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# Diplomová práce

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Rhetorical Relations in Academic Texts: Contrastive Study of English and Czech Rétorické vztahy v odborném textu: anglicko-česká kontrastivní studie

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Souhlasím se zapůjčením diplomové práce ke studijním účelům.

Prague, 7 August 2017

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### Abstract

The present work describes coherence structure of English and Czech book introductions. The account of coherence is based on Rhetorical Structure Theory (Mann and Thompson, 1988; Mann and Taboada, 2006) which posits that majority of texts have one main effect which can be described by one of their inventory of thirty-two rhetorical relations; other relations are organized in a hierarchical structure and contribute to the main effect. Out of thirty monographs compiled for each language, four book introductions were chosen to represent the English language and four to represent the Czech language. The data were annotated in terms of rhetorical structure. The qualitative analysis showed that the genre of book introduction does not differ across languages as all texts were described by the same top-level relations; the only difference concerns the position of the goal of the monograph. The queantitative analysis showed that the difference on lower levels concerns the presentation of past research: Czech focused more on presenting elements of subject-matter.

**Key words:** coherence, rhetorical relations, Rhetorical Structure Theory, book introductions, English, Czech, monographs, genre

### Abstrakt

Diplomová práce se zabývá strukturou koherence v anglických a českých úvodech do monografií. Práce vychází z pojetí koherence, jak ji představuje Rhetorical Structure Theory (Mann a Thompson 1988, Mann a Taboada 2006). Ta postuluje, že většina textů má jeden hlavní komunikační účinek, který lze popsat jedním ze třiceti dvou definovaných rétorických vztahů; ostatní vztahy jsou uspořádány v hierarchické struktuře a přispívají k hlavnímu účinku textu. Ze třiceti monografií, které byly shromážděny pro jednotlivé jazyky, byly vybrány čtyři anglické a čtyři české úvody. Tento materiál byl následně anotován z hlediska rétorické struktury. Výsledky kvalitativní analýzy ukázaly, že se žánr úvodů do monografií napříč jazyky příliš neliší, neboť všechny texty byly popsány stejnými vrchními vztahy; jediný rozdíl spočíval v pozici prezentace cílů monografií. Výsledky kvalitativní analýzy ukázaly, že rozdíl na nižších úrovních souvisí s prezentací předchozího výzkumu: čeští autoři se více zaměřují na prezentaci tematických vztahů.

Klíčová slova: koherence, rétorické vztahy, Rhetorical Structure Theory, úvody do monografií, angličtina, čeština, monografie, žánr

### **List of Abbreviations**

- SM: summary monograph
- RM: research monograph
- BI: book introduction
- ICH: introductory chapter
- N: nucleus
- S: satellite
- W: writer
- R: reader
- Sr: subject-matter relation
- Pr: presentational relation
- RST: Rhetorical Structure Theory
- CZ1: Současná stylistika
- CZ2: Jazyk, norma, spisovnost
- CZ3: Mluva v severomoravském pohraničí
- CZ4: Morfologická homonymie v současné češtině
- EN1: Words in the Mind
- EN2: Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation
- EN3: Lexical Variation and Attrition in the Scottish Fishing Communities
- EN4: Social Interaction in Second Language Chat Rooms

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#### 1 Introduction

The present work studies the coherence structure in the genre of book introductions in English and Czech. In general terms, coherence is a concept that that accounts for the perceived connectedness of texts (Sanders and Sanders, 2006). Our framework, Rhetorical Structure Theory, describes coherence in terms of relations holding between two parts of texts. Moreover, all relations in the text form a hierarchical structure, with one top-level relation accounting for the communicative effect of the text (Mann and Taboada, 1988). While the genre of introductions has received a lot of attention with respect to research articles, introductions to monographs, and the genre of monographs, have been largely overlooked (e.g. Swales 1990, 2004; Hyland 2009). The present work thus attempts to contribute to the description of the genre, which we perceive as prestigious and worth of study, by accounting for its rhetorical structure to suggest how the genre holds together in both languages. As Rhetorical Structure Theory has not been applied to Czech to our knowledge, the work also presents our experience with the application of the theory for genre description and in new language.

Section 2 presents Theoretical Background of the presents work. Firstly, it points out that there has not been any comprehensive account of coherence to date, presents assumptions that coherence studies make and provides a working definition of coherence. Secondly, academic genres are introduced as vehicles for carrying goals of discourse communities that use them. The role of the genre of monograph among other academic genres is characterized and two sub-types of monographs are distinguished. Comparisons between different understanding of English and Czech introductions are made throughout this section. Thirdly, Rhetorical Structure Theory is introduced. Thirty-two relations used in the analysis are classified, according to effects, into subject-matter relations and presentational relations, and, according to the type of presentation, into symmetric and asymmetric relations. It is specified how relations are combined to form rhetorical structure by presenting analyses of two texts. Related studies are presented to show how the description of a genre and cross-linguistic comparison is accomplished within the chosen framework and a general hypothesis is presented at the end.

Section 3 presents Materials and Methods. The procedure that led to the selection of four English introductions and four Czech introductions is described in a detailed manner as it

was vital to choose texts of the same genre. The monographs chosen represent both types of monographs which were identified in the previous Section. Method consists of two main parts. The first one describes the segmentation of English and Czech introductions, the second one describes the experience with text annotation. The main results for the second goal of the present work, to present our experience with the use of Rhetorical Structure Theory for the description of the genre, are presented here.

Section 4 presents the results of Analysis. Results for each language are presented in two separate sections which are organized in the same manner. Each book introduction was considered from quantitative and qualitative perspectives. The types of relations found are given, along with their frequencies and their position in the structure. It is shown how effects of individual relations are combined to form the rhetorical structure. Comparisons are made throughout these sections between the two types of monographs. The section closes with a brief overview of major cross-linguistic differences.

Section 5 concludes the present work by presenting the main differences between book introductions in English and Czech but also between both types of monographs. Common features point to the characterisation of the genre as such, individual features point to the variability within the genre. Results are compared with the hypothesis as well as with other claims about the genre and its different realizations in both languages as they were presented throughout Theoretical Background. References are found at the end of the present work, along with three appendices which present relation definitions, full texts of book introductions chosen and their rhetorical analyses. Due to the their length, the graphs are enclosed in the folder situated on the inner side of the back cover.

#### **2** Theoretical Background

#### 2.1 The notion of coherence

One of the frequent observations made when linguists define discourse is that it shows connectedness (Sanders and Sanders, 2006: 598). The dominant view of linguists working on the level above the sentence today came to be that the connectedness can be best characterised by the coherence approach, which explains connectedness not as an inherent property of the text itself, but as "a characteristic of the *mental* representation of the text" (Ibid.: 598). With the object of study broadened this way, to include not only linguistics but also psychology and cognitive science, it perhaps comes as no surprise that there is no generally accepted definition of coherence, nor any comprehensive theory (Bublitz et al., 1999: 1). What will follow, therefore, is a brief overview of the key assumptions that linguistic studies of coherence make.

The first assumption has already been outlined above: coherence is based on the language of the text, while equally and at the same time also on the interpretation by language users (Bublitz et al., 1999: 2). The linguistic phenomena in the text recognised as contributing to coherence are of two kinds: nominal groups and text segments (Sanders and Maat, 2006: 592). Coherence is being established in the moment when the language user relates one unit to another of the same kind. The process of relating is inherently interpretative as language itself does not provide enough cues to make the appropriate connection (Sanford, 2006: 585). The coherence established between nominal groups is called referential, or entity-based, coherence; the second type, coherence arising from relating text segments, is called relational coherence (Sanders and Maat, 2006: 592). Zikánová et al. mention further phenomena contributing to coherence; other types will not be dealt with henceforth.

The second assumption is concerned with the nature of the interpreting process: making connections between text segments involves inference on the part of the reader which is based on their background knowledge (Bublitz et al., 1999: 2, Sanford, 2006: 585). The process is illustrated in Example 1 (Sanford, 2006: 586):

(1) (i) Mr. Smith was killed the other night. The steering on the car was faulty.
(ii) Mr. Smith was killed the other night, because the steering on the car was faulty.

Strictly from the linguistic point of view, the pair of text segments in the example (1i) designate different meanings: the first text segment is about a person who died while the second one about faulty steering. The reader/hearer assumes that there is a connection between the two text segments and looks for the type of connection. He/she refers to his/her background knowledge, aware that these situations are often related in the cause-result order in the world: the faulty steering can cause a car crash and, consequently, the death of the driver. This plausible scenario allows the reader to infer that the second clause is the reason why the situation in the first clause took place, which can be made explicit in (1ii). In general terms, inferences "add to what is given by the text" from the background knowledge available (Sanders, 2006: 585).

As the example showed, the text triggered the activation of a specific piece of background information relevant to the text. In fact, the information provided by memory is usually in the form of the whole series of events, often called scenarios, e.g. a text about having a meal in a restaurant triggers the order of events (find table, call waiter etc.) and actors (waiter, customer etc.) (Sanford, 2006: 588). Background information serves not only for making inferences, but the readers/hearers map the information from the text onto these scenarios and it is the instantiated scenario that stands for the connected structure in the mind of language users (Sanford, 2006: 588-9). The notion of background knowledge thus further explains how coherence can be considered a mental representation of the text as identified at the beginning of this Section.

As coherence is inherently an interpretive notion, the third assumption that the studies often make is that it is both product and process (Bublitz et al., 1999: 2). The process/product distinction seems to be a question of focus: the psychological side is concerned with studying how the connections are made and what the nature of the mental representations is (Sanford: 586); the linguistic side may focus on the characterisation of texts in terms of their coherence structure (i.e. a product) thereby making the notion of discourse more concrete internally (Sanders and Sanders, 2006: 605). This work focuses on the latter side of the coherence coin: it seeks to describe a particular genre in terms of coherence structure. However, the structure is essentially understood as the result of the interpretation of the text against the background of specific world knowledge (cf. Berzlánovich and Redeker 2012: 184).

#### 2.2 Academic genres

Comparison of languages at the discoursal level is notoriously difficult; before embarking on such a task, it is necessary to make sure that the texts compared are of the same genre (Swales, 1990: 65). This includes the knowledge of what the notion of genre refers to. Bhatia (1997: 181) stresses the importance of three concepts in relation to genre: communicative situation, purpose and text structures. Swales (1990) is a seminal work not only in genre studies, but also one which focuses on the academic domain. Essentially, he defines genre as a class of communicative events with a shared set of communicative purposes which correspond to the goals of discourse communities that use them, and which are manifested in a schematic structure of texts (1990: 45-6, 58). In other words, the notion of genre is connected with the discourse community because it is a vehicle for its goals.

If genres indeed achieve goals of discourse communities, specifying these communities and their goals can help us to understand the variation within genre itself. Discourse communities, and the academic ones especially, consist of individuals that are more or less expert in the knowledge of the community's goals and the way they should be communicated (Swales, 1990: 24-7). The goals that academia pursues are twofold: from the cognitive point of view, scientists work to create and spread knowledge – either to less expert members of the community or to its outsiders; from the social point of view, they seek to negotiate, establish, and maintain their social role as members of the community and, more generally, the institution of academia itself (Hyland, 2009: 1, 5; Čmejrková, 2013: 88).

Moreover, academic communities are not homogeneous: one type of variation runs across the kind of knowledge that academics seek to discover. Thus, the expression of the community can be specifically found, on various levels of generalisation, in knowledge domains, disciplines and specialist sub-fields (Hyland, 2009: 58-66). Knowledge domains refer to broad categorisations of knowledge in terms of the scale of hard, social and soft sciences implying different kinds of data, methods and analytic procedures (Hyland, 2009: 63):

SCIENCES HARDER	SOCIAL SCIENCES	HUMANITIES
Empirical and objective		Explicitly interpretive
Linear growth of knowledge		Dispersed knowledge
Experimental methods		Discursive argument
Quantitative		Qualitative
More concentrated readership		More varied audience
Highly structured genres		More fluid discourses

#### Figure 1: Continuum of academic knowledge

Specific disciplines can be placed on the continuum and can be characterised in terms of its characteristics: linguistics, for example, is situated between the social and soft sciences (Čmejrková, 1999: 38). While this generalisation may be indicative of its character, it is misleading too as evident from the reality of research in linguistics. The definition of the discipline of linguistics may indicate this variation: being the study of language, its subject of enquiry is by no means straightforward, neither well and clearly identified nor strictly distinct from other areas of investigation (Fabb, 2006: 240). Thus, it might be useful to turn to one particular specialist sub-field within the discipline for the choice of genre, e.g. in terms of pure or applied linguistics (Hyland, 2009: 59, 61).

The second type of variation runs across different languages (Swales, 1990: 64): while Swales acknowledges that the differences may be connected with cultural, sociopolitical situations and academic training, he claims that the biggest difference seems to stem from the nature of discourse community (Swales, 2004: 245). As a result of reaching the audience of different sizes, the Anglophone academic communities tend to be more competitive while the smaller audiences can be associated with cooperation (Swales, 2004: 244). Čmejrková summarizes how the characteristics of discourse community just described influences its genres: each academic writing is shaped by two needs: by the generic purposes of the writing in question and by the need of a specific discipline (1999: 40). If these two variables are held constant, the differences will point to the third variable just presented, to the differences between languages. The choice of the genre was thus given a special attention.

#### 2.2.1 Monographs

It was mentioned that academic community has cognitive and social goals, and that these goals rely on language for their achievement. Essentially, more subtle differentiation of the purposes determines different genres (Hyland, 2009; Čmejrková, 1999: 38; Swales, 1990: 178). The left hand column of the following table gives the overview of categories of genres distinguished in the English context (Hyland, 2009); the right hand column shows the distinctions made in Czech academic writing (Čmejrková, 1999: 38):

English academic genres	Czech academic genres	
Research genres	Research genres	
	a)specialised audience	
	b)more general audience	
Instructional genres	Instructional genres	
Student genres		
Popular genres	Popular genres	
	c)broad academic audience	
	d)public audience	

#### Table 1: English and Czech academic genres

The genres are grouped in a similar way which points to the common goals of academia as mentioned in the above section. Firstly, the main goal of the academy is to produce knowledge and this particular purpose is carried out through research genres such as the research article, monograph, report or book review (Hyland, 2009: 67, 86; Čmejrková, 1999: 38). The second and third categories of genres, i.e. the instructional and student ones, are connected with the educational goal of academia: the objective of a genre such as a textbook is to disseminate knowledge of a discipline, the purpose of student writing is often seen as to reveal a student's understanding of it (Hyland 2009: 96, 123; Čmejrková 1999: 38). The last and most varied category concerns the popular genres that are addressed to the community's outsiders, often with the goal to bring new or interesting knowledge (Hyland 2009: 152, 173; Čmejrková 1999: 38).

Monographs, the genre in focus in the present work, are usually listed among the research genres (Hyland, 2009: 86; Swales, 1990: 178) but beside these mentions, the genre has been largely overlooked. The traditional topic-based characterisation of monographs as a book-length publication on a single subject which is treated in great detail (Oxford English Dictionary, online) seems to stress its general and summarising function. However, what both Hyland and Swales point out is the different status of monographs across academic disciplines. In biology, "a monograph is a detailed and complex description of a specific grouping of plants" (Swales, 2004: 14); in history and sociology, the monograph offers a

place for "elaborate justification of interpretation" (Hyland, 2009: 87); monographs in humanities are "important vehicles for advancing scholarship" and as such not only present complex issues but also evaluate and present original research (Hyland, 2009: 87, 92) and in this way, are similar to research articles (Swales, 2004: 175). While the mentions in the literature were rather scarce, it has been supposed that there may be a difference between those monographs that summarize previous research and those that present original research.

#### 2.2.2 Introductions

What is typically found at the beginning of monographs are two distinct types of texts. The first type can be called an *introductory chapter* (ICH, henceforth): its function is to establish the context for the content of the book and as such forms an important part of the book itself (Bhatia, 1997: 183). It is the second type of the so-called *book introductions* (BI, henceforth) that is the focus of the present work. It can be characterised as short, written by authors themselves and is usually situated on the pages with roman numerals (Bhatia, 1997: 187). This type can be found under different names, namely introductions, prefaces and forewords. Bhatia shows that the historically somewhat distinct genres of introductions, prefaces and forewords have merged into one general genre of authors' introduction: "all the three texts display[s] a remarkable degree of overlap in terms of their use of lexicogrammatical resources and structural interpretation" (Bhatia, 1997: 186). As a result, the communicative function of this genre may be dual: to introduce the work as a whole and to promote it to the potential readers (Bhatia, 1997: 186-7).

Similarly, Swales claims that introductions cannot be characterised only by academic purposes such as a problem-solution pattern but need to include the promotional element as well. He thus characterises the research article introductions by the model that stresses both academic and promotional purposes, i.e. by the Create a Research Space (CARS) model (1990: 140-1, 2004: 226). The goal to create a research space is achieved by three Moves (Swales, 1990: 141):

Move 1	Establishing a territory
Move 2	Establishing a niche
Move 3	Occupying the niche

**Table 2: A CARS model for research article introductions** 

In the first Move, scientists claim that their research field is significant in the real world (Step 1: centrality claims) and/or make a topic generalisation within their research field (Step 2: topic generalisation). The second Move establishes a niche in the present state of knowledge, either by pointing to a gap (Step 1A: indicating a gap) or by claiming to continue a well-established research tradition (Step 1B: continuing a tradition). The third Move shows how this niche will be occupied by announcing the present research descriptively and/or purposively (Step 1: announcing present research), by announcing principal findings (Step 2: findings), by stating the value of the present research (Step 3: value) and by indicating the structure of the work (Step 4: structure) (Swales 1990: 137-161; Swales 2004: 227-32).<sup>1</sup>

Importantly, Bhatia shows that the structure of the authors' introduction in academic books is very similar to the schematic structure of introductions of research articles as defined by Swales. Bhatia claims that book introductions feature all three of these moves, especially Step 1 of Move 1 – establishing a territory by centrality claims, Move 2 – establishing a niche, and Steps 1 and 4 of Move 3 – occupying a niche by announcing purposes of the present research and indicating the work's structure (Bhatia, 1997: 183, 186). Indeed, it is possible that the structure of monograph introductions will be similar to the structure of research article introductions as the genres in humanities tend to be similar (see the previous section). One frequent deviation listed by Bhatia is the inclusion of an expression of gratitude in terms of acknowledgements, which sometimes forms a separate section (Bhatia, 1997: 186). It must be noted that Swales' model was devised for hard sciences; it has been shown that humanities in general show less regularised structure (Swales, 1990: 175).

Regarding cross-linguistic comparison, the Czech genres are generally said to be less structured than the English ones (Čmejrková, 2013: 74). Within the domain of research articles for example, the English text is comprised of the linear introduction-method-results-discussion structure (also known as the IMRD structure); the Czech one, however, features digressions often breaking the structure into the basic triad of introduction-body-conclusion (Čmejrková, 1999: 27, 95). Regarding the introductions, Czech research articles include some Moves and Steps of the CARS model, yet they may not form a unified explicit whole (Čmejrková, 1999: 95). The major difference concerns Move 3: Czech authors rarely announce their research – neither purposively, nor descriptively – and the findings making

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Moves are identical in Swales (1990) and (2004), however, the specific Steps slightly differ. The Steps for this work were chosen from Swales (2004) and only the obligatory ones are listed.

