will polish your shoes with a virtuoso's touch, and if need be, even provide new laces —all with our compliments. And our room service chefs will ensure your breakfast arrives well before your 5:30 a.m. taxi. In this value-conscious era, the demands of business demand nothing less. For reservations, please telephone your travel counsellor or call us toll free.
Four Seasons Hotels.

Fortune, April 1, 1996.

The structure helps to maintain the ideology on which consumerism and advertising is based. As Mey (1985: 54) points out: "in the ideology of advertising, the consumer is proclaimed king of the market place: The sovereign autocrat of the realm of circulation". All the consumer's potential problems have a solution. Discourse is used to construct the consumers' needs as the initiators of the producing process, when the real initiators of the process are the producers' interests. Advertisements are so often built on the rhetorical pattern Problem-Solution because this pattern helps to disguise an order to buy something as a recommendation or as a help from the producer: as a solution to the consumer's problems. Mey (1985: 55) states that "[t]he hidden power of such indirect orders lies in their appeal to people's weak spots, special interests and personal idiosyncrasies". The "people's weak spots, special interests and personal idiosyncrasies" are represented as

problems which will be solved by the products advertised. If we ask who has the problem and who provides the solution we find that there is an ideological assumption which impregnates the advert: the distinction between high-class and working class. The problem of the high-class customer is solved with the labour of the working class ("Say the word (*I need*) and our valets...", "all with our compliments", "our room service chefs"). The unequal power relations between classes is thus strengthened and legitimised.

The following example also shows that the actualisation of the different categories of the structure may have an ideological effect. The choice of the structure Problem/ Solution allows the writer to identify a situation as a Problem (i.e. to fill the category Problem with a specific situation) and to make his/her proposal correspond with *the* Solution to this problem. The stretch of text which realises the element "Problem" describes a situation that need not be a problem for the reader, but, as the author presents it as a problem, it is accepted as such and the following element accepted as a solution. The following advert illustrates this point clearly:

(5) This could be the first industry to die of AIDS.

In the coffee growing region of southern Uganda, the AIDS epidemic is wiping out whole families, destroying farms and leaving the fields unharvested and overgrown with weeds. Coffee, the backbone of Uganda's economy, may become the first industry to be destroyed by AIDS.

It isn't the only one at risk. The sugar plantation of Haiti, Thailand's \$5 billion tourist industry, copper mining in Zambia, these and many others are threatened. So are the national economies they support and the multi-national corporations that do business with them. Right now, several multi-nationals are taking steps to prevent the worst from happening. By Western standards, it costs very little to make a major impact. You can fund an important study, underwrite an AIDS education program or sponsor a wide range of social and scientific projects.

To learn more about the impact of AIDS on international business and what your company can do about it, send for your free copy of our comprehensive handbook of international AIDS grant making. Fax your order to (212) 949-1672 or call (212) 573-5533.

Fortune, April, 1996

The Problem is that the destruction of industry in the Third World due to AIDS is threatening international business and Western multi-nationals. The Solution is the economic help from these multinationals. The Problem is not that people are dying of AIDS, but that workers, the source of labour, are

disappearing. There is only one human reference ("wiping out whole families"), and the thematic structure of the sentence where it appears presents it as the cause which triggers off the really worrying effect (i.e. the fields are left "unharvested and overgrown with weeds"). The advert appears in an economy journal and is addressed to the owners of the multi-nationals. Thus, it will only be successful if the category Problem is realised by a situation which is really a problem for them: AIDS is having a harmful impact on international business. What is proposed in the advert is a solution to an economic problem for Western multi-nationals, not a solution to a health problem in developing countries. The advert is based on and reinforces the split between developing countries, which provide cheap labour force and materials, and Western economies, which control the wealth and need this force. Developing countries are only represented in terms of their economic relation to the Western countries (e.g. "the coffee growing region of southern Uganda", "the sugar plantation of Haiti, Thailand's \$5 billion tourist industry, copper mining in Zambia"). The representation of the world as divided into two parts with different roles in economy is accepted and perpetuated.

Part of the ideological effectiveness of structures derives from their anticipatory or predicting power and from the fact that the receiver has expectations about the structure of the texts. When the receivers map a schema onto a text they try to find the correspondence between the different elements of the schema and the text, that is, they try to identify which part of the text corresponds to which component of the text structure, and endows each fragment of text with meanings which derive from this correspondence. As Fairclough (1989a: 138) points out, "particular elements can be interpreted in accordance with what is expected at the point where they occur, rather than in terms of what they are".

This is clearly seen in news reports, when information that is not the real gist of the report is placed in the headline. Van Dijk (1988: 234) provides an illustrating example. In *Telegraaf* a story bears the following headline:

Help of German authorities suspected

NATIONAL POLICE INVESTIGATES TAMIL-INVASION

However, the main topic of the story is the government's decision to house the Tamils. The news report deals with the investigation of the help of

German authorities in illegal border crossing only as a secondary topic. Nevertheless, since this topic is placed in the headline it is presented as the most important one.