Move 3 weakened to a great degree (Čmejrková, 1999: 98). Čmejrková also points out that English texts are oriented towards the reader as opposed to Czech authors who orient their texts towards the subject matter (1999: 44).

#### 2.2.3 Summary

Academic genres are shaped by the needs of a specific discipline, on one hand, and by the generic purposes of the writing in question, on the other (Čmejrková, 1999: 40). If these two variables remain constant, differences between languages may surface. However, further description of the genre chosen showed that the selection may not be straightforward: the genre is described well and furthermore, it is possible that there are two types of monographs within linguistics. The first type of monograph has a summarising function: it draws on the previous findings to give information about a single subject in a detailed manner. The second type of monograph is similar to the research article: it explores an unknown area which the previous research has either not covered or treated in a less detailed manner. The present work calls the first type a summary monograph (SM, henceforth) and the second a research monographs (RM, henceforth). Yet, the central characteristics of the genre remains: the genre of monograph realises the main purpose of academia, i.e. it presents new knowledge

The present work studies book introductions, short, written by authors themselves to introduce their academic work. Genre perspective further showed what is usually included in the monograph. As the genre perspective cannot be used in the present work due to its scope, it was concluded that what introductions thematically include are mentions of the state of the previous knowledge and of the role of the present research. This information may serve in the selection of the materials. In this way, the genre can be an interesting source of insight into the ways in which academics reflect their own goals as well as the writing of others. Cross-linguistic differences that may be relevant to our work include less firm structure in Czech monographs, the lack of focus on the presentation of authors' own work and subject-matter oriented presentation.

#### 2.3 Relational coherence

As was outlined above, this work is concerned with relational coherence. The notion alone further comprises a large body of research in which relations are part of specific theories of discourse and as a result often bear different names (Taboada, 2004: 106-7). Taboada lists the most important ones (2004: 106-7): Grimes's (1975) rhetorical predicates,

Hobbs's (1979) coherence relations, Hoey's (1983) clause relations, accounts of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Martin 1992), Segmented Discourse Representation Theory (Asher 1993, Asher and Lascarides 2003), of Kehler (2002). Gylling provides a rough overview of different conceptions of relations: "rhetorical relations are used when discourse analysts study the global structure and functions (hence the term rhetorical) of a text. Coherence relations when analysts examine how the clauses in a text have been combined to form a whole. Conjunctive relations are used when the syntactic description is extended to the discourse level, and discourse relations when discourse structure is viewed from a discourse semantics perspective" (2012: 117). The present work uses the term rhetorical relations in accordance with the Rhetorical Structure Theory chosen for the examination of relational coherence.

Before examining the specifics of the theory, the status of relations should be mentioned. Section 2.1 defined relational coherence as relations holding between text segments derived from the interpretation against background knowledge. Zikánová et al. add on the nature of relations: "One of the most discussed properties of discourse relations is their 'semantic' or 'pragmatic' nature, in other words, the question of what is actually related – propositions, inferences, illocutions, etc. This distinction is a little confusing, as the relations are always semantic but they either hold between text contents or between the inferred materials" (2015: 21). What follows is, firstly, that relations hold not between the text segments as such but between the meaning of text segments, and secondly, that the relation arising from the text has a semantic content. The conception of Rhetorical Structure Theory is the same: "we see the rhetorical relations functioning as implicit propositions in a text and capable of performing rhetorical acts, just as explicit propositions that appear as clauses perform them" (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 41).

The act that the relational propositions univocally perform is the illocutionary act of an assertion: the same preparatory and sincerity conditions hold for relational propositions as for a single utterance performing an assertion (Mann and Thompson, 1983: 15-6). In Example 2, text segments are given in (i), the content of the relational proposition is specified in (ii) (Mann and Thompson, 1983: 3, Mann and Thompson, 1985: 2):

- (2) (i) [I'm hungry.] [Let's go to Fuji Gardens.]
  - *(ii)* Our going to Fuji Gardens would contribute significantly to solving the problem of my hunger.

The relational proposition performs the act of an assertion. This means that the writer expresses what he/she believes is true, i.e. that the hunger can be solved by going to the

restaurant. The writer is also responsible for the truth of the claim to other interlocutors, and it is understood as such by them: if Fuji Gardens were not a restaurant, but an actual garden, and the problem of hunger would not be solved, the other participants may object to his/her statement (Mann and Thompson, 1983: 16). It is the assertions of relational propositions that hearers/readers ultimately infer from the text: relational propositions "become part of the reader's tacit understanding of the text as elements of communicative acts performed by the writer" (Mann and Thompson, 1983: 16).

Connectedness in the text from the point of view of relational coherence is explained by assertions of relational propositions. The fact the relational propositions are responsible for the coherence of the text can be proved by two tests. The first test consists of the denial of the implicit relational proposition. For example, the relational proposition of Enablement conveyed by segments in (i) is denied in (ii) (Mann and Thompson, 1983: 14):

(3) (i) [I'll give you a free tour of the development.] [My phone number is 555-9876.] (ii) But calling that phone number won't help you to get the tour.

The incompatibility between the assertion "Calling the phone number will help you to get the tour" and "Calling that phone number won't help you to get the tour" destroys coherence (Mann and Thompson, 1983: 14). The second test involves the attempt to read the text *without* the relational proposition: the two segments would seem unconnected and the coherence would be destroyed as well (Mann and Thompson, 1983: 17).

#### **2.3.1 Rhetorical Structure Theory**

The account of relational coherence in this work is based on Mann and Thompson's Rhetorical Structure Theory whose present form was first defined in the technical report "Rhetorical Structure Theory: A Theory of Text Organization" (1987). Its shorter version "Rhetorical Structure Theory: Toward a functional theory of text organization" (1988) is considered a definitional foundation of the theory, which was later reviewed in "Rhetorical Structure Theory: Looking Back and Moving Ahead" (Taboada and Mann, 2006).

Taboada (2004: 107) claims that the approaches to relations differ in one main respect: whether the coherence relations are considered only as analytic tools or as cognitive entities actually used in communication. The view of relations in RST derives from the conception of discourse within the Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST, henceforth). As a functional theory of text structure, it posits that the text structure does something for the writer/speaker (Mann and

Thompson, 1987:40). The source of the coherence is thus equated with the author's intention, which has implications for the understanding of the relations themselves: "the text structuring relations reflect the writer's options of organisation and presentation; it is in this sense that an RST structure is 'rhetorical'" (Mann et al., 1989: 8). Rhetorical relations are organised in a hierarchy, reflecting the assumption that individual relations are of varied importance to the writer/speaker (Mann and Taboada, 2006: 427). In other words, relations within RST are considered communicative instruments actually used in communication.

Regarding the distinction between the product/process sides of coherence, RST is, despite its alleged connection to communication, primarily a descriptive theory (Mann and Taboada, 2006: 443), i.e. it focuses on the product side of coherence. As the source of coherence is equated with W's intention, judgments about text meaning are crucially made against W's intentions (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 246). However, since the analyst cannot access the writer's mind directly, the judgments about W's intentions are made, apart from the knowledge of the text, based on shared contextual knowledge and cultural conventions (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 246). Background knowledge is not formally treated within RST, nor are the processes needed for determining the meaning of the text: inferences are understood in the vernacular sense of a conclusion which people might draw when reading the text, "it does not presume any particular methods of drawing conclusions from texts" (Mann and Thompson, 1983: 3).

The rest of the theoretical chapter is devoted to the description of concepts outlined here. Section 2.3.2 describes how the intentions of the writer may be described in more detail, which results in the total of 32 relations used for the analysis. Section 2.3.3 describes principles of composition of the rhetorical structure. Finally, Section 2.3.4 comments on the use of RST for genre description and contrastive studies.

#### 2.3.2 Rhetorical relations

#### 2.3.2.1 Text spans

Text segments are called text spans in RST, a term which does not refer to the actual word sequences but to abstract meanings and intentions represented by those sequences (Mann et al., 1989:8). In this sense, all of RST is pre-realisational: it does not make statements about how meanings and intentions are realised (Mann et al., 1989: 8) and neither about what exactly is related, whether "events, facts, propositions or speech acts" (Mann and

Taboada, 2006: 436). On the contrary, individual text spans are relevant only in so far as they contribute to forming the relation (Mann et al., 1989: 8).

However, RST does claim that spans may be of various importance to the overall message of the writer. RST distinguishes between the nucleus span (N, henceforth) and the satellite span (S, henceforth) (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 245), the nucleus being more central to the main goal of the writer, and the satellite being in this respect peripheral. Most relations hold between N and S: they are asymmetric relations. Symmetric relations, holding between N and N, are much less frequent (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 266). Relations thus firstly contribute to the intentions of the writer in terms of nuclearity, i.e. indicating which span is the more central.

#### 2.3.2.2 Relation definitions

Rhetorical relations are defined to hold between "two non-overlapping text spans" (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 245). The relation definitions comprise of three fields, as shown in Table 3 (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 50):

<b>Relation Name</b>	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
	Constraints on S	N+S combination	
Solutionhood	N:	The situation	R recognises the
	S: S presents a	presented in N is a	situation presented in
	problem.	solution to the	N as a solution to the
		problem stated in S.	problem stated in S.

**Table 3: Solutionhood** 

Text spans are treated separately in Constraints on N and Constraints on S, while the relation itself is stated in Constraints on the N+S Combination. The Effect states what the writer (W, henceforth) wanted to achieve in the reader (R, henceforth) "by employing the spans and the relation" (Mann et al., 1990: 5).<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to other theories of relational coherence, RST relations are defined completely independently from linguistic markers; "it is only the logical and propositional transition from one sentence to another which signals the relation" (Taboada, 2004: 111) as it was suggested above. It is believed that "a particular relation was in the text creator's mind when producing the text" (Taboada and Mann, 2006: 443). In order to account for the

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Taboada and Mann point out that the automatic connection of the relation and nuclearity assignment as given in the relation definitions proved questionable for some relations in actual analyses (2006: 431).

communicative aspect of the relation, the Constraints are defined in functional and semantic terms (1988: 250), e.g. one span is a *solution* to the *problem* in the other, as in the following pair of spans (Mann and Thompson, 1983: 3):

#### (4) [I'm hungry.] [Let's go to Fuji Gardens.]

As Taboada and Mann summarise, it is precisely invoking the author's purpose for each part of the text that "makes RST 'structure' quite different from grammatical structure" (2006: 450).

What the four fields represent for the analyst are specifications of particular judgments that he/she makes about whether the relation was in W's mind (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 245). The analyst must consider all three fields in each relation definition in order to assign the relation. In Example 4 above, the analyst makes several judgments (see Table 3). Firstly, he/she considers whether one of the spans presents a problem, secondly, he/she judges whether the other text span presented a situation that could be a solution to the problem, and thirdly, the analyst judges whether the speaker intended that the hearer recognises the second situation as a solution to the problem in the first situation. As it is possible that hunger is indeed a problem, and going to the restaurant called Fuji Gardens may be its solution, and the speaker wanted the hearer to recognise this relation, the Solutionhood relation could be assigned. This judgment clearly depends on the knowledge of the context; if the analyst knows that the place where this conversation takes place has a restaurant called Fuji Gardens, then it can be concluded that the speaker saw visiting a restaurant as a solution to his/her hunger problem (Mann and Thompson, 1983: 3). Further issues connected with the analytic process are presented in Section 3.2.

A unique feature in the theory is the inclusion of the Effect in the definition (Mann et al., 1989: 8). It is the expression of a claim that relations do something for the writer. Relation definitions specify the two basic types of intentions that the writer can have. In the so-called subject-matter relations (Sr, henceforth), the writer wants the reader *to recognise* the elements of the given subject-matter (1988: 257). In the presentational relations (Pr, henceforth), the writer wants *to increase some inclination* in the reader, thereby facilitating the presentation process itself (1988: 257). In other words, the Effect points to the reason why the assertion is being made by W (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 258). As evident from the formulation of the Effect field, the intentions of the writer are always equated with the objective to have some effect on the reader/hearer. The sender thus always communicates with the purpose of

influencing the addressee somehow and, as such, RST can be viewed as a theory of influence (Taboada 2004: 257). The functionality of the relations makes RST akin to other theories dealing with language functions (Mann and Taboada, 2006: 436).<sup>3</sup>

The types of relations given by RST are various and point to different intentions that the W might have. Generally, the number of relations across the coherence theories range from two to over one hundred (Taboada: 2004: 107). Originally, RST recognised 24 relations (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 48-77) which were later extended to 32 (as given on the RST website). The two basic classifications of relations are along the asymmetric/symmetric divide and the subject-matter/presentation divide. The following table offers their summary:

Classifications of relations	Subject-Matter	Presentational
Asymmetric	Solutionhood	Background
	Elaboration	Evidence
	Means	Justify
	Circumstance	Antithesis
	Evaluation	Concession
	Interpretation	Enablement
	Volitional Cause	Motivation
	Non-volitional Cause	Restatement
	Volitional Result	Summary
	Non-volitional Result	Preparation
	Purpose	
	Condition	
	Otherwise	
	Unless	
	Unconditional	
Symmetric	Contrast	
	Joint	
	Sequence	
	List	
	Conjunction	
	Disjunction	
	Multinuclear Restatement	

**Table 4: Rhetorical relations** 

The relations were devised on the basis of analyses of various types of texts by the authors. The new relations, marked in bold, came from later analyses of different domains (Taboada 2004: 112). The set is open in principle, but the frequency of creation of new relations is extremely low (Mann et al., 1989: 9): this is due to the fact that there are indefinite

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The classifications are not fully equivalent (Mann and Taboada, 2006: 436) but RST is closely related with Systemic Functional Linguistics and its divide between ideational, interpersonal and textual functions (Mann et al., 1990: 14-5).

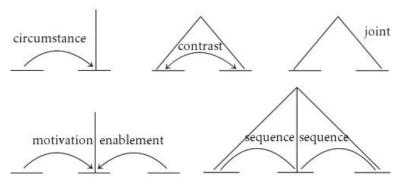
number of intentions but only limited ways how these intentions can be combined (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 44). Perhaps the strongest limit on the number of relations is the possibility of distinguishing one relation from another; a shorter list of relations would be possible (Mann and Taboada, 2006: 437), e.g. one that would reflect only the structural patterns corresponding to the asymmetry/symmetry dimension and not the specific functions. The full definitions of relations are given in Appendix I.

#### 2.3.3 Rhetorical structure

Moving beyond the analysis of separate text spans to the analysis of the entire text, RST also accounts for how relations found in the entire text are organised to form a text structure. The possible RST structures are defined jointly by the concepts of schemas and principles of compositions.

#### 2.3.3.1 Schemas

There are 5 defined schemas within RST which represent all the possible RST structures (Taboada, 2004: 109):



**Figure 2: Schemas** 

RST defines schemas in terms of the relations: similarly to the relation definitions, they specify, firstly, the number of text-spans in the relation (see the horizontal lines), secondly, what kind of relation is between pairs of spans (see the arches or arrows and the relation names), and thirdly, which text spans are nuclei connecting the relation to other schemas (see the vertical lines) (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 247). The correspondence between relation definitions and schema definitions has led the authors to omit the mentions of schemas in some of the papers and use them merely as a graphic device (e.g. Mann et al.: 1989). However, the assignment of schemas onto a text also allows for variation: firstly, the order of

spans is irrelevant for the assignment of a schema; secondly, a relation within one schema can be repeated any number of times (except for Contrast) (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 248).

Schemas are useful in differentiating between two main types of RST structures. The first type is the asymmetric schema with one nucleus only and with one type of relation (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 247). An example is the CIRCUMSTANCE schema in Figure 2. All of RST's asymmetric relations are represented by the asymmetric schema. There is one exception in the form of a separate MOTIVATION/ENABLEMENT schema with one nucleus and these two types of relations (RST website). The second type is the symmetric schema with at least two nuclei and with one type of relation (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 248), an example of which is the SEQUENCE schema in Figure 2. Most symmetric relations are represented by this schema except for Joint which is defined by the absence of a relation (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 75), hence the separate JOINT schema. The limited number of spans in the Contrast relation (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 75) yields a separate CONTRAST schema. The type of schema, the number and order of text spans can differ across text-types but it has been observed that asymmetric, two-span schemas are the most prevalent across texts (Mann et al., 1989: 7).

#### 2.3.3.2 Principles of composition

Four principles of composition specify how schemas are connected to represent the entire structure of a text (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 248-9). They can be illustrated on the structural analysis of a short newspaper editorial (Mann et al., 1990: 6-8):

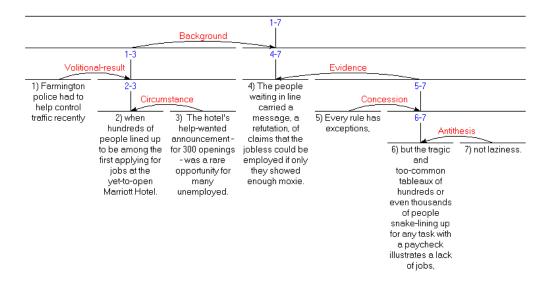


Figure 3: Analysis of newspaper editorial

The principle of adjacency states that the text spans of each schema application constitute one text span (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 249). For example, the text spans (6.) and (7.) of the ANTITHESIS schema form another text span (6.-7.). The principle of connectedness states that each text span in the structure constitutes a schema application (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 248). This principle is somewhat obvious for the text spans (6.) and (7.), however, span (6.-7.) is also a constituent of a new CONCESSION schema. In other words, all text spans, whether they are minimal units or not, are connected to the structure. The principle of uniqueness states that each schema application consists of a different set of text spans (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 249): each span, be it the minimal unit (6.) or the span (6.-7.), forms one schema only and no other. Finally, the principle of completedness states that the final text structure consists of one schema application that contains all text spans (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 248). Put simply, all spans are uniquely connected to each other until they are united under one schema, in this case under the BACKGROUND schema. The resulting composition is hierarchical: the top level consists of one schema whose N and S are recursively decomposed into lower level schemas. It should be noted that the principle of adjacency precludes the analysis of crossed dependencies and the principle of uniqueness hinders the analysis in case there are individual spans depending on more than one span, which has led some linguists to question the adequacy of tree representations (Mann and Taboada, 2006: 435).

The hierarchical organisation has important consequences for the meaning of rhetorical structure. It was mentioned in the previous section that schemas are abstract representations of relations. As the entire text is summarised by one schema, RST implies that texts are characterised by one relation which specifies that, firstly, the important parts of the texts (nuclei), and secondly, the type of effect that the text is trying to achieve: "the effect of one particular text can be summarized in one top-level relation" (Mann and Taboada, 2006: 427). In the short editorial in Figure 3, the top-level relation is Background which relates the text span (1.-3.) to the text span (4.-7.). The nucleus is the second span which presents W's claim that the occurrence of a job-line refutes the common supposition that unemployment is the matter of laziness of the jobless (Mann et al., 1990: 7). The Background satellite describes the whole situation of people lining up in front of the Marriott Hotel, and as such serves to the W to increase R's ability to comprehend the situation only briefly mentioned in N ("the people waiting in line") (Mann et al., 1990: 7). As Background is the presentational relation,

the locus of effect is the only nucleus. This implies that the effect of the entire editorial that the W intended is to present the claim in N to the R, possibly with the further intention to persuade the R of this claim (RST website).<sup>4</sup> The top-level relation is an expression of RST assumption that the W has a single intention when composing the text.

Essentially, the lower-level relations in the structure then contribute to the effect of the top relation which are thus achieved in a complex way (Mann and Taboada, 2006: 427). The Background satellite which describes the situation of people lining up in front of the hotel consists of the Volitional Result and Circumstance relations which give further details about it: the job-line happened in the course of job openings and had the result that police acted to control traffic (Mann et al., 1990: 8). The nucleus of the text which persuades the R about the view of unemployment consists of the Evidence relation: by presenting the Evidence satellite which brings the information that the job-lines are frequent ("too common tableaus of hundreds or even thousands of people"), the W increases R's belief in the nuclear claim (Mann et al., 1990: 7-8). The Concession and Antithesis relations serve to increase R's agreement with the claim that frequent job-lines illustrate a lack of jobs. The comparison of lower-level relations of the Background satellite and nucleus show how RST structure is a hierarchy of functions with the top-level effects achieved through lower-level effects: the subject-matter relations help to present the Background situation while the presentational relations help to promote the nuclear claim.

#### 2.3.4 RST analyses of book introductions in English and Czech

The claim that texts have one main effect on the reader may explain why certain texts do not have RST structures. It would be hard to sustain the claim of one effect for poetry or various language-as-art texts. Other texts, such as copyright notices, reports for the record and contracts, do not seek to influence the reader (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 259). The RST website shows an analysis of a copyright notice which contains many Joints, corresponding to the absence of a relation (RST website). The majority of texts, however, are hierarchically structured and functionally organised (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 259).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> It should be stressed that RST as a theory of relational coherence does not make claims about the content of individual spans, but about the relations between the spans, as pointed out throughout Section 2.3. However, as the analysis of the editorial shows, some mentions about the content of spans need to be made, otherwise the ways how to relate them are not clear.

It can be reasonably expected that the genre of book introductions has functionally and hierarchically organised structure. Section 2.2 defined the genre as a vehicle of writer's reflection of how his/her monograph contributes to the process of creating knowledge in general, and to the body of works about the topic in particular. Two main functions of a monograph were identified: summary monographs and research monographs. As he present work seeks to describe the genre from the coherence perspective, using Rhetorical Structure Theory as a theoretical framework, what needs to follow is an overview of RST studies that were devoted to a similar goal.

#### 2.3.4.1 Studies of academic texts

One of the applications of RST is the description of texts of various genres.<sup>5</sup> RST structures are considered parts of a larger holistic whole: they describe the internal structure of a genre in terms of rhetorical relations (Mann et al., 1989: 4, 45-6). Nowadays, it is recognised that the type of genre has a conditioning influence on the type of the relations present in the structure (Sanders and Sanders, 2006: 605). Within RST, a major contribution to the question of relation between genre and rhetorical structure is Taboada's monograph *Building Coherence and Cohesion: Task-Oriented Dialogue in English and Spanish* (2004). Starting from the definition of genre as a "series of stages" determined by the communicative purpose and social function of a text, Taboada shows that the occurrence of rhetorical relations is sensitive to these stages (Taboada, 2004: 25, 199). Apart from this, the relation between generic and RST structure needs more research (Mann and Taboada, 2006: 430).

Regarding RST studies of academic genres, the attention was devoted primarily to the research article as a whole (e.g. Teufel et al., 1999 and Stab et al., 2014) or to the research article abstracts.<sup>6</sup> What follows is the presentation of RST analysis of one of these abstracts (see Figure 4) as it is the closest to the desired result of the present work. No commentary was provided for the analysis by the RST authors themselves.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For other applications, see Mann and Taboada (2006b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The bibliography of works using RST, as well as analyses of various texts, can be found on the RST website.

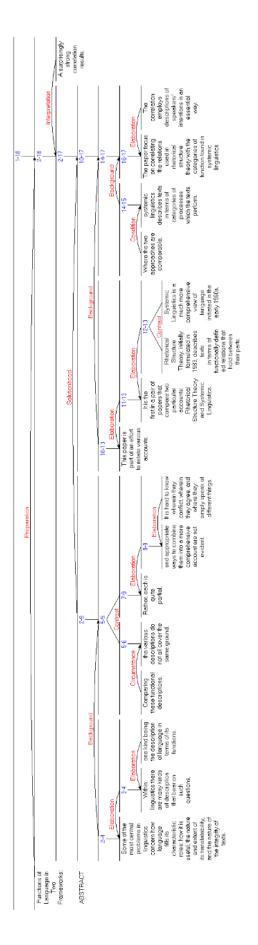


Figure 4: Analysis of research article abstract

The top-level schema is INTERPRETATION which relates the S text-span (18.) to the N text-span (2.-17.): W wanted R to recognise that S is the interpretation of the situation in N. The situation in the nucleus is realised by the SOLUTIONHOOD schema which relates the S text-span (2.-9.) to the N text-span (10.-17.): W wanted R to recognise that the situation revolves around the relation between the past research on language functions and the present work, namely that the present work presents a solution to the problem in the past research. Returning to the Interpretation satellite, it provides R with the assessment of the extent to which the paper actually did solve the problem in the past research.

As evident from the structure in Figure 4, the N and S of the Solutionhood relation are further realised by BACKGROUND schemas. As the Background relation belongs to the presentational relations, its satellites do not add any factual content to the text, i.e. they serve to increase some inclination in R (see Section 2.3.2). Thus, it can be said that the problem of the Solutionhood relation is specified in the text-span (5.-9.) and the solution in the text-span (16.-17.). The problem can be stated as a claim that the functions of various linguistic descriptions in the past research seem different: "each is quite partial". The present research seeks to solve this problem by searching for the common ground of the functions of two different approaches: "correlating the relations used in rhetorical structure theory with the categories of function found in systemic linguistics". Returning to the Interpretation satellite which describes the result of the correlation as "strong", it can be said that the solution of the present research to find similarities between functions partially solved the problem of various accounts of function in the past research, as the similarity was indeed found.

The final comment in this analysis is devoted to the Background satellites both in the problem and solution portions of the text. Firstly, the Background satellite (2.-4.) serves to W to increase R's ability to comprehend N text-span (5.-9.). Specifically, the S text-span provides the context for the problem of functions which is mentioned in N, but it may not be clear how the problem of language functions is related to the study of language: by pointing out that functions deal with the roles of language and that it is one of the central problems in linguistics in span (2.-4.), R understands better that the problem language functions is part of the fundamental questions in the field of linguistics. Secondly, the Background satellite (10.-13.) serves to increase R's ability to comprehend N text-span (14.-17.), by providing the context for the study which is being introduced. After comprehending S, the reader

understands that the present paper is part of a larger attempt to compare two frameworks, Rhetorical Structure Theory and Systemic Linguistics.

The coherence of the genre of research article abstract is built around two main relations: Solutionhood, which introduces the research article as a solution to the problem in the past research on language functions, and Interpretation, which assesses how successful the solution was. Lower-level relations contribute to these effects; Background to the past research increases R's understanding how the problem of language functions is related to the study of language as a whole, while the Background to the present research situates it in the larger attempt of the researchers. The coherence approach is in this way informative about the internal structure of the genre. It should be stressed that while relations tell something about how parts of texts are interlinked, they do not say anything about the actual content of the individual parts. However, the content is important, otherwise the relations are difficult to describe and analyse in the first place. More information on the analysis procedure is provided in Section 3.2. It is hoped that the description here helped to illustrate how RST coherence approach may contribute to the description of various genres.

#### 2.3.4.2 Contrastive studies

RST was originally developed in English but has since been applied to other languages as well: Mann and Taboada (2006b) cite Chinese, Portuguese, French, Dutch, German, Arabic, Finnish, Japanese, Russian and Spanish. Contrastive RST research, which is of interest to this work, has focused on various issues such as the realisation of individual relations, rhetorical shifts in translated texts, or comparison of genres (RST website). It is the last perspective that is relevant for the present work. Apart from Taboada's monograph mentioned above, the research, which was cited on the RST website and which could be obtained, included the works of Abelen et al. (1993), 'The Rhetorical Structure of US-American and Dutch Fund-Raising Letters, Ramsay' (2001), 'Rhetorical Styles and Newstexts: A Contrastive Analysis of Rhetorical Relations in Chinese and Australian News-Journal Text', and Gylling (2012), *The Structure of Discourse: A Corpus-Based Cross-Linguistic Study.* What the studies have in common is that they compare rhetorical structures of a corpus of texts of the same genre in order to uncover similarities and differences in their organisation in different languages.

As the genres that they study are not relevant to the present work, only general remarks will be made. All four contrastive studies make use of the relation frequencies. The genre is characterised in terms of the ratio of presentational and subject-matter relations (Abelen et al., 1993: 338; Ramsay, 2001: 8; Gylling, 2012: 132). While Gylling (2012) focuses further on the realisation of relations, other authors mentioned focus mainly on the characterisation of a genre. While both Abelen et al. (1993: 340) and Taboada (2004: 133) pay attention to the highest relations in the structure, Abelen et al. also note the structure of schemas (1993: 341). Some studies include genre perspective, such as Ramsay (2001: 7-8) or Taboada (2004: 205) for whom the position of relations within the genre stages is relevant. The present work describes BIs quantitatively, in terms of the type of relation found, the ratio between presentational and subject matter relations and relation position as to the levels in the hierarchy; and qualitatively, drawing on Taboada (2004) who observes the context where individual relations appear. If other unusual features, such as a unique schematic structure, become prominent, they are also noted.

The studies show that RST is applicable to a language other than English very well, which Taboada ascribes to the fact that the rhetorical definitions are based on functional criteria (2004: 3, 110). The comparison of English and Czech is thus possible. As to the results of cross-linguistic comparison, the studies report different findings. Comparing tasksolving dialogues in English and Spanish, Taboada's results showed that the only minor difference was in the length of the Closing stages, namely in a higher number of Restatement and Summary relations (2004: 206, 201). Similarly, Gylling reports that speeches in the EU parliament in English, Danish and Italian are "strikingly similar" in terms of relations and their distribution (2012: 130). On the other hand, some genres have been shown to exhibit some inter-language variation. In Abelen et al., (1993: 343), the highest-level relations in US fund-raising letters were represented by presentational relations to a greater extent than their Dutch counterparts. Ramsay reports more presentational relations in the Australian news than in its Chinese counterpart, which he interprets as a stronger emphasis on the documentation of claims (Evidence) and on the questioning of issues (Concession, Contrast) (2001: 8-9). The differences were not radical as no relations were missing across languages. It may be concluded that genres across languages have the same basis but that some genres may differ in emphasis. The question of the difference between English and Czech BIs is to be addressed in the Analytical Section of the present work.

#### **3** Material and Method

#### 3.1 Material

The initial task of the analytical part was to find English and Czech book introductions. English and Czech linguistic monographs were searched in the Charles University library and in the Czech National Library. In addition, monographs were taken from the catalogues of major publishing houses.<sup>7</sup> This chapter comments on the occurrence and nature of English and Czech linguistic monographs and their introductions, presents criteria for data selection and describes the samples which were chosen for the analysis.

#### 3.1.1 Monographs

The monograph was defined as a book-length genre that presents new knowledge about a single subject treated in great detail (see section 2.2.1). Other books encountered during the search included handbooks (sborníky) and reference books (příručky). Handbooks consist of a collection of studies written by multiple authors, which has important consequences for the content of the book: they miss the topic compactness of monographs. Reference books, such as encyclopaedias or research manuals, do give facts or instructions on a particular subject, however, the content represents knowledge presented for ready-to-use reasons (Oxford English Dictionary, online). Thus, these two distinct genres were excluded from the sample. The material includes monographs published after the year 2000 which were written by either Czech or British authors. The first criterion makes this study synchronic; the second significantly reduces the vast production in the English language.

The sample comprised of thirty monographs for each language, representing the pure and applied sections of the range of the most recent British and Czech linguistic publications.<sup>8</sup> Their random collection revealed the differences between the two academic communities as identified by Swales (see section 2.2). The sample showed different research trends in linguistics in terms of the subject matter. One distinctive strand of Czech research included monographs written in the wake of the emergence of the Czech National Corpus, focusing on linguistic structure from the corpus perspective. The English sample pointed to the fact that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Including Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press, Routledge, Palgrave Macmillan, Edinburgh University Press; Academia, Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny and Karolinum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The list of 30 Czech monographs and 30 English monographs is given in the Appendix II.

this discourse community is now concerned with sociolinguistics. Both trends inspired many descriptive works along with a number of methodologically and theoretically oriented ones.

Hyland and Swales differentiated between two types of monographs: one which presents a complex description of a specific topic, and one which presents original research (see section 2.2.1). While acknowledging that these categories do simplify the complexity of academic works, instances of both types of linguistic monographs were encountered. The example of the first type would be Spencer and Luis's *Clitics* (2012): the monograph provides a complete summary of clitics' properties, uses and various theoretical approaches that interpret them. The second type can be represented by Petkevič's *Morfologická homonymie v současné češtině* (2014), which studies all types of morphological homonymy in Czech. The difference was visible in the structure of the monographs as well: the main body of the first monograph consisted of sections that resembled book chapters (2012: xi-xii); the main body of the second monograph represented the results of a study (2014: 7-9). To summarise, the monographs selected confirmed the distinctions made in 2.2.1: summary monographs resemble the codified knowledge of the field, research monographs resemble research articles and present findings about less explored areas of knowledge.

# 3.1.2 Introductions

The next task was to find a book introduction, i.e. a short passage of text written by the author himself or herself and which would introduce the book as a whole. While an introduction could include several different moves that would contribute to this goal (see section 2.2.2), announcing the monograph descriptively or purposively is considered the major one in the present work. Bhatia pointed out that the naming of this genre is problematic: book introductions appear as prefaces, sometimes as introductions, the difference between these two text types not being clear. However, they are clearly contrasted with introductory chapters that form an important part of the book itself in that they present a framework for the main body (see section 2.2.2).

# **3.1.2.1** Genre constraints

All three kinds of texts mentioned above were found in the monographs collected. All monographs featured introductory chapters as it is one of the essential parts of perhaps any

academic endeavour.<sup>9</sup> However, not all monographs included book introductions. Moreover, the number of separate book introductions was higher in the Czech sample (26) than in English (21). With almost one third of the data lost in English, the monographs with introductory chapters only deserved a closer look. Contrary to Bhatia's claim that introductory chapters were not connected with the book introductions, it seems that instead of writing a separate introductory section some authors prefer to present their goals directly with the thorough presentation of their topic within the introductory chapter, as seen in the following extract from the monograph by Robert Truswell (2011):

1. Introduction	1
1.1 Where We're Going	1
1.2 Locality Theory and Extraction from Adjuncts: A Potted Histor	y 6
1.3 Further Puzzles	29
1.4 The Plan	37

# **Figure 5: Introductory chapter**

His section "Where We're Going" clearly states the aims, the subject matter and the contents of the entire monograph (2011: 1-6), and thus was considered a distinct introductory section.

In accordance with Bhatia's findings, both prefaces and introductions featured the topic/goal descriptions, sometimes along with information about context, contents etc. It should be mentioned at this point that the preface was not always used to introduce the book in the sense understood in this work. Apart from prefaces written by somebody other than the author of the monograph, this section was also used solely for acknowledgments (Matthews: 2014), or for the description of steps leading to the preparation of the book, either from the personal (McReady: 2014) or institutional (Hladká et al.: 2012) perspectives. No mention of goals or topics was present in these distinct uses, thus these instances of prefaces were not considered for the analysis. This thesis considers only prefaces that clearly announce their author's topic or goal.

To summarise, the introductory sections considered as candidates for our analysis appeared in three types of sections - as prefaces, as introductions and as separate sections of introductory chapters, as shown in the following table:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The introductory chapters were called by various names: "Introduction", "Preliminaries", "Fundamental notions" or by a specific name such as "Antonymy and Antonyms".

Book introduction	Czech monographs	English monographs
Separate section	28	26
as Preface	6	14
as Introduction	20	7
as part of Introductory Chapter	2	5
No separate section	2	4

Table 5: Book introductions in Czech and English monographs

The monograph was not introduced in a separate section in two cases in the Czech sample and four times in the English one. To conclude, apart from the fact that some Introductory Chapters also contain separate introductory sections, Bhatia's distinction between BIs and ICHs remains. This distinction is evident not only in function, but also in length: BI's average length is around two pages, ICH's average length around twelve pages.

#### **3.1.2.2** Length constraints

All three types of book introductions, i.e. prefaces, introductions and introductory sections, featured texts of various sizes in both languages. At their most extreme, the texts ranged from very short to as long as six pages; more than half of BIs (16 in Czech, 14 in English) were of medium length, i.e. occurred approximately at one to two pages. These sizes were suitable for the analysis; thus texts of this length were considered.

# 3.1.3 Selection

Observations made above were taken into account in the final selection of monographs for the analysis. Apart from the genre and length constraints, four English and four Czech book introductions were chosen also according to the function of the monograph, a factor introduced in Sections 3.1.1 and 2.2. The ideal sample would include monograph introductions coming from the same sub-field. As such a final sample was not found, the approach to collect monograph introductions from various sub-fields was taken. The possible advantage is that any similarities found would be of more general nature.

Summary monographs in English are represented by Aitchison's *Words in the Mind* (2012; EN1, henceforth) and by Milroy and Brown's *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation* (2003; EN2, henceforth). Written by leading scholars in the fields of psycholinguistics and variationist sociolinguistics, they present findings of their entire

research field in prefaces. The first monograph presents the knowledge on the so-called mental lexicon, the second on the entire field of sociolinguistics. Czech summary monographs are represented by *Současná stylistika* by Čechová et al. (2008; CZ1, henceforth) and Nebeská's *Jazyk, norma, spisovnost* (2003; CZ2, henceforth). Written by leading scholars in the fields of stylistics and applied linguistics, the first monograph provides the overview of the entire field of stylistics, the second on different approaches to language codification in prefaces. All four monographs aim to summarise a certain topic.

Research monographs in English include Millar et al.'s *Lexical Variation and Attrition in the Scottish Fishing Communities* (2014; EN3, henceforth) and Jenks's *Social Interaction in Second Language Chat Rooms* (2014; EN4, henceforth). While Millar et al. describe the lexis of Scottish fishermen (Section of Introductory chapter), Jenks is a descriptive study of online spoken language use (Introduction) and represents a particular current research trend in English. Czech research monographs are represented by Kloferová's *Mluva v severomoravském pohraničí* (2000; CZ3, henceforth) and Petkevič's *Morfologická homonymie v současné češtině* (2014; CZ4, henceforth). Kloferová's aim is to describe phonological and morphological language levels in the North Moravian Czech language variety (Section of Introductory chapter); Petkevič's work is a corpus study of morphological homonymy (Introduction) and as such presents a current research trend in Czech linguistics. All four monographs present original studies.