This leads us to another aspect of manipulation: the transformation of the genre structure. Van Dijk (1988: 233) comments on different thematic transformations in reporting news events, which help to convey specific ideologies. One of them is the upgrading of categories. The superstructure for a news report has the following elements (Van Dijk 1988):

-Summary: Headline and Lead

-Situation: Episode (Main Event and Consequences) and Backgrounds (Context and History)

-Comments: Verbal Reaction and Conclusions (Evaluations and Expectations)

The ordering of elements in news reports is based on importance. Thus, the headline and the first paragraph inform about what is considered the central or most important part, "the gist of the story" (Fairclough 1989a: 37). The category Comment, which usually occurs at the end of the report, may be upgraded and assigned a prominent position. When the Evaluations or Expectations of the reporter occur in the headline or the lead they get more prominence than the Main Event. Thus, the author may present his/her own ideology-imbued opinions as the most relevant part. Another category which is usually upgraded is that of Verbal Reaction, a category which provides the declarations of authorities or experts about the recent events. Sometimes these reactions occur in the headline and are thus given more prominence than the main event itself. Van Dijk (1988) exemplifies this point with a report of Tamil immigrants who were sent back by the police. The headline features the verbal reactions of the authorities expressing their doubts about the refugee status of Tamils. Again, these verbal reactions are given more relevance than the Main Event. In fact the Verbal Reaction, by virtue of occurring in the headline, acquires Main Event status, thus contributing to the enacting of racist discourse.

Manipulation may also involve the inclusion or omission of specific elements in the thematic structure. Van Dijk (1988: 79) compares the report of the same event, the assassination of president-elect Bechir Gemayel of Lebanon on September 15, 1982, in two different newspapers (*New York Times* and a Cuban party newspaper, *Granma*). There are ideology-based differences between the news accounts in the two newspapers. *Granma* gets

its information from western news agencies, which would lead us to expect the topical structure provided by these agencies. However, there are some topics that are not present in *Granma* and this fact can be considered as the result of a conscious choice not to follow this structure. *Granma* does not include some topics which are present in the article in *New York Times*, like the circumstances of the assassination, speculations about the identity of the agents of the attack, or information about previous attacks against his life. Van Dijk (1988) remarks that the fact that some major sub-topics present in *New York Times* are lacking in *Granma* could have an ideological meaning. For instance, the fact that *Granma* does not inform about the previous attacks on Gemayel's life, but mentions his bloody actions in the civil war, could be interpreted as being motivated by the desire to provide a negative description of Gemayel.

Finally, departing from the discourse conventions and omitting some of the characteristic categories of the superstructure of a text is another type of manipulation. The receiver's expectations regarding the structure of the text may be dashed in order to achieve a specific effect. The speaker/ writer may attempt to bring about a change in the schemata of the hearers/ readers and question the naturalness of these schemata, and in this way challenge existing power relations. A clear example is the type of medical interview engaged in by doctors who practice "alternative" (such as homeopathic) medicine. Fairclough's (1989a: 144) analysis of an alternative medicine interview reveals that the underlying ideology is different from that of the standard medical interview. Instead of being structured in terms of the question-response-assessment cycle, this type of interview is organised around the patient's account of his/ her illness. In this kind of interview turn-taking is not controlled by the doctor, but there is a collaborative interaction, which challenges the unequal power relation between doctor and patient.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The ideological dimension of language is an expanding area of study which has brought to light that every text is constructed from a particular ideological position. In this paper I have attempted to provide insights into the relation between text structure and ideology. The paper shows that text structure is impregnated with ideology.

Three main claims have been made. The first is that the ideological significance of text structure derives from the fact that the participants in the interaction share schemata. This allows the receivers to recognise the type of

text, interpret the text, predict the categories that they will find in the text, and endow the information that realises each category with a specific semiotic meaning which derives from its position in the rhetorical structure. For instance, the discourse schema activated by the reader when reading a news report makes the reader interpret the information that appears in initial position as the most important.

Second, the paper has confirmed Fairclough's (1989a) claim that some discourse structures are not neutral as they claim to be but have been naturalised, so as to endow the existing power relations with a "common sense" feature. The fact that some types of discourse have a typical structure which includes specific categories, excluding others which might also be part of the schema, may have an ideological effect.

Finally, the speaker/writer uses the hearers/readers' expectations about text structure to their advantage and manipulates this structure to encode a specific ideological position in discourse.

NOTES

¹ Different names have been used to refer to this kind of structures: *plans*, *scripts*, *frames*, *scenarios*, *schemata*. Brown and Yule (1983: 236-255) give an account of the different concepts that underlie this terminology.

² An example of text schemata is the structure discovered from the analysis of six adventure stories from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with boy heroes: 1. a boy lives peacefully at home; 2. his father dies; 3. an event disrupts this peace; 4. he leaves home with an older male; 5. he searches for a precious object; 6. he learns a new language; 7. he is imprisoned in an enclosed space; 8. he finds the object; 9. he returns home as a man (Cook 1994).

³ For Fairclough the dominant bloc is the capitalist class (opposed to the working class), together with other workers whose interests are tied to capital, e.g. professional workers.

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