# 3.1.4 Summary

As the mentions on the genre of monographs are rare in the existing literature, the sample of 30 monographs in Czech and 30 monographs in English was collected. The observations from this sample confirmed the description of monographs and their introductions as presented by Hyland, Swales and Bhatia (see section 2.2). Firstly, the types of monographs included those with a prevalent summarising function and those with a prevalent innovative function. Secondly, book introductions are distinct from introductory chapters, and they appear in prefaces, in introductions or as initial parts of introductory chapters. These findings perhaps suffice for the selection of the texts for the analysis, but it must be noted that the observations were rather intuitive and that the genre of monographs deserves further attention and study than this thesis could offer.

The selection of the genre includes eight monographs (four Czech and four English). They represent summary and research monographs. The occurrences of prefaces in the former type of monograph and of introductions/introductory section in the latter point to tendencies in naming book introductions. This tendency cannot be considered general, since instances of all kinds of naming strategies were found, but may perhaps serve as another indicator of the differences between SMs and RMs.

# 3.2 Method

The method in the present work comprises three independent tasks: the segmentation of the English and Czech introductions, their annotation in terms of rhetorical relations, and the comparison of the tree structures. This section is devoted to the description of these three separate tasks.

# 3.2.1 Segmentation

# **3.2.1.1** Generic structure

The analysis of a genre within RST takes into account both generic and syntactic structures, as was pointed out by Mann et al. (1989). In practical terms, some stretches of text, such as greetings or goodbyes in letters or speech, correspond to its generic structure in that they do not show any coherent organisation in relational terms but "merely serve... to ascribe the texts to a specific genre, which both speakers know and exploit" (Taboada, 2004b: 82). Consequently, these units are discarded from the analysis (Taboada, 2004). In relation to the genre of introductions, the units which were discarded on this ground, included references to parts of the book or another author:

(5) It should also be noted that this book does not examine what can be called the prototypical chat room (for a description of the data collected for this study, see <u>Section 4.5</u>). That is to say, nearly all of the chat rooms investigated in the CMC literature are text-based (e.g. Negretti 1999; Simpson 2005; Smith 2008). (EN4)

The main function of the underlined part is to point outside of the text and it, indeed, may be seen as a distracting element in the overall coherence of the passage.

A related problem is that parts of CZ1, CZ2, CZ3 and EN2 texts were used by the authors to express acknowledgements. In the remaining book introductions, acknowledgements formed a separate section. It was thus decided that, in order to unify the data in this respect, sections with acknowledgements would also be discarded. Moreover, as Bhatia (1993: 184)

points out, their main function is to express gratitude, a function quite distinct from what we consider the main purpose of book introductions (see previous section). The assessment as to whether these parts are connected in generic or relational structure is not dealt with in the present work. The remainder of this section is devoted to the description of the boundary between the rhetorical and syntactic structures.

#### **3.2.1.2** Syntactic structure

The main current in the segmentation within the RST was set by Mann and Thompson (1988). Their only recommendation was to use a unit with an "independent functional integrity" such as a clause (1988: 248).<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, the differentiation was made between (both finite and non-finite) embedded and hypotactic clauses: subject, object and restrictive relative clauses were seen as belonging to the syntactic structure and were not considered as separate units for rhetorical analysis. Adverbial clauses, on the other hand, were shown to perform rhetorical functions and were treated as separate units of rhetorical structure (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 248; Mann et al. 1989: 16, 42-3). Another major direction in segmentation was set during the creation of the RST treebank (Carlson and Marcu, 2001; Carlson et al. 2003): their approach is more fine-grained and, among other changes, reassesses the status of all relative clauses as expressing rhetorical relations, and includes phrases in adverbial and modifier positions marked by a discourse cue.

The choice between these two options is determined by the interest of the analyst. The majority of contrastive works have used the traditional segmentation of Mann and Thompson (1988) (e.g. Abelen et al. 1993, Ramsay 2001, Taboada 2004). The goal of these studies was to characterise a particular genre in terms of rhetorical structure, and for this purpose the coarser segmentation was sufficient: as Iruskieta et al. (2015) point out, while it is true that "we lose some rhetorical information at the most detailed level of the tree" with decreased granularity, "this does not... affect higher levels of tree structure" which are the most important for the characterisation of genres. An example of increased granularity in contrastive studies is Gylling (2013), who not only characterises the genre of parliamentary speeches but also accounts for the textualisation of the rhetorical relations in English, Danish and Italian.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The actual RST analysis is built on a text which is segmented into units; the two tasks, however, should remain separated for the sake of avoiding circularities – analysis depending on the units and unit choices depending on the analysis (Mann and Taboada, 2006: 428).

This work follows the boundary between rhetorical and syntactic structures as outlined by Mann and Thompson (1988) as it is considered sufficient for the characterisation of the genre of BIs. There is one major exception: all types of relative clauses are considered to be part of their matrix clauses, not separate units. Relative clauses have rather unclear status across RST literature and the differentiation of restrictive and non-restrictive types may be difficult in contrastive perspective (Gylling, 2013: 78-9). As a result, recent RST studies choose either to include both types (Gylling, 2013), or exclude relative clauses altogether (Iruskieta et al., 2015). This work follows the segmentation as outlined by Iruskieta et al. (2015) to a large degree also in other respects (see below). The types of units admitted for the analysis are now exemplified: if it is indicated that the linguistic issue can be treated differently, see Carlson and Marcu (2001) and Gylling (2013) for the overview.

#### Simple sentence

The simple sentence contains one predication realised by a finite verb plus other clause elements as required by the valency of the verb (Dušková et al., 1988: 309). Nominal clause elements realised by non-finite verb forms were not treated as separate units:<sup>11</sup>

- (6) [Autoři se pokusili koncepcí výkladu pokrýt celou oblast oboru.] (CZ1)
- (7) [In the following pages we will be focusing <u>on mapping and analysing these</u> <u>changes.</u>] (EN3)

#### **Compound sentence**

The compound sentence consists of two or more clauses which are not dependent on one another, i.e. they can stand on their own (Dušková et al., 1988: 588). These clauses were treated as separate units, including clauses with an ellipted subject, as it was in all cases easily recoverable from the context:

- (8) [Z hlediska zpracovávaných variet češtiny jsme se snažili neomezovat svá zkoumání jen na jazyk spisovný (včetně některých mluvených tvarů),] [ale pokusili jsme se do nich zahrnout i nekodifikované tvary, obecnou češtinu, někdy i slangy, v minimální míře pak nářečí, v malé míře i tvary dnes už pociťované jako archaismy.] (CZ4)
- (9) [The present study examines the interactional effects of technology,] [and later explores the social and linguistic implications of communicating in second language chat rooms.] (EN4)

The approaches to ellipted (auxiliary) verbs may differ: here, they do not constitute a separate unit as they cannot stand readily on their own (cf. Iruskieta et al., 2015):

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> A minimal unit is marked by square brackets.

- (10) [In this initial chapter the theoretical bases for the research <u>will be introduced</u> <u>and critiqued.</u>] (EN3)
- (11) [Nepředkládají sice všeobsahující kompendium, nýbrž ve výběru tu současnou stylistickou tematiku, kterou pokládají za základní]... (CZ1)

#### **Complex sentence**

The complex sentence consists of one main clause accompanied by one dependent clause, each of which contains predication: the relation between the clauses is that of subordination, and dependent clauses typically start with a subordinator (Dušková et al., 1988: 588). Out of the three types of subordinate clauses (Dušková et al., 1988: 594), only adverbial clauses are treated as separate units; nominal content clauses and relative clauses remain part of their matrix clauses (as was discussed above):

- (12) [While questions of method constitute a major focus of our discussion,] [the book is not intended to be a handbook or an inventory of techniques]... (EN1)
- (13) [V první kapitole ukážeme, z kterých myšlenkových zdrojů pojetí jazykové normy v české lingvistice vykrystalizovalo, jaké byly rysy pojmu norma v klasickém pojetí a místo normy v pojmoslovné soustavě Pražské školy.] (EN2)
- (14) [Over the past decade and a half the field of sociolinguistics has experienced remarkable growth which is marked not simply by the continuing attraction of new scholars to the field but more importantly by the expanding range of approaches now practiced by sociolinguists.] (CZ3)

Reporting clauses do not form separate units in the present work (cf. Iruskieta at al., 2015).

To summarize, minimal units in the present work are represented by complex sentences, coordinated clauses and adverbial subordinate clauses, all of which include at least one finite verb. However, there is one exception to this: adverbial clause elements realized by non-finite verb forms were also included in the analysis:

(15) ... [and chapters 6 and 7 focus on linguistic issues,] [discussing various aspects of data analysis and interpretation related to phonological variation, and grammatical variation.] (EN1)

This decision was motivated by the fact that English adverbial of purpose is realized by nonfinite verb forms mostly (Quirk et al., 1985: 1107). As only six adverbials realized by nonfinite forms were found, two of which were adverbial of purposes, the decision did not seem to make segmentation more sensitive to English structure to a great extent. More commentary is provided in the following section.

#### **3.2.1.3 Summary**

The following tables give a summary of the number of units and words found in each BI and language according to the segmentation principles outlined above:

	EN1	EN2	EN3	EN4	Total/Average
Units	23	24	20	40	107
Words	320	437	342	583	1682
Average: W/U	13.91	18.20	17.1	14.58	15.95

 Table 6: Numbers in English data

	CZ1	CZ2	CZ3	CZ4	Total/Average						
Units	30	18	28	36	112						
Words	408	328	570	647	1953						
Average: W/U	13.6	18.22	20.36	17.97	17.54						
Table 7. Num	Table 7. Numbers in Creab date										

 Table 7: Numbers in Czech data

The Czech corpus is larger in terms of word count by 271 words, but only by 5 units (this difference is expressed in average length of a unit: 15.95 in English and 17.54 in Czech). This could indicate that the approach to segmentation was not sensitive to Czech syntactic structure. It was considered whether the inclusion of relative clauses (20 in English, 29 in Czech) would improve the proportion of words to units in the data. The average length of a unit in words in English was 13.24, and in Czech 13.85. It was evident that the discrepancy between languages after the inclusion of relative clauses was smaller by one word (0.61 as opposed to 1.59). On the other hand, a closer look at the individual texts shows that some of them are comparable (especially the texts with prefaces, CZ1, CZ2, EN1, EN2). One other feature influencing the numbers was that authors of all BIs but the Czech ones especially (e.g. CZ3) make use of multiple clause elements to give lists of various details of their subject matter.

The present work distinguishes between three types of units: sentences, coordinated clauses and subordinated clauses (we subsume adverbials realized by non-finite verb forms in the last category after Quirk et al. (1985)). The number of the latter two can show to what extent the syntactic segmentation influenced the overall segmentation of the texts. The results are given in the following Tables:<sup>12</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Out of the pair of coordinated clauses in the text only one clause is counted in the table. If more than two clauses were included, each was counted except for the first one.

Syntactic units	EN1	EN2	EN3	EN4	Total	%
Total number of units	23	24	20	40	107	100%
<b>Coordinated clauses</b>	2	4	5	9	20	19%
Subordinated clauses	3	4	1	7	15	14%
Total	5	8	6	16	35	33%

Table 8: Types of syntactic units in English

Syntactic units	CZ1	CZ2	CZ3	CZ4	Total	%
Total number of units	30	18	28	36	112	100%
Coordinated clauses	10	2	5	9	26	23%
Subordinated clauses	1	0	2	6	9	8%
Total	11	2	7	15	35	31%

**Table 9: Types of syntactic units in Czech** 

The comparison shows that the syntactic segmentation influenced the texts to a similar extent of 33% for English and 31% for Czech. It also shows that there is a discrepancy as to the types of units found: coordinated clauses are more frequent in Czech by 15% while in English by 5%. It may be the case that some adverbial functions are expressed by coordinated clauses in Czech. Indeed, the repertoire of coordinated relations in Czech is not only wider (apart from the additive, adversative, alternative and causal relations common to both languages, there is a relation of intensification (poměr stupňovací) and of effect (poměr důsledkový),<sup>13</sup>) but also richer in clausal and effect expressions (Karlík et al. 1995: 516-518). The inclusions of relative clauses resulted merely in finer segmentation (43% for English and 46% for Czech) but the extent of syntactic segmentation remained similar.

To summarise, the segmentation of the material took into consideration the generic and syntactic boundaries as laid out by RST. The major differences lie in the exclusion of relative clauses and in the inclusion of adverbials realized by non-finite verb forms. It was assessed whether this type of segmentation is approapriate for both languages by pointing to the average length of a unit in both languages and to the extent of syntactic segmentation within the overall segmentation. As the objective of the present work is to characterise the genre of book introductions merely in terms of relations, and not their realisation, the results for the segmentation are considered sufficient.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> According to Dušková et al. (1988: 592), the first type is similar to the English correlative *not only... but also*, the second type being equivalent to English clauses containing adverbs *therefore, so, thus* etc.

#### 3.2.2 Annotation

#### **3.2.2.1** Process

The next step after the segmentation was to annotate the BIs in terms of rhetorical structure. As the text is considered a vehicle of W's intentionded effects that he/she wanted to create on R, the analyst's task is defined in terms of the rediscovery of these intentions (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 246; Mann and Taboada, 2006: 443). As the analyst "has no direct access to either the writer or other readers", W's intentions are judged against extra-linguistic context (see Section 2.3.1). The knowledge of context does not guide the analysis process, but RST analyses always start with the inspection of the text (Sanders and van Wijk, 1996: 94-5): the analyst draws assumptions about W's intentions from the text and judges them against the context only later to ensure that the intentions are plausible.

The contextual information is not handled in a formal way in RST: it represents assumed knowledge on the part of the analyst (see Section 2.3.1). The present work specified the context of book introductions from the genre perspective (see Section 2.2) and from its empirical counterpart (see section 3.1). The intentions of each BI were judged against the understanding of the role of this genre as a vehicle of the writer's reflection on how his/her monograph contributes to the process of creating knowledge in general, and to the body of works about a specific topic in particular. The knowledge gained from the genre perspective proved to be valuable to the analyses.

The analyst's work with the text, as described by Mann and Taboada, can be decomposed into more elementary subtasks (2006: 445): apart from segmenting the text into units, these tasks include

- aggregating units and spans into larger ones,
- discerning which relation definitions apply to a pair of spans,
- deciding which span was more central to the author's local purpose,

all of which are accompanied by judging W's purposes. The final product of the analysis is a hierarchical structure of rhetorical relations as presented throughout Section 2.3. The first subtask identified above tackles one aspect of the hierarchy, namely *what* is related in RST analysis, i.e. the size and nature of text-spans. The second and third subtasks above lead to the identification of *how* text-spans are related and correspond to the actual RST analysis which consists of "applying schemas to the text" (Mann and Taboada, 2006: 427). Identification of the nuclearity and functionality of relations was guided by tests and relation definitions, as it

was illustrated in Section 2.3.2.1. Two tests on how to recognise nuclei from satellites were used: the less central span (Satellite) can typically be left out or substituted by another without disturbing the coherence of the text (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 265-6).

When analysing BIs, the first subtask to aggregate the units into groups proved to be a very useful step. After considering that RST relation definitions state that satellites either contribute to the content of the text (in subject-matter relations) or increase some inclination in the reader (in presentation relations), the larger groups of units were identified on the basis of their perceived common functions, i.e. either to present a specific piece of thematically-related content or to influence the reader. Unit groups then formed a basis for the identification of the hierarchy: the larger the text span, the higher in the hierarchy it would appear. One of the problems with text-spans appeared when relations between them were to be identified: the question what exactly is related was problematic, especially at high levels of the hierarchy.

In the analysis of the text EN1, six larger groups were identified. Then, it was decided that the first group differs from other groups as it seemed that it was not directly involved in what the rest of the text dealt with, i.e. making recent findings on mental lexicon available. It was concluded that spans (1.-3.) and (4.-23.) would represent the highest level in the hierarchy. Determining the relation between these two spans was problematic, partly due to the fact that it was difficult to determine the meaning of spans at higher levels:

(16) 1.This book deals with words. 2.It sets out to answer the questions: how do humans manage to store so many words, and how do they find the ones they want?
3.In brief, it discusses the nature of the human word-store, or "mental lexicon." (EN1)

Span (1.-3.) is a good example of this problem, as it is not clear whether the span speaks about what the monograph does, i.e. it presents the topic of mental lexicon, whether it introduces a subject matter, i.e. the meaning of mental lexicon, or whether it, in fact, carries both these functions. As there are presentational relations as well, the relevant meaning of the span may not be involved with the semantic content at all, but with the pragmatic meaning. After taking context into consideration, the first option seemed the most relevant for W's purposes. However, the final meaning was determined in relation to span (4.-23.), which was the question of two remaining analytic subtasks.

Applying schemas to BIs involved two considerations. The hierarchical structure consists of schemas whose effects contribute to the effects of higher schemas (see Section

2.3.4). Therefore, applying schemas to a text thus meant to search for W's purpose within the schema itself and to consider how the effect that a schema creates contributes to W's purpose on a higher level, while obeying the principles of connectedness, uniqueness and adjacency and completedness. In other words, the identification of any schema always depends on the identification of other schemas. Therefore, it has been pointed out that strictly following either bottom-up or top-down analytic procedures is not practical at every point, and that rather opportunistic analysis is necessary (Mann and Taboada, 2006: 444).

The interdependence of schemas was indeed one of the challenges in the analysis: sometimes, it was not possible to determine the type of relation without considering relations of other schemas and vice versa. The analysis thus proceeded from the top as well as from the bottom. Firstly, schemas were identified *within* the larger groups (see the first analytic task). This analysis was sometimes straightforward, sometimes less so. Secondly, schemas were identified *between* the larger groups. This task was more difficult because it was less clear what is related. In the text EN1, spans (1.-3.) and spans (4.-23.) (see above) bore some relation but it was unclear which element was more important and which relation held between them. In the difficult cases on both levels, more options were taken into consideration. They were judged from the perspective of W's intentions separately and in combination with the rest of the structure. Lower relations sometimes helped to determine higher relations and vice versa. The key to the final analysis was the determination; after that, it was easier to annotate the rest of the structure.

Hopefully, it was illustrated how RST analyses of BIs were made and how they included considerations of W's intention via the shared context. As was already suggested, the analyst's task necessarily includes subjective judgments. The claim that he/she makes about the effect of each relation is of the following form (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 246):

# (17) *It is plausible to the analyst that it is plausible to the writer that R recognizes the situation presented in N as a solution to the problem stated in S.*

The role of subjective judgment is, on one hand, acknowledged as controversial by the authors themselves, while on the other it is defended as the only way to account for functionality within texts (Mann et al., 1989: 18-9). RST analyses have proven to be reliable since the first publications. The testing of analysts' agreement carried out by Den Ouden et

al., showed that there was a high degree of consistency among the analysts (Taboada and Mann, 2006: 444).

One of the experiences of the present analysis was that the identification of nuclearity was easier than the identification of a specific relation. From a different perspective, the annotation of the structure in terms of spans, nuclei and their combination would be perhaps more reliable than the annotation of the types of relations in the structure. This is supported by Gylling (2012: 64) who gives a more detailed overview of annotation reliability. His study compared results from two annotators: the identification of spans and nuclearity was very reliable (Kappa values above 0.80), while relation labelling only allowed tentative conclusions (Kappa value 0.63).

#### 3.2.2.2 Product

Once the texts were analysed in terms of relations, the result was recorded in the annotation programme RSTTool (O'Donnell, <u>http://www.wagsoft.com/RSTTool/</u>). The segmented text was uploaded to the programme in a txt format created in Microsoft Word. RSTTool allows the analyst to mark unit boundaries, structure the text and compute basic statistics. The relation was assigned in the "Link" mode: after dragging and dropping a Satellite span onto the Nucleus span, the programme offers a list of relations to choose from. A schema was assigned in the "Add Span" mode: by clicking on the Nucleus, the new span is created. The annotation starts at the bottom with higher level schemas being completed in the same manner: higher level spans are represented by a combination of numbers (e.g. 1.-3.). Symmetric relations were created in a special "Add MultiNuc" mode: after clicking on one span, the analyst chooses from a list of multinuclear relations. Other spans are added to the first one in the "Link" mode by dragging and dropping the second span onto the span number of the first one.

Multiple analyses can appear and are regarded as informative. However, multiple analyses are rare as judging of W's purposes via the shared context disambiguates most of the cases (Mann and Taboada, 2006: 442). There is multiplicity in the relation assignment as well as in the structure assignment. Two types of multiple analyses are distinguished: if they are compatible, they are called simultaneous analyses, and their multiplicity adds to the meaning of the structure (Mann et al., 1987: 28). If multiple analyses are not compatible with each other, they are recognised as ambiguous, i.e. the analyst recognises that "any of several

incompatible analyses are plausible, and that the text does not provide a sufficient basis to disallow any of them" (Mann et al., 1987: 28). The present work acknowledges that multiple analyses may occur in BIs but they are not treated here due to the scope of present work. Multiplicities may be relevant to BIs, especially as Bhatia (1994) pointed out that some book introductions may have dual function, to introduce and to promote the book (see Section 2.2.2). The texts CZ1 and EN1 could perhaps be considered from this perspective, one example is given in the analysis but the issue is not treated systematically.

The annotated data were evaluated from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives. The specific procedures were inspired by the genre studies from an RST perspective as it was presented in Section 2.3.4. The quantitative point of view shows types of relations, their frequency and position in the hierarchy, and the qualitative perspective focuses on the main effect and how other effects contribute to it within the structure as a whole, including information about where relations appear thematically (cf. Taboada, 2004). Where relevant, other features are noted, such as the left-right position of spans. The hypothesis is also based on the overview of studies in Section 2.3.4: it is expected that genres of BIs will have the same basis across languages and that they will differ only in particularities. As monographs are also discussed in two groups, as summary monographs and research monographs, there may be other differences between the two sub-genres. The emphasis is on summary monographs in each language, research monographs complement the main presentation and their discussion is oriented towards the comparison with summary monographs.

# 4 Analysis

This Section presents the results of rhetorical analysis from quantitative and qualitative perspectives. Section 4.1 describes book introductions in English, Section 4.2 book introductions in Czech, Section 4.3 briefly compares the two languages with respect to the findings in the previous section. In addition, the discussion differentiates between summary and research monographs, which may further point to which features are typical for the sub-genres on one hand, and for the languages on the other hand.

# 4.1 Book introductions in English

# 4.1.1 Summary monographs

Summary monographs in English are represented by Aitchison's Words in the Mind (EN1) and by Milroy and Brown's Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation (EN2). In accordance with Swales (2004: 14; see Section 2.2), the main function of these monographs is seen in presenting what can be considered codified knowledge of the field, or expressing what the topic or the field actually refers to, as evident for example in "variationist sociolinguistics has emerged for us in the course of our writing as an increasingly exciting field" (Milroy and Brown, 2003: 226).<sup>14</sup> Not surprisingly, this picture is provided by leading scholars in their respective fields. The relation of summary monographs to the past research is vital: as evident from the title itself, they summarise previous findings. EN1 summarises important findings on the topic of mental lexicon, and as such provides its overall picture (Aitchison, 2012: 206); EN2 summarises sociolinguistic theory and methods, thus giving an overview of the entire field of variationist sociolinguistics (Milroy and Brown, 2003: 226). What the presentation of codified knowledge means for the audience is, above all, information about the state of the research field and gaps and points of uncertainty and conflict. Both monographs are oriented towards anyone interested in the topic (Aitchison, 2012: vii; Milroy and Brown, 2003: vii) but also represent an invitation to approach the topic creatively to fill in the gaps which appeared (Aitchison, 2012: 206; Milroy and Brown, 2003: 226).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Moreover, both monographs have in this sense older predecessors: the EN2 monograph had its origin in Milroy's *Observing and Analysing Natural Language* (1987) while the EN1 BI introduces a fourth edition of the book. This only reinforces the central function of summary monographs to present the current picture of knowledge at hand.

# 4.1.1.1 Quantitative analysis

The first insight into the organisation of summary BIs can be provided by the overview of relations sorted into three categories, and their frequencies, offered in the following table:

Relations/Texts	EN1	%	EN2	%	Total	%
Subject-matter Asymmetric	11	55%	8	40%	19	47.5%
Elaboration	6	30%	4	20%	10	25%
Circumstance	2	10%	1	5%	3	7.5%
Means	3	15%	1	5%	4	10%
Purpose			1	5%	1	2.5%
Volitional Cause			1	5%	1	2.5%
Subject-matter Symmetric	4	20%	3	15%	7	17,5%
Conjunction	1	5%			1	2.5%
Sequence			1	5%	1	2.5%
List	1	5%	2	10%	3	7.5%
Contrast	2	10%			2	5%
Presentational	5	25%	9	45%	14	35%
Background	3	15%	3	15%	6	15%
Evidence			1	5%	1	2.5%
Justify	1	5%			1	2.5%
Antithesis			2	10%	2	5%
Concession			3	15%	3	7.5%
Summary	1	5%			1	2.5%
Total	20	100%	20	100%	40	100%

Table 10: Overview of relations in English summary monographs

The last two columns show the total differences for subject-matter and presentational relations found in English summary BIs. In 65% of cases, W wanted R to recognise the elements of the given subject-matter, in 35% of cases W used relations to increase some inclination in R (see Section 2.3.2.2). Moreover, the symmetric type of presentation of the subject matter was preferred in slightly more than one quarter of cases (cf. 47.5% vs. 17.5%), i.e. the type of presentation where elements of the subject matter are of the same importance to W (see Section 2.3.2.1). However, the columns representing individual BIs show that the total numbers are not representative for each text regarding effects of relations. The difference along the Sr/Pr divide is 20% (EN1: 75% and 25% vs. EN2: 55% and 45%): the relations that seem responsible for the bias are Antithesis and Concession in EN4 and possibly Elaboration in EN3; and may be considered as representing variability within the genre. The numbers for symmetric relations are very similar in both BIs: they represent slightly more than one quarter of cases (EN1: cf. 55% vs. 20%; EN2: cf. 40% vs. 15%).

Relations can be also seen from a different perspective, i.e. their distribution in relation to the levels of hierarchical structure shows their importance to W:

<b>Relations/Levels</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total	%
Elaboration			2		3	1	6	30%
Circumstance					1	1	2	10%
Means			1	2			3	15%
Conjunction						1	1	5%
List						1	1	5%
Contrast				1		1	2	10%
Background	1	1		1			3	15%
Justify					1		1	5%
Summary		1					1	5%
Total	1	2	3	4	5	5	20	100%

Table 11: Levels of relations in EN1

<b>Relations/Levels</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	%
Elaboration			1	1		2		4	20%
Circumstance				1				1	5%
Means		1						1	5%
Purpose							1	1	5%
Volitional Cause					1			1	5%
Sequence					1			1	5%
List						1		2	10%
Background	1		1			1		3	15%
Evidence		1						1	5%
Antithesis				2				2	10%
Concession					2	1		3	15%
Total	1	2	2	4	4	6	1	20	100%

 Table 12: Levels of relations in EN2

As the Tables above show, presentational relations become more prominent in both texts, as they are situated on the first two levels of hierarchy, esp. Background, but they also appear on the middle and lower levels. Some asymmetric subject-matter relations appear higher, especially Elaboration and Means, but the rest at the bottom. All symmetric S relations seem to be reserved for the lowest levels.

Quantitative analysis showed that there are some common features in English summary monographs. Subject-matter effects are more prominent in terms of frequency but presentational effects are more prominent with regard to relevancy. Relations common to both texts are notably Elaboration, Means and Background, which also shared similar characteristics with regards to position, and partly frequency. Other relations were lower in numbers and less important in the structure. This excludes Antithesis and Concession in EN2 which may represent a type of variation within the genre. Symmetric Srs in total seem to have firm characteristics, not only in frequency but also in position. What follows is an illustration of these relations.

# 4.1.1.1.1 Elaboration

Elaboration is the most frequent relation in both summary monographs and in total: it appeared in 25% of all cases, in 30% in EN1 and in 20% in EN2. The relation appears in various contexts but the common feature is that W wanted R to recognize that S provides a detail about the situation or some element of subject matter in N (see Appendix I. for relation definitions). It is also a versatile relation, appearing on both higher and lower levels of the structure.

The higher-level Elaboration is provided in the Example below which describes the state of past research. In N (4.), W claims that the topic of mental lexicon has received a lot of attention recently, and S (5.-8.) provides details about this information by using Contrast relation (see Appendix I.): by contrasting the amount of attention before and after the first publication of the book, R realises how truly large the change of attention was:

(18) [4. This is a topic which has recently attracted the attention of a large number of researchers.] [5. At one time, much of the work was tucked away in scholarly journals and conference proceedings. 6. Yet since the first edition of this book was published (1987), 7. the mental lexicon has become a trendy topic, 8. and the number of books published on it has escalated.] (EN1)

It was considered whether the relation in this Example could be Restatement, as the amount of attention is specified rather vaguely, but S still seemed to give more information than N. It was also considered whether W might have wanted to support his claim in N by Evidence S, but it was concluded that W's intention was primarily to provide more details about a situation that he wanted to describe. Mann and Thompson claim that Elaboration and Evidence can be similar in some contexts; however, judging W's intentions helps to disambiguate these cases (1987: 30).

A high level Elaboration relation was found in EN2 as well in the context of describing the aim of the book. N (3.) expresses that the monograph aims to present a picture of the current state of sociolinguistic research, S (4.-10.) elaborates that the presentation focuses on methods in relation to theory, expressed particularly in (9.):

(19) [3.This book seeks to provide readers with a sense of the range of this research.]
 [... 5.the book is not intended to be a handbook or an inventory of techniques...
 9.Methodological problems and principles will therefore be discussed not only in practical terms, but in terms of the assumptions underlying the chosen method and

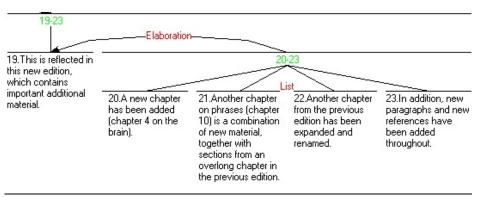
the theoretical goal of the research. 10.An account of method divorced from theory is not considered to be helpful, desirable, or even possible.] (EN2)

This satellite is more complex in that the specification in (9.) is flanked by two Antitheses satellites serving to increase R's appreciation of the fact that methods are intended to be discussed in relation to theory (see discussion on Antithesis below).

Finally, Elaboration appears on lower levels too, for example in the situations describing how the book is written. In N (11.), W claims that the book is written in an accessible manner.<sup>15</sup> The situation has one Elaboration satellite in which the two spans are in a Conjunction relation (see Appendix I.), i.e. they form a unit to express that part of accessibility is the careful treatment of specialised vocabulary (12.-13.):

(20) [11.The book does not presuppose any previous knowledge of linguistics or psychology.] [12.It contains a minimum of jargon, 13.and all technical terms are fully explained.] (EN1)

The Elaboration satellite is, in fact, often combined with symmetric relations, especially with List which gives W the opportunity to present a number of details. Consider the following diagram taken from EN1, where S gives a list of additional materials which are included in the book:





# 4.1.1.1.2 Means

The Means relation was the second most frequent subject-matter relation in summary monographs: it appeared in 10% of all relations, 15% in EN1 and 5% in EN 2. Moreover, this relation appeared mostly on higher levels of the structure. When using this relation, W wants R to recognise that S is the method or instrument which makes the realisation of N more likely (see Appendix I. for relation definitions). While N (9.-14.) states that the book has the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> This meaning was inferred from the span as it sensibly combined with span (14.) which also expressed the idea how the book was written, namely that the book includes references for further reading.

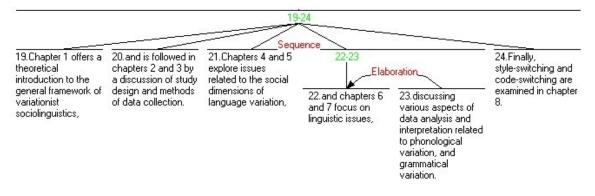
goal to make recent findings available to people, S (15.-23.) expresses that the book includes new findings. R understands that by including the additional material, the goal of making the new material available is more likely to be realised:

(21) [9.This (fourth) edition has the same aim as the earlier ones, to make recent findings on the mental lexicon available to a wide range of people, and to provide a coherent overall picture of the way it might work. ...] [... 19.This is reflected in this new edition, which contains important additional material.] [20.A new chapter has been added (chapter 4 on the brain). 21.Another chapter on phrases (chapter 10) is a combination of new material, together with sections from an overlong chapter in the previous edition. 22.Another chapter from the previous edition has been expanded and renamed. 23.In addition, new paragraphs and new references have been added throughout.] (EN1)

A similar function was found in EN2. It was mentioned that N (3.-10.) asserts that the monograph aims to present sociolinguistic methods. S (11.-24.) expresses how the book was written by presenting the book structure. R understands that the treatment of the constellation of topics, as expressed in S, makes the goal to present the picture of sociolinguistic methods more likely:

(22) [3.This book seeks to provide readers with a sense of the range of this research. ...] [...18.The basic structure of the book partly follows that of OANL. 19.Chapter 1 offers a theoretical introduction to the general framework of variationist sociolinguistics, 20.and is followed in chapters 2 and 3 by a discussion of study design and methods of data collection. 21.Chapters 4 and 5 explore issues related to the social dimensions of language variation, 22.and chapters 6 and 7 focus on linguistic issues, 23.discussing various aspects of data analysis and interpretation related to phonological variation, and grammatical variation. 24.Finally, styleswitching and code-switching are examined in chapter 8.1 (EN2)

Moreover, the book structure is presented in the Sequence relation: R recognises that the topics are arranged in succession (see Appendix I.). This is interesting because the same function was expressed by List in the previous example. A closer look at the N situations may help to explain this difference: the goal in Example 21 is to offer new findings mainly, while the goal in Example 22 is to present the topic as a new (organised) whole. The description of the contents fits these goals very well, underlining the difference between the two monographs: EN1 is a new edition of the book on mental lexicon, EN2 is more radical redefinition of the whole field.



# **Figure 7: Sequence relation**

# 4.1.1.1.3 Background

Background was the second most frequent relation in summary monographs: it appeared in 15% of all cases, and in 15% in both texts. It proved to be quite a versatile relation, as it was responsible for the top-level relations but appeared throughout the structure, even at the lowest levels. After reading Background S, R is more able to understand N. The Constraint on N is that R will not comprehend N sufficiently, i.e. there is a gap in knowledge. S contains general information of any sort that is likely to help the reader to understand N (see Appendix I. and RST website).

Higher-level Backgrounds were used in both texts as a relation connecting information about the previous research and about the monograph. In N (9.-23.), W introduces her monograph in terms of its goal; S (4.-8.) provides general information for the recent findings: by expressing that there have been many, R understands more that the goal of the monograph is to provide an updated comprehensive account of the topic:

(23) [4.This is a topic which has recently attracted the attention of a large number of researchers. 5.At one time, much of the work was tucked away in scholarly journals and conference proceedings. 6.Yet since the first edition of this book was published (1987), 7.the mental lexicon has become a trendy topic, 8.and the number of books published on it has escalated.] [9.This (fourth) edition has the same aim as the earlier ones, to make recent findings on the mental lexicon available to a wide range of people, and to provide a coherent overall picture of the way it might work...] (EN1)

A similar function was found in EN2. N involves the whole span (3.-24.) expressing the goal of the monograph. Without S (1.-2.) which expresses that the field has changed qualitatively in terms of approaches taken, it may not be as clear that the monograph is a comprehensive account, a re-definition, of the whole field:

(24) [1.Over the past decade and a half the field of sociolinguistics has experienced remarkable growth which is marked not simply by the continuing attraction of new scholars to the field but more importantly by the expanding range of approaches

now practiced by sociolinguists. 2. Evidence of the expanding interests of sociolinguistic researches can be seen in the kinds of linguistics phenomena they investigate, the data they consider, the analytical tools they employ to uncover patterning, and the linguistic and social theories they draw upon to interpret their results.] [3. This book seeks to provide readers with a sense of the range of this research....] (EN2)

It should be mentioned that recognising relations at higher levels is more difficult and that other relations were considered, including Solutionhood and Volitional Cause. Solutionhood (see Appendix I.) was rejected as the monograph did not seem to be described as a solution. Volitional Cause (see Appendix I.) seemed more likely as the relation expresses motivation for given actions. However, it seemed more plausible that motivation is a secondary function, the primary one being to make clear what the monograph is supposed to represent.

# 4.1.1.1.4 Antithesis

The EN2 text showed two relations concerned with increasing R's positive regard for N. The first is Antithesis: the situations in N and S are in contrast and W has positive regard for N only. As a result, R's positive regard is increased too (see Appendix I.). Increasing R's positive regard appeared in the context of describing the goal of the book, i.e. its aim to provide an overview of methods within their theoretical background (see 9. below). W regards this goal positively but suspects that R may not. Discussion of methods within the theory in N (7.-9.) is contrasted with discussion of methods without theory in the two satellites (4.-6.) and (10.):

(25) [....5.the book is not intended to be a handbook or an inventory of techniques...] [....9.Methodological problems and principles will therefore be discussed not only in practical terms, but in terms of the assumptions underlying the chosen method and the theoretical goal of the research. ...] [10.An account of method divorced from theory is not considered to be helpful, desirable, or even possible.] (EN2)

W's disregard for S is perhaps more evident in (10.) where the account without theory is described as not "helpful, desirable, or even possible"; in (4.-6.), this type of account seems to be rejected only by negation.

# 4.1.1.1.5 Concession

However, the rejection in (5.) is further heightened by the Concession relation, which is also concerned with increasing R's positive regard. W has positive regard for N but this time S is compatible with N, the contrast with S is only apparent (see Appendix I.). Once the goal of presenting methods without theory is rejected in N (5.), W seeks to increase R's positive regard for the rejection by presenting ideas that are still compatible with the rejection.

# (26) [4.While questions of method constitute a major focus of our discussion,] [5.the book is not intended to be a handbook or an inventory of techniques,][6.although it certainly is designed to be of practical value to anyone interested in studying the ways people use language in various social contexts.] (EN2)

In S (4.), W claims that methods remain the major focus of discussion; in S (6.), W claims that the discussion is still intended to be used for practical purposes. Both Concession satellites serve as a gentle attempt to increase R's positive regard for the rejection of discussion without theory. The whole passage is concerned with the idea to increase R's appreciation that methods are to be discussed in relation to theory.

# 4.1.1.2 Qualitative analysis

One can now present how the relations are combined within individual texts. Figure 8 gives the abstract representation of the most important relations in the EN1 structure.<sup>16</sup> These relations were chosen because they related larger thematic units to the structure. The central nucleus in text EN1 was found in span (1.-3.), which expresses that the book presents the topic of mental lexicon. The other span (4.-23.) forms a Background satellite which makes R to understand that the presentation of the topic is part of an attempt to provide a comprehensive account of the most recent understanding of the topic. This information is made comprehensible owing to another Background satellite (4.-8.) which presents the state of the previous research.

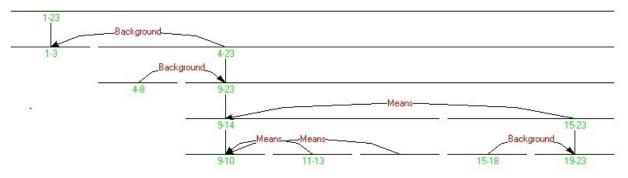


Figure 8: Rhetorical structure of EN1

The Means satellites present methods through which the aim to provide the full account of the topic is to be achieved. The Means satellite (15.-23.) lists all new findings included in the book, with another Background satellite (15.-18.) making it again clear that the new findings are included as part of the effort to provide the full account. Thanks to Means satellites (11.-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> The text is not given due to constraints of space. All full diagrams can be found in Appendix III.

13.) and (14.), R recognises how the careful writing, including treatment of language, and inclusion of references for further reading tend to make the realisation of the goal more likely.

Figure 9 gives the abstract representation of the essential relations in structure EN2. The nucleus on the top level is span (3.-24.) which expresses the goal of the monograph, i.e. to provide a comprehensive, re-defined account of the sociolinguistic field. This understanding is made available to R owing to Background satellite (1.-2.) which describes qualitative changes in the sociolinguistic research.

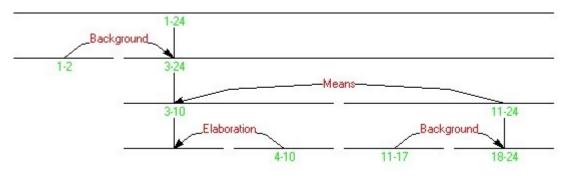


Figure 9: Rhetorical structure of EN2

Means satellite (11.-24.) describes the structure of the book: R recognises how the organisation of topics in the book tends to make the realisation of the goal to present the field more likely. Another Background satellite (11.-17.) expresses how the book is a completely new version of an older monograph by the author: it is plausible that this information serves to increase R's understanding that the present organisation of the monograph is, indeed, a newly redefined version. Elaboration satellite (4.-10.) gives a detail as to which aspect of the field is to be discussed, i.e. methods within their theoretical background, a goal the appreciation of which is then increased by a number of arguments.

What the two structures have in common is evident from the graphic representations themselves. The central Nucleus introduces the monograph in terms of its goal. The goal is made more comprehensible by Background satellites which appear at the highest levels in the structure. Moreover, the information as to how the goal is likely to be realised is given in the Means satellites. Their function is further made comprehensible by Background satellites that make clear the method is part of an effort to achieve the goal of the monograph. It is interesting how the basic structure is similar, especially as the content differs. Rhetorical structure showed that past research and present research including presentation of methods are obligatory thematic units. Rhetorical structure further provides the hierarchy of these elements and their mutual relations: the most important relation is between present and past research, the latter serving as a facilitator of R's further understanding of the goal of the monographs; the contents of the monograph form the second most important relation indicating how the goal is intended to be achieved.

Moreover, it seems that thematic structures presented in Figure 8 and 9 may provide an additional perspective on the overall distribution of relations as it was provided by quantitative analysis. The top relations chosen are all subject-matter relations except Background. It should be mentioned that this presentational relation is closer to subject-matter relations than the rest as its effect is to increase understanding. A further look at the lower level relations within the larger thematic spans presented in the diagrams above showed that other presentational relations appeared mostly in connection with the previous research (EN1: Justify; EN2: Evidence, Concession) when W choose to promote or support a certain view of the previous research. A special feature in EN2 is the promotion of a certain approach taken as part of their own work which takes five presentational relations in total. The descriptions of the past research and the monographs are accomplished through subject-matter relations in both BIs, mainly Elaboration in combination with symmetric relations.

# 4.1.2 Research monographs

English research monographs are represented by Millar et al.'s *Lexical Variation and Attrition in the Scottish Fishing Communities* (EN3) and by Jenks's *Social Interaction in Second Language Chat Rooms* (EN4). These monographs also present a particular topic: Millar et al. deal with the development of Scots dialects (2014: 1); Jenks studies social interaction in chat rooms (2014: 1). The difference from summary monographs is in their relation to the past research: while they are firmly embedded within their certain research field — the first one within the traditional field of dialectology, the second within applied linguistics — they do not summarise previous findings but rather research language directly. In this way, they in turn contribute to their respective disciplines: Millar et al. to the understanding of the general trend of dialect loss (2014: 1), Jenks to the understanding of computer-mediated interaction, or CMC (2014: 1). The main goal of monographs it thus to contribute to the research: EN4 mentions that the findings are relevant to applied linguists and readers from related fields (Jenks, 2014: 2).

#### 4.1.2.1 Quantitative analysis

	_					
Relations/Texts	EN3	%	EN4	%	Total	%
Subject-matter Asymmetric	7	38.9%	12	32.4%	19	34.5%
Elaboration	5	27.7%	6	16.2%	11	20%
Means	1	5.6%	2	5.4%	3	5.4%
Interpretation	1	5.6%	3	8.1%	4	7.3%
Purpose			1	2.7%	1	1.8%
Subject-matter Symmetric	3	16.7%	6	16.2%	9	16.4%
Conjunction	1	5.6%	4	10.8%	5	9.1%
Contrast	2	11.1%	2	5.4%	4	7.3%
Presentational	8	44.4%	19	51.4%	27	49.1%
Background	4	22.1%	7	19%	11	20%
Evidence	2	11.1%	2	5.4%	4	7.3%
Justify			6	16.2%	6	10.9%
Antithesis	1	5.6%	1	2.7%	2	3.6%
Concession	1	5.6%	3	8.1%	4	7.3%
Total	18	100%	37	100%	55	100%

The overview of relations and their frequencies found in English BIs to research monographs is given in the following Table:

Table 13: Overview of relations in English research monographs

The total difference between subject-matter relations and presentational ones is expressed by 50.9% and 49.1% for each category. While BIs still present elements of the subject-matter more, rather than increase some inclination in R, the difference is by no means stark. Moreover, while asymmetric presentation is also preferred over symmetric, symmetric relations take up approximately one third of S relations (cf. 34.5% to 16.4% in the last column). The columns for the individual texts reveal, however, that there is a difference between both texts in terms of effects. The difference along the Sr/Pr divide is 7% (EN3: 55.6% and 44.4% vs. EN4: 48.6% and 51.4%): EN4 is the only English text which shows more presentational relations. The Table shows which relations are responsible for the difference pointing to variability within the genre: Elaboration in EN3 and Justify in EN4. The ratio for symmetric relations for both texts is approximately one third, less so in EN3 BI (EN3: cf. 38.9% vs. 16.7%; EN4: cf. 32.4% vs. 16.2%). Background seems to account for the rise of presentational relations in general.

The following Tables show the importance of relations to W's purposes. The overall distribution resembles summary BIs very much: presentational relations become more prominent in both texts, as they are situated on the first two levels of the hierarchy, especially Background, but they also appear on the middle and lower levels. Some asymmetric subject-

matter relations appear higher, esp. Elaboration and Means, but the rest at the bottom. Symmetric S relations seem to be reserved for the lowest levels:

<b>Relations/Levels</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total	%
Elaboration			1	1	1		2			5	27.7%
Means		1								1	5.6%
Interpretation			1							1	5.6%
Conjunction									1	1	5.6%
Contrast						1		1		2	11.1%
Background	1	1	2							4	22.1%
Evidence				1	1					2	11.1%
Antithesis				1						1	5.6%
Concession				1						1	5.6%
Total	1	2	4	4	2	1	2	1	1	18	100%

Table 14: Levels of relations in EN3

<b>Relations/Levels</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total	%
Elaboration			1	1		1		3			6	16.2%
Means		2									2	5.4%
Interpretation					1	2					3	8.1%
Purpose					1						1	2.7%
Conjunction				1	1			1	1		4	10.8%
Contrast					1		1				2	5.4%
Background	1	2	1	2		1					7	19%
Evidence			1						1		2	5.4%
Justify			2		1	1	2				6	16.2%
Antithesis							1				1	2.7%
Concession			1	1						1	3	8.1%
Total	1	4	6	5	5	5	4	4	2	1	37	100%

**Table 15: Levels of relations in EN4** 

Moreover, while middle level Pr and Sr relations appeared on similar levels in summary BIs, it seems that middle presentational relations appear higher in the structure in research BIs. This further adds to their presentational character.

Quantitative analysis showed that there are some common features between both BIs. Relations common to both texts are notably Elaboration, Means and Background, which are relevant both from the perspectives of frequency and position. Moreover, being higher in number and occupying the middle levels of the hierarchy, Interpretation started to emerge as an important relation, as well as Antithesis and Concession. Together with Background, presentational relations became more important than in summary BIs. What is also common to both BIs is the occurrence of symmetric relations on lower levels and in one third of Sr relations. However, the results also showed that the two BIs slightly differ in the number of presentational relations: 44.4% and 51.4%, mainly because of the frequent use of Justify in EN4. Justify seems to represent rhetorical preference on the part of W of the BI: it served to justify W's commentaries about the context of the monograph, including past research (see Appendix I.).

#### 4.1.2.2 Qualitative analysis

What follows is an overall picture of how the individual relational effects are combined to create the most important effect. The Nucleus at the highest level is span (8.-20.) which is thematically unified around presenting the monograph: N (8.) expresses that it should contribute to mapping changes in the structure of dialects. S (9.-20.) gives a method how this goal is intended to be realised, e.g. by studying lexical variation and attrition.

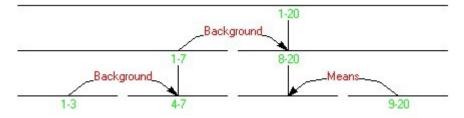
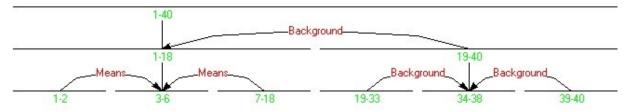


Figure 10: Rhetorical structure of EN3

The Background satellite (1.-9.) is thematically unified around describing the continual loss of Scots dialects. R thus understands better to which specific issue the research contributes. The Background satellite (1.-3.) expresses that the loss of dialects is part of losing something more: W wants R to further understand the nature of the contribution as well as its relevancy.

Figure 11 gives the abstract representation of EN4 structure. The nucleus on the top level is span (1.-18.) which is also thematically unified around the goal of the monograph, i.e. to contribute to the study of CMC. The second span on the top level is the Background Satellite (19.-40.) expressing what CMC actually studies, which adds to R's understanding of the issues within the field to which the present research contributes.





N further shows two Means satellites (1.-2.) and (7.-18.), which give the methods of how the contribution is intended to be realised, i.e. by uncovering interactional patterns in voice-based

chat rooms.<sup>17</sup> S shows two Background relations (19.-33.) and (39.-40.): the first explains that findings on CMC are timely as they describe modern ways of communicating, the second one that findings are relevant to diverse fields, such as sociology and linguistic anthropology. Both satellites increase R's understanding of the issues to which the present research contributes.

The common features found include the presentation of the goal of the monograph in the central Nucleus. Highest-level Background satellites make R understand more how the goal is relevant to the field. The information as to how the goal is intended to be realised is given in Means satellites. Both BIs also included other Background satellites to increase R's understanding of the field. These thematic units proved obligatory. What needs to be stressed with regard to Means relation is that, thematically, S expresses what the monograph deals with. The choice to annotate the structures this way was based on the texts themselves: other combinations of spans and effects did not seem plausible, which was especially true for EN4. This interpretation was checked against context knowledge and found as plausible as the characteristics of research monographs include presenting findings on a specific topic and thus contributing to the entire field. The Background satellites in this sense describe one issue in the field: R understands better to which specific issue the contribution is being made. That may be also why other Background satellites add more information about the context.

Moreover, the diagrams provide an additional perspective on the overall distribution of relations. The top structure is similar in effects to English summary BIs as well as some lower-level effects. Presentational relations appeared mostly in connection with the previous research (both: Antithesis, Evidence; EN4: Concession, Justify) when W choose to promote or support a certain view of the previous research. A special feature in EN4 is defending W's right to present a commentary on previous research. The description of the past research is also achieved by Elaboration in combination with symmetric relations and notably by Interpretation which provides assessment of the previous research. The present research is described by Elaborations and symmetric relations; Concession is again used for promoting a certain choice within the EN3 monograph. There is a rise in the frequency and importance of Background. It is used in both texts to provide general information of any sort, about the context (EN4) or about the book itself (EN3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Both Means satellite express the same idea but in the second one, R understands how W's approach differs from the rest of CMC literature.

# 4.2 Book introductions in Czech

#### 4.2.1 Summary monographs

Summary monographs in Czech are represented by Čechová et al.'s Současná stylistika (CZ1) and by Nebeská's Jazyk, norma, spisovnost (CZ2). Similarly to English, these monographs present what can be considered codified knowledge of the field, or express what the topic or the field actually refers to. Čechová et al. present their approach to the field of stylistics (2008: 13-4); Nebeská provides the overview of approaches to language regulation from a diachronic perspective (2003: 8).<sup>18</sup> The picture of the field/topic is provided by leading scholars. In relation to past research, these monographs summarise previous findings. Monograph CZ1 includes new findings on the theories of communication and standardisation and stylistic features of the Czech language (Čechová et al., 2008: 14-5). Monograph CZ2 summarises functional approaches to regulation. Nebeská is the only author who explicitly mentions one organising principle within her summary, language norm (2003: 8), pointing to the fact that summaries of this kind are by no means mechanical, but critical and creative. From an audience point of view, monographs bring information about the state of knowledge including various kinds of gaps and stimulate further research, as explicitly mentioned in CZ1 (Čechová et al., 2008: 13). The wider audience is also mentioned in CZ1 for which the informing function plays a greater role.

#### 4.2.1.1 Quantitative analysis

The overview of relations and their frequencies of Czech summary BIs is provided in Table 16 below. The total difference between subject-matter and presentational relations is expressed by approximately 84% and 16% for each category. BIs seem to aim primarily at presenting elements of the subject-matter (see Section 2.3.2.2), rather than at increasing some inclination in R (see Section 2.3.2.1). Moreover, symmetric presentation occurred only in approximately one seventh of cases (cf. 72.7% to 11.4% in the last column). However, as both BIs showed a different number of relations, the total numbers are not very representative. It is thus useful to look at the difference between the texts:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The claim that summary monographs present the current understanding of knowledge is again supported by multiple editions, cf. Čechová et al's previous editions Stylistika češtiny (1991), Stylistika současné češtiny (1997), Současná česká stylistika (2003). The different names suggests that there have been substantial changes, but the authors point out that the overall concept did not change (Čechová et al., 2008: 13-4). Nebeská is the second edition of the earlier monograph bearing the same title (Nebeská, 1996).

Relations/Texts	CZ1	%	CZ2	%	Total	%
Subject-matter Asymmetric	22	75.9%	10	66.5%	32	72.7%
Elaboration	11	38.1%	7	46.4%	18	40.8%
Means	4	13.8%	1	6.7%	5	11.4%
Volitional Cause	1	3.4%	1	6.7%	2	4.5%
Volitional Result	1	3.4%			1	2.3%
Non-volitional Cause	4	13.8%			4	9.2%
Interpretation	1	3.4%	1	6.7%	2	4.5%
Subject-matter Symmetric	3	10.3%	2	13.4%	5	11.4%
Conjunction	2	6.9%			2	4.5%
Sequence			1	6.7%	1	2.3%
List	1	3.4%			1	2.3%
Contrast			1	6.7%	1	2.3%
Presentational	4	13.8%	3	20.1%	7	15.9%
Background	4	13.8%	2	13.4%	6	13.6%
Evidence			1	6.7%	1	2.3%
Total	29	100%	15	100%	44	100%

Table 16: Overview of relations in Czech summary monographs

The difference along the Sr/Pr divide is 6.3% (CZ1: 86.2% and 13.8% vs. CZ2: 79.9% and 20.1%). After considering similar numbers for Pr and symmetric Sr relations, the biggest difference is in asymmetric Sr relations, especially Cause-Result relations in CZ1, which may represent variability in the genre. Numbers for symmetric relations also slightly differ: CZ1 shows one eighth of symmetric relations, CZ2 one sixth (CZ1: cf. 75.9% vs. 10.3%; CZ2: cf. 66.5% vs. 13.4%).

Regarding the importance of relations in Czech summary BIs, they are very similar to English summary BIs. As the Tables below show, both presentational relations appear high in the hierarchy. Symmetric Sr relations were found at the bottom except for List as well as the rest of asymmetric Sr relations except for Elaboration and Means. Notably, Elaboration represents the highest level in CZ1 and Evidence in CZ2.

<b>Relations/Levels</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total	%
Elaboration	1			3	3	2	1		1	11	38.1%
Means		1	1		1	1				4	13.8%
Volitional Cause					1					1	3.4%
Volitional Result				1						1	3.4%
NV Cause					1	1	1		1	4	13.8%
Interpretation								1		1	3.4%
Conjunction							1	1		2	6.9%
List			1							1	3.4%
Background		1	1	1		1				4	13.8%
Total	1	2	3	5	6	5	3	2	2	29	100%

Table 17: Levels of relations in CZ1

<b>Relations/Levels</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total	%
Elaboration			1		1	2	3		7	46.4%
Means			1						1	6.7%
Volitional Cause		1							1	6.7%
Interpretation					1				1	6.7%
Sequence						1			1	6.7%
Contrast								1	1	6.7%
Background		1		1					2	13.4%
Evidence	1								1	6.7%
Total	1	2	2	1	2	3	3	1	15	100%

**Table 18: Levels of relations in CZ2** 

The results from the quantitative overview of relations showed that there are some common features in Czech summary monographs. Relations common to both texts are notably Elaboration, Means and Background, which also shared similar characteristics in regard with position, and partly regarding frequency. Another common relation, though lower in number and of less relevance in the structure, was Interpretation. Cause-Result relations in CZ1 may represent a type of variation within the genre as well as the highest positions of Elabaration in CZ1 and Evidence in CZ2. Symmetric Sr relations seem to have firm characteristics, not only in frequency but also in position. What follows is an illustration of these relations.

# 4.2.1.1.1 Elaboration

Elaboration in Czech summary monographs has similar characteristics as in English BIs. It is the most frequent relation in both summary monographs, i.e. in 38.1% in CZ1, in 46.4% in CZ2; and in total, 40.8%, appearing across various thematic contexts detailing various elements of subject matter of N. The Czech data suggests that Elaboration appears on the middle and lower levels of hierarchy, specifically from the third level downwards, with one exception in CZ1 where it appears at the top level.

The first example of Elaboration involves the central N of text CZ1 which states the goal of the monograph (28.): the book provides the current view of stylistic discipline. S (29.) elaborates that the picture includes gaps in knowledge. Moreover, the new N span (28.-29.), which carries the information that the discipline is presented as a whole, is given a detail in the form of S (30.), i.e. W wanted R to recognise that the goal involves stimulating readers as well:

(27) [28.Kniha podává prohloubený pohled na danou vědeckou disciplínu v dnešním jazykovědném kontextu; [29.v žádném případě neskrývá, ale spíše obnažuje místa dosud neřešená nebo nedořešená.]] [30.Některé pasáže mají dokonce provokovat k novému promýšlení otázek stylu.] (CZ1)

The CZ1 central Nucleus is also connected with the perhaps atypical position of Elaboration at the highest level, which was mentioned above. N (9.-30.) is thematically unified around the goal of the book, to present the current state of knowledge. S (1.-8.) elaborates on the goal specifying with the use of List relation that the book can serve both to the language professionals (1.-4.) and to students (5.-7.):

(28) [1.Předložená kniha je zaměřena na potřeby profesionálních uživatelů jazyka, především těch, jimž se stala tvorba textů a posuzování jejich stylové vytříbenosti profesí. ... 5.Autoři jsou vysokoškolští učitelé: 6.mysleli tedy i na studenty a doktorandy, 7.a proto kniha obsahuje k jednotlivým tématům poměrně rozsáhlou bibliografii českých prací, akcentující zejména práce základní a studie z posledních let. ...] [...28.Kniha podává prohloubený pohled na danou vědeckou disciplínu v dnešním jazykovědném kontextu;...] (CZ1)

The position of the Elaboration satellite at the beginning of the text is striking as it is clearly connected most with the end of the text. It can be assumed that the motivation to place S at the beginning is connected with book promotion. In this sense, it was considered whether the relation of Motivation could also be assigned (see Appendix I.): S would serve to increase R's desire to perform N, which could be understood as an indirect invitation to buy the book. However, as the number of goals reflects the actual scope of the monograph, the first option was chosen as primary.

Lower level Elaborations can be further illustrated in the text taken from CZ2. In the first example, N (1.) expresses that one classic linguistic problem concerns the relation between language use and language rules; S (2.) adds that this problem includes the problem of language regulation. In the second example, S (4.) elaborates on N (3.): R recognises that Prague's functional approach to regulation included language norms as regulation criterion:

- (29) [1.K základním otázkám, kterými se lingvistika dlouhodobě zabývá, patří vztah mezi tím, jak se mluví a píše, a tím, jak by se mluvit a psát mělo;] [2.s tím úzce souvisí otázka, do jaké míry a na základě jakých kritérií je vhodné jazykovou praxi regulovat.] (CZ2)
- (30) [3.Počátkem 30. let pražská funkční lingvistika vystoupila s promyšleným programem péče o spisovný jazyk, jehož cílem bylo přiblížit spisovný jazyk soudobému úzu.] [4.Bylo formulováno i nové kritérium jazykové správnosti: jazyková norma.] (CZ2)

These relations were problematic as both spans in both examples seemed important for the understanding of the subject-matter within the local as well as global context. It was considered whether these two examples could be assigned the relation of Circumstance where the first spans would set the interpretive frame for the second spans, making the second spans more central to W's purposes (see Appendix I.). However, the nuclearity test pointed to Elaboration.

# 4.2.1.1.2 Means

Means relation was the third most frequent relation in Czech summary monographs in total, i.e. in 11.4%; the second in CZ1 (13.8%); in CZ2 it was not as relevant in terms of frequency (6.7%), but it appeared high in the structure; which was its characteristics in CZ1 as well. Thematically, it is quite firmly associated with the presentation of methods through which goals are more likely to be realised.

In CZ1, R recognises that the goal of presenting the complex discipline of stylistics as expressed in the N span (28.-30.) is more likely to be accomplished by including what they consider basic topics and by presenting some topics from different perspectives as expressed in S (19.-27.):

(31) [...22.Autoři se pokusili koncepcí výkladu pokrýt celou oblast oboru. 23.Nepředkládají sice všeobsahující kompendium, nýbrž ve výběru tu současnou stylistickou tematiku, kterou pokládají za základní; 24.shrnují však i poznatky starší. 25.Jednotlivé kapitoly jsou – jak je patrno i z charakteristických rysů stylu – autorskými interpretacemi, 26.a proto pozorný čtenář zjistí, že se některé dílčí problémy opakují, protože jsou nazírány z různých hledisek. ...] [28.Kniha podává prohloubený pohled na danou vědeckou disciplínu v dnešním jazykovědném kontextu; ...] (CZ1)

In CZ2, N (16.) expresses the goal: the monograph seeks to provide the overview of the development of functional approaches to regulation. After reading S (6.-15.), R recognises that by studying the concept of norm, the goal is more likely to be achieved:

(32) [6.V této práci bychom se chtěli zamyslet nad tím, jak pojetí jazykové normy přispělo k řešení teoretických i praktických otázek české jazykové kultury a kde dnes vidíme jeho omezení. 7.K tématu přistupujeme z hlediska vývojového. ...] [16.Vlastním cílem práce je tedy naznačit vývojové tendence, které se v uplatňování funkčního principu regulace jazyka v české jazykovědě projevovaly a projevují.] (CZ2)

The fact that Means appears in connection with goals explains why CZ1 features four of these relations in total: as the discussion on Elaboration showed, CZ1 enumerates a list of these goals. In N (4.), W expresses that the book is intended to help language professionals solve

practical problems. Thanks to S (2.-3.), R recognises how this goal is to be achieved, which is achieved by another Means relation: by presenting theoretical concepts of stylistics in S (2.), the book should enable their understanding in N (3.); it is the understanding in S (2.-3.) that tends to make the goal to solve practical problems expressed in (4.) more likely to be realised:

(33) [[2.Jsou v ní zpracovány otázky koncepce a teorie stylistiky,] 3.a tak může být východiskem pro chápání stylových problémů a dynamiky ve stylových oblastech a národním jazyku vůbec,] [4.a tím by měla mít určitý pozitivní vliv i na praktické využití poznatků při stavbě a stylizaci komunikátů.] (CZ1)

# 4.2.1.1.3 Non-Volitional Cause

A unique feature of CZ1 is the frequent use of Non-Volitional Cause relation: together with Means and Background, it is the second most frequent relation, appearing four times, i.e. in 13.8%. No occurrence was found in CZ2, it can thus be considered an optional element in BIs. It appeared on the middle and lower levels in the structure and across thematic units. The relation is employed by W for R to recognise that the situation in N was caused by the situation in S, i.e. N is explained by S (see Appendix I.):

(34) [17.Poněvadž každý komunikát existuje ve společenské interakci,] [18.stalo se právem stylistiky přihlížet při výkladu rovněž k rozmanitým vnějším faktorům utvářejícím komunikát a upravujícím řečové chování komunikantů.] (CZ1)

In the example, N (18.) expresses that stylistics considers external factors when interpreting communicative acts, S (17.) gives reason why external factors are part of stylistics, i.e. because communication is part of social interaction (see Appendix III. for other examples).

# 4.2.1.1.4 Background

Background was the second most frequent relation in total: it appeared in 13.6% of cases. It was a stable relation in both BIs in frequency: CZ1: 13.8%; CZ2: 13.4%); and in relevancy, appearing on the highest levels as well as the lower ones. After reading Background S, R is more able to understand N: the information is included in N but is not comprehended sufficiently, S makes N more comprehensible. Thematically, it was related to the context of the monograph and the context of its method.

The CZ1 example below helps to illustrate the first type of use. N (11.-18.) expresses that the number of questions which stylistics asks makes it difficult to define the field. The focus of S (9.-10.) seems to lie in the information that to study stylistics means to study language as a whole and in its entire context:

<sup>(35) [9.</sup>Studium stylistiky je završením poznávání jazyka a řeči. 10.Sama stylistika je jazykovědnou disciplínou, která souvisí s mnoha dalšími obory lidského poznání a

jejíž zvládnutí usnadňuje komunikaci po stránce kompoziční a stylizační.] [11.Zároveň však platí, že množství otázek, které si stylistika klade a na něž očekáváme odpovědi, znesnadňuje její vymezení v kontextu jazykovědy, činí ji někdy až nepřehlednou a rozptýlenou mezi různými teoretickými koncepcemi a mezi doporučeními praktickými. ...] (CZ1)

It seems plausible that W wanted to increase R's understanding of the number of stylistic questions mentioned in N. Moreover, the difficulty to delineate stylistics due to the number of questions is the nucleus of the entire span (9.-18.) which is related as S to the N span (19.-30.): R understands more that the goal of the book is to define the field.

The second type of use can be illustrated on CZ2 BI. N (6.-15.) describes the method of the monograph, specifically, the study of the understanding of language norm as it contributed to the solution of Czech language situation. R may not comprehend sufficiently from the N span that by studying the norm, the approaches to regulation become apparent: this information is given in S (3.-5.) which states that language norms are a key criterion in function-oriented regulation:

(36) [3.Počátkem 30. let pražská funkční lingvistika vystoupila s promyšleným programem péče o spisovný jazyk, jehož cílem bylo přiblížit spisovný jazyk soudobému úzu. 4.Bylo formulováno i nové kritérium jazykové správnosti: jazyková norma. 5.Pojem jazyková norma se v české teorii jazykovém kultury stal na několik desetiletí pojmem klíčovým.] [6.V této práci bychom se chtěli zamyslet nad tím, jak pojetí jazykové normy přispělo k řešení teoretických i praktických otázek české jazykové kultury a kde dnes vidíme jeho omezení. ...] (CZ2)

The goal of monograph CZ2 is made more comprehensible by another Background satellite. N (3.-16.) expresses that the monograph seeks to provide the overview of the development of functional approaches to regulation by studying the language norm; S (1.-2.) presents that the problem of language regulation is part of the problem concerning the relation between language use and language rules:

(37) [1.K základním otázkám, kterými se lingvistika dlouhodobě zabývá, patří vztah mezi tím, jak se mluví a píše, a tím, jak by se mluvit a psát mělo; 2.s tím úzce souvisí otázka, do jaké míry a na základě jakých kritérií je vhodné jazykovou praxi regulovat.] [...16.Vlastním cílem práce je tedy naznačit vývojové tendence, které se v uplatňování funkčního principu regulace jazyka v české jazykovědě projevovaly a projevují.] (CZ2)

After comprehending S, R understands more that the description of norms not only tends to make the overview of approaches to regulation more likely, but that it may also contribute to the problem of the relation between linguistic prescription and actual language use.

## 4.2.1.1.5 Evidence

Evidence relation appears in CZ2 only but it deserves commentary as it appears on the top level of the structure. It is a presentational relation which is concerned with the truth of the situation: after reading S, R's belief in N is increased (see Appendix I.). Regarding the N situation (1.-16.), R may not be persuaded to a sufficient degree that the description of language norms may contribute to the understanding of the tension between rules and use; S (17.-18.) provides the information that the tension is explained by the norms:

(38) [...16.Vlastním cílem práce je tedy naznačit vývojové tendence, které se v uplatňování funkčního principu regulace jazyka v české jazykovědě projevovaly a projevují.] [17.V souladu se zjištěnými vývojovými tendencemi se přikláníme ke komunikačnímu přístupu k jazyku 18.a napětí mezi tím, jak mluvíme a píšeme, a tím, jak bychom mluvit a psát měli, interpretujeme jako vztah mezi normami komunikačními a jazykovými.] (CZ2)

R may be persuaded that the procedure that is supposed to accomplish the goal is valid as it is presented that the norm was related to the codification issue in a meaningful way. This relation was difficult to determine, but span (17.-18.) is clearly different from the rest of the text in its orientation toward the result, and its position at the highest level is justified.

#### 4.2.1.2 Qualitative analysis

Figure 12 gives the abstract representation of the most important relations in the CZ1 structure, chosen on the basis of major thematic changes in the text. The Nucleus at the highest level is span (9.-30.) which is thematically unified around presenting the goal of the monograph, i.e. to present the field of stylistics. The other span (1.-8.) forms Elaboration satellite specifying that the knowledge presented can also serve for tackling practical stylistic problems and as a reference point for further studies.

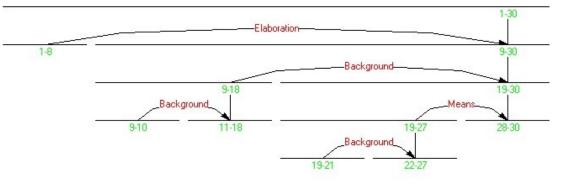


Figure 12: Rhetorical structure of CZ1

Owing to the Background satellite (9.-18.), R understands more that the presentation of the field is part of an effort to define it, which is supported by another Background satellite (9.-10.). The Means satellite (19.-27.) presents the method how the aim to provide the definition of the topic is to be achieved by detailing what is to be included and how the material is presented, with another Background satellite (19.-21.) making it clear that the presentation of methods is part of the delineation of the field.

Figure 13 gives the abstract representation of the essential relations in the CZ2 structure. The nucleus on the top level is span (1.-16.) which puts forth the aim of the monograph, to present the approaches to language regulation. The second span on the top level is Evidence Satellite (17.-18.) which increases R's belief in the credibility of the goal.

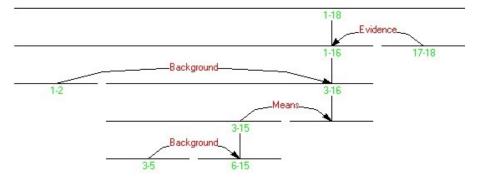


Figure 13: Rhetorical structure of CZ2

The next relation in the structure is Background (1.-2.) which makes it clearer that the presentation of the development of approaches to language regulation may contribute to the understanding of the relation between linguistic prescription and actual language use. Means satellite (3.-15.) gives the method of how the description of approaches is more likely to be achieved, i.e. by focusing on the description of language norm. The information that the norm can help in this way is made comprehensible in Background satellite (3.-5.) which introduces language norms as the central regulation criterion within functional approaches.

Both quantitative and qualitative results point to what Czech BIs to summary monographs have in common. The central Nucleus, i.e. the central span, on the clause level presents the goal of the monograph. What they share with English data are two main relations. Firstly, the goals are made more comprehensible by Background satellites, and secondly, Means satellites present how the goal is intended to be realised, which is likewise accompanied by further Background satellites that make clear that the method chosen is part of an effort to achieve the goal. It is interesting how different content is related by the same relations, even in comparison with English. The different content resurfaces again in the Means section: Czech summary BIs explicitly mention the rationale behind the organisation of the book: CZ1 shows two Elaborations, the first detailing the amount of information included, the second briefly commenting on the organisation of information; CZ2 mentions the norm as the organising principle and moves on to present the book's structure in a Sequence relation. Optional elements are represented by Elaboration of the goal (CZ1), and Evidence as to the usefulness of the suggested way to accomplish the goal (CZ2).

The genre can thus be evaluated from a qualitative point of view. Obligatory highlevel relations seem to be centred around presenting subject matter, including presentational Background which increases understanding. There is only one more lower level presentational relation on the lower levels than those indicated in the diagrams above: Czech summary monographs seem to be strongly subject-matter oriented. However, it should be mentioned that both BIs showed differences regarding subject-matter relations. CZ2 is dominated by the Elaboration relation (46.4%): the structure in the text is clearly indicated by higher levels, other pieces of information represent details elaborating on central issues. In general, both past research and the monographs are often described by Elaboration in combination with symmetric relations. Both monographs are introduced by Means relations and Volitional Causes to explain the motivation for some actions taken. Past research is assessed by Interpretation in both BIs, and explained through Non-Volitional Cause in CZ1 (see Appendix I. for relation definitions).

#### 4.2.2 Research monographs

Czech research monographs are represented by Kloferová's *Mluva v severomoravském* pohraničí (CZ3) and by Petkevič's *Morfologická homonymie v současné češtině* (CZ4). Kloferová presents the current state and development of the North-Moravian dialect (2000: 7-8); Petkevič describes morphological homonymy in Czech (2014: 10). In contrast to summary monographs, they build on the knowledge of their research field, explore various aspects of language and their findings contribute back to their field of study. Kloferová is embedded within the field of dialectology represented by *Český jazykový atlas*, or ČJA, her work is aimed to contribute to the research on dialect describe languages from a corpus perspective and/or contribute to the methodology of corpus linguistics itself, as evident in the special series published by Czech National Corpus in collaboration with a major Czech publishing

house. His work contributes to both these goals, furthermore mentioning that his description of morphological homonymy opens new perspectives on Czech language as a whole (Petkevič, 2014: 568). Audiences were not mentioned directly but it can be assumed that readers come from the respective disciplines.

#### 4.2.2.1 Quantitative analysis

The overview of relations found of Czech research BIs is given in Table 19:

Relations/Texts	CZ3	%	CZ4	%	Total	%
Subject-matter Asymmetric	12	48%	16	55.2%	28	51.9%
Elaboration	7	28%	8	27.6%	15	27.8%
Circumstance	2	8%			2	3.7%
Means	2	8%	2	7%	4	7.4%
Solutionhood			3	10.3%	3	5.6%
Volitional Cause	1	4%			1	1.8%
Condition			3	10.3%	3	5.6%
Subject-matter Symmetric	4	16%	5	17.2%	9	16.6%
Conjunction	1	4%	2	7%	3	5.6%
Sequence	1	4%	1	3.4%	2	3.7%
List			1	3.4%	1	1.8%
Contrast	2	8%			2	3.7%
Joint			1	3.4%	1	1.8%
Presentational	9	36%	8	27.6%	17	31.5%
Background	7	28%	5	17.2%	12	22.2%
Evidence			2	7%	2	3.7%
Concession	2	8%	1	3.4%	3	5.6%
Total	25	100%	29	100%	54	100%

Table 19: Overview of relations in Czech research monographs

The total difference between subject-matter relations and presentational ones is expressed by 68.5% and 31.5% for each category. These BIs still present elements of the subject-matter more than increase some inclination in R, yet in comparison to Czech summary BIs, the presentational effects are twice as much frequent (see previous Section). Asymmetric presentation is also preferred over symmetric, but symmetric relations take up approximately one quarter of Sr relations (cf. 51.9% to 16.6% in the last column), which is more than in summary BIs where the share of asymmetric relations was one sixth (see previous Section). The numbers for each BI are the same for the ratio of symmetric/asymmetric relations, i.e. approximately one fourth (CZ3: cf. 48% vs. 16%; CZ4: cf. 55.2% vs. 17.2%) but different within the Sr/Pr divide by 8.4% (CZ3: 64% vs. 36%; CZ4: 72.4% vs. 27.6%). The Table shows that Background relation is more frequent in CZ3 and Solutionhood and Condition appear in CZ4 for the first time in BIs.

The tables below show the importance of relations in the hierarchy. The pattern is very similar to the rest of monographs presented in this work. The major difference from Czech summary monographs is the rise of presentational relations but mostly in numbers and types, and not in importance, as evident from the levels below. The new Solutionhood relation appears quite high, Condition is on the lowest levels.

<b>Relations/Levels</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total	%
Elaboration			2	2	1			1		1	7	28%
Circumstance				2							2	8%
Means		1			1						2	8%
Volitional Cause					1						1	4%
Conjunction						1					1	4%
Sequence						1					1	4%
Contrast					1				1		2	8%
Background	1	1	1	1		2	1				7	28%
Concession						1	1				2	8%
Total	1	2	3	5	4	5	2	1	1	1	25	100%

 Table 20: Levels of relations in CZ3

<b>Relations/Levels</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total	%
Elaboration			1		5	1	1			8	27.6%
Means		2								2	7%
Solutionhood			2				1			3	10.3%
Condition						1			2	3	10.3%
Conjunction				1				1		2	7%
Sequence				1						1	3.4%
List				1						1	3.4%
Joint			1							1	3.4%
Background	1	1	1		1	1				5	17.2%
Evidence				1	1					2	7%
Concession				1						1	3.4%
Total	1	3	5	5	7	3	2	1	2	29	100%
Table 21. Levels of relations in C74											

 Table 21: Levels of relations in CZ4

Quantitative analysis showed the same common features with the rest of monographs including the central position of Elaboration, Means and Background. Presentational relations rise in frequency but not in importance. However, the results also showed that the two BIs slightly differed: these features illustrate variability in the genre. CZ3 is more presentation thanks to Background which, however, appears on lower levels. CZ4 is more subject-matter based: symmetric relations appear higher in the structure than is perhaps usual; Solutionhood proved as important.

### 4.2.2.2 Qualitative analysis

Figure 14 gives the abstract representation of the CZ3 structure. The Nucleus at the highest level is span (19.-28.) which is thematically unified around presenting the goal of the monograph, span (1.-18.) forms a Background satellite which introduces the context of the work. Starting from the Nucleus span, N (28.) expresses that the monograph contributes to the research on dialect development. The Means satellite (19.-27.) presents how the contribution is intended to be realised, by studying the North-Moravian dialect.

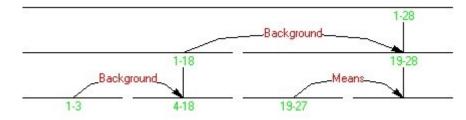


Figure 14: Rhetorical structure of CZ3

Within the Satellite span, N (4.-18.) presents the overview of research brought by ČJA, its Background S (1.-3.) expresses that ČJA represents a dialectological approach to the research on language development: R understands that ČJA along with its findings about a dialect change is part of the dialectological research. Going back to the top level, R understands that the monograph contributes to the description of dialects and their development.

Figure 15 present the CZ4 structure. The monographs is introduced in span (1.-21.). Starting from the Nucleus span, N (3.) expresses that the goal is to contribute to the theoretical description of homonymy and to make automatic morphological annotation more reliable. Two Means Satellites (1.-2.) and (4.-21.) present how the contribution is intended to be realised, i.e. by studying homonymy.<sup>19</sup>

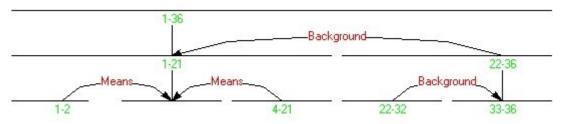


Figure 15: Rhetorical structure of CZ4

The context for the work is presented in the top Background Satellite (22.-36.). Another Background S (22.-32.) within it presents that the study of homonymy is key to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> As in EN4, the second Means satellite gives more detailed information than the first one.

morphological annotation in that the correct annotation depends on the disambiguation of homonymy. Thanks to this knowledge, R understands N (33.-36.): the description of homonymy can solve the problem of annotation. Finally, returning our attention to the top relation, R understands more which issue the monograph intends to make a contribution to.

The common features are very similar to the rest of the monographs in this thesis. The top relations found in both BIs above are considered obligatory and it is interesting that they are identical to those of English research monographs, specifically, another Background within a Background. The same commentary on the annotation presented on English research monographs is applicable to Czech. The texts, CZ4 especially, indicated that the most important element, or central Nucleus, is the goal of the monograph in terms of contribution to the field. As a result, Means is thematically about what the monograph deals with. This interpretation was also supported by longer Background satellites which provide information about a specific issue to which the contribution is intended to be made.

Lower-level relations seen from the qualitative perspective also show interesting patterns in Czech research monographs. Symmetric relations are used with Elaboration and Means both for the description of the monograph as well as its context in both BIs. Past research shows Background and Concession in both texts. Background in CZ3 is especially prominent in this function, as W adds several pieces of general knowledge about *Český jazykový atlas*. CZ4, on the other hand, shows new relations within this thematic unit. Both Solutionhood and Condition establish relations between elements of subject-matter: morphological annotation is dependant on the disambiguation of morphological homonymy and thus the description of homonymy can solve the problem of annotation. Regarding the description of monographs, CZ4 presents many symmetric relations, while CZ3 presents motivation for actions, in the form of Volitional Cause, which is promoted by Concession (see Appendix I. for relation definitions).

#### 4.3 Comparison of English and Czech book introductions

The following table gives the overview of relations found in English and Czech BIs. As evident, Czech monographs are more subject-matter oriented (75.5% vs. 24.5%) than English monographs (56.8% vs. 43.2%). The three most important relations are Elaboration (CZ: 33.6%, EN: 22.1%), Background (CZ: 18.3%, EN: 17.9%) and Means (CZ: 9.2%, EN: 7.4%). Other common relations include Interpretation, Contrast, Conjunction, Evidence and

Concession. Both languages include unique relations: in English, they are mostly presentational relations such as Antithesis, Justify and Summary; in Czech, they come from subject-matter relations such as Solutionhood, Condition and Non-Volitional cause. Further commentary is given in Conclusion in the next Section.

<b>Relations/Texts</b>	EN	%	CZ	%	Total	%
S A	38	40%	60	61.2%	98	50.8%
Solutionhood			3	3.1%	3	1.6%
Elaboration	21	22.1%	33	33.6%	54	28%
Means	7	7.4%	9	9.2%	16	8.2%
Circumstance	3	3.2%	2	2%	5	2.6%
Interpretation	4	4.2%	2	2%	6	3.1%
V Cause	1	1%	3	3.1%	4	2.1%
V Result			1	1%	1	0.5%
NV Cause			4	4.1%	4	2.1%
Purpose	2	2.1%			2	1%
Condition			3	3.1%	3	1.6%
SS	16	16.8%	14	14.3%	30	15.5%
Contrast	6	6.3%	3	3.1%	9	4.6%
Joint			1	1%	1	0.5%
Sequence	1	1%	3	3.1%	4	2.1%
List	3	3.2%	2	2%	5	2.6%
Conjunction	6	6.3%	5	5.1%	11	5.7%
Pr	41	43.2%	24	24.5%	65	33.7%
Background	17	17.9%	18	18.3%	35	18.1%
Evidence	5	5.3%	3	3.1%	8	4.2%
Justify	7	7.4%			7	3.6%
Antithesis	4	4.2%			4	2.1%
Concession	7	7.4%	3	3.1%	10	5.2%
Summary	1	1%	1		1	0.5%
Total	95	100%	98	100%	193	100%

Table 22: Comparison of rhetorical relations in English and Czech monographs

Comparison of qualitative analyses showed a difference in terms of presentation of goals of the monograph. While they are situated next to the Background information in English, Czech authors put the goals at the end of their introductions, quite far from the nucleus of Background information. Other differences include different presentation of past research as it was pointed out throughout this Section. Summary of these findings and further commentary on them is provided in the next Section.

### 5 Conclusion

The aim of the present work was to describe relational coherence in introductions to linguistic monographs in English and Czech. The framework chosen, Rhetorical Structure Theory, belongs to those theories of relational coherence which views relations as instruments actually used in communication. RST inventory comprises of thirty-two relations. The account of coherence in RST is functional for two reasons. Firstly, relations are understood as vehicles of W's intention: when using subject-matter relations, W intends for the R to recognize elements of subject-matter; when using presentational relations, W intends to increase some inclination in the R. Sr relations are further divided into asymmetric and symmetric ones according to whether the text spans are of the same importance to W or not. All Pr relations are asymmetric. Secondly, the organization of text structure is understood as a vehicle of one main intention that W has, expressed in one top-level relation and lower-level relations contributing to the main effect. As RST describes the highest relations, it seemed as well suited for the description of the genre. Relations are defined completely independently of discourse markers and although their research is also in focus of RST, it was beyond the scope of this thesis to account for them.

As cross-linguistic comparison is possible only when texts compared belong to the same genre, the theory and selection of texts were carefully considered. It was decided that if each genre is shaped by the needs of a discipline and by the generic goals, cross-linguistic comparison is possible if the genre of monograph is chosen and if it belongs to one discipline, in our case, linguistics. Monograph serves the main goal of academia, to create and spread knowledge, by which its social role is maintained. Two distinct functions of monographs were found in the literature: monographs that summarize finding on one topic and monographs that present original research. The different functions seemed to be confirmed during the actual search for the materials. It was decided that the differences between SMs and RMs will be observed as well. Four monographs were chosen for each language. The data represent various sub-fields: this allows more generalized statements but cannot account for factors influencing the choice of relations. One BI in each language represented what may be called a current research trend.

The genre of book introductions has not been explored into great detail either. The search showed that book introductions in SMs were called prefaces, while in RMs, they were

part of introductions. Even though this naming did not seem applicable generally, it may be seen as another indicator of the difference between these two types of monographs. BIs are short, written by authors themselves and serve to introduce the book. The genre of book introductions was closest to the RST annotation of a research article abstract: the main relation was Solutionhood. The hypothesis for the present work was thus necessarily vague and based only on cross-linguistic studies of other genres: the genre across languages will have the same basis; the texts may differ in particularities only, as it is recognized that the type of genre has a conditioning influence on the coherence structure. This hypothesis proved to be correct, other differences were discovered between SMs and RMs. The variability in the genre still appeared higher than in contrastive studies mentioned in this work.

Qualitative results showed that relations on the highest levels are the same across languages confirming the hypothesis that genre has a conditioning influence on the coherence structure. The only slight difference occurred between SMs and RMs. The inspection of all monographs showed that the central Nucleus, i.e. the most important text span, expresses the goal of the monograph which states that the book brings some kind of new knowledge. As such, monographs can be indeed seen as vehicles for the achievements of goals of their discourse communities.

The most important relation is Background which appeared in all BIs on the highest levels and in stable frequencies (EN: 17.9%, CZ: 18.3%). It thematically revolves around the state of the past research. Its role slightly differs in SMs and RMs: in SMs, writers use the information about past research for the reader to understand the goal of their work as a comprehensive account of a particular topic; in RMs, Background information revolves around one issue within the field of the monograph's topic and writers use this information for readers to understand to which issue their monograph makes contribution. In other words, BIs in SM are more oriented towards the content of the monograph itself while BIs in RM are more oriented towards knowledge outside of the monograph. Orientation towards knowledge is common to both types, the differences point to the different functions of these two types of monographs. The situation was the same in both languages.

The second most important relation is Means as it occurred in all monographs among the highest-level relations and was also stable in terms of frequency (EN: 7.4%, CZ: 9.2%). Means relation also differed in both types of monographs. In SMs, Means satellite thematically revolves around the organization of the monograph's content. The difference was found also between languages: British authors presented the organization of individual subtopics, one Czech author did too (CZ2) but they both gave the rationale behind the organization. In all four RMs, Means satellite is about what the monograph deals with and sometimes about the organization of the content as well (EN4, CZ4). In all cases, the information is used by writers for readers to recognize how the goal of the book is intended to be realized. In addition, all four SMs showed another Background relation which made clearer to readers that the book contents serve to realize monograph's goal. All four RMs, on the other hand, included another Background relation that increased readers understanding of the context of the monograph. This may be seen as another confirmation of different functions of SMs and RMs.

In addition, the data observed included also monographs whose topics are at the centre of attention in current linguistics (CZ4, EN4). These showed differences in contrast to the rest of the monographs in terms of the position of the Background satellite and the central Nucleus. While other monographs presented past research first and the monograph second, their order was opposite in CZ4 and EN4. It may be the case that represented fields are well known to the circle of specialists that monographs are addressed to and that writers assume that their readers know the background information already and start with what their work deals with as a way of pointing out their contribution right at the beginning. What can be also mentioned is that RMs in our data did not show Solutionhood relation on the top level as it was initially supposed it would on the basis of the RST analysis of research article abstract. Considering Swales's (1990) differentiation between research articles that fill the gap in the previous research and those that continue a well-established tradition, our structures show that RMs in the present work would belong to the latter type in their evident focus on contribution.

There was, however, one noticeable difference between English and Czech. While British authors placed the context and the goal of the monograph next to each other and continued with the introduction of methods, Czechs preferred to open their introduction with the context, they included the methods second, and the goal appeared at the very end of the BI. If it is believed that rhetorical relations are used in communication, the organization of the rhetorical structure may have effects on comprehension: readers of Czech monographs may not know for sure how to relate the various details that introductions give until they sometimes reach the very end of the text. However, what our analysis showed as incorrect is Čmejrková's claim (1999) that Czech writers rarely introduce their work and focus more on the background information. All four Czech monographs presented the goal and the method, and only CZ3 includes a slightly longer passage on past research.

Other relations may be presented both from the quantitative and qualitative point of view. The total figures may be suggestive about the characterization of the genre as a whole, although more data would be needed to make serious generalizations. Both languages included 194 relations: the majority, 66.3%, were subject-matter relations, about one third, 33.7%, were presentational relations. Apart from Background and Means, other relations common to BIs as a whole were Elaboration (28%), Conjunction (5.7%), Concession (5.2%), Contrast (4.6%), Evidence (4.2%) and Interpretation (3.1%), all of which appeared in both languages. What seems to be typical for BIs is raising an issue, elaborating on it through a number of details which are conjoined and contrasted, as has been pointed out throughout Analytical Section. Concession serves to increase reader's appreciation of various views of past research or choices taken within the monograph. The last two relations are connected with past research: Interpretation assesses various elements of subject matter and Evidence increases reader's belief in the claim about past research.

The clear indicator of the difference between SMs and RMs in both languages are Sr symmetric relations. In fact, their numbers and positions were surprisingly stable for each pair of monographs in both languages: they almost always appeared at the lowest levels in the hierarchy and their share was always higher in RMs: symmetric relations represented one third of English RMs and one fourth in English SMs; Czech RMs showed one fourth of symmetric relations in RMs, and only one seventh in SMs. As evident, English showed more symmetric relations than Czech. Another indicator is the difference between effects: English SMs are more subject-matter oriented (65% vs. 35%) than RMs (50.9% vs. 49.1%), the same is true for Czech monographs: subject-matter relations are more prominent in SMs (84.1% vs. 15.9%), than RMs (68.5% vs. 31.5%). It needs to be pointed out that the rise in presentational relations was more continuous across texts rather than clear cut for each type of monograph. The numbers do indicate that Czech monographs seem to be more oriented toward presenting elements of subject-matter than English monographs in general, and their rise in Pr relations is much less steep. These figures may be indicative of the different orientation of Czech and English academic writing as noted in Čmejrková (1999).

What all texts share is the most frequent relation, Elaboration. It occurs in all contexts and its distribution points to the differences in effects in English and Czech as Czech is more dominated by this relation (CZ1: 38.1%, CZ2: 46.4%, CZ3: 28%, CZ4: 27.6%), as opposed to English (EN1: 30%, EN2: 20%, EN3: 27.7% and EN4: 16.2%). Other relations are low in numbers and, therefore, they are presented in connection to thematic units only. What is also comparable across languages is the presentation of monographs: while Elaboration dominates, both English and Czech showed Concession that serves to increase R's appreciation of the choice taken within monographs. This function was more frequent in English and accompanied by Antithesis relation as well. Volitional Cause also appeared to explain the choices taken in the monograph in both languages, more so in Czech.

The greatest differences between languages were connected with the presentation of past research. Apart from Elaboration and symmetric relations, British authors use Evidence to support theirs claim about past research or Concession and Antithesis to increase reader's appreciation of their view of it through. Occasionally, Justify relation is used to defend W's right to comment on the past research. Presentational relations in these functions are more typical for RMs than for SMs, but Interpretation also appears in RMs. Czech authors also rely on Elaboration and symmetric relations in the description of past research but it is mainly subject-matter relations that appear in this function. Interpretation and Non-volitional Cause in SMs serves to assess past research and to explain it; Solutionhood and Condition represent more complex presentations of subject-matter in CZ4. Background is typical in CZ3 and also adds to more complex description of past research. Czech authors present past research more as facts, Evidence appears only in CZ4. The difference between SMs and RMs in this respect is mainly connected with the complexity of issues presented. The question into what extent these choices are influenced by finer differences between individual monographs and their subject matter is relevant, however, it must serve as an invitation to further research.

Another goal of the present work was to evaluate the application of Rhetorical Structure Theory for genre description. The results were presented in methodological section, the following section thus represents mainly their overview.

- Courser segmentation seems sufficient for the purposes of genre description. The syntactic segmentation influenced the overall segmentation in 33% in English and in 31% in Czech.
- Annotation is guided by text but perceived intentions are judged against the context. Genre perspective proved as a very useful source of contextual information. Aggregation of spans into larger groups was an important step in the

analysis, as well as the use of tests for nuclearity and relation definitions. The main difficulty was combining effects into the meaningful whole, partly because relations constitute each other and analysis does not have established procedure. The key is to determine the central nucleus and the main relation. Our experience shows that determination of effects is more difficult than determination of spans and nuclei.

• Both quantitative and qualitative descriptions of genre are useful. The approach to view relations against the thematic context in which they appear (after Taboada 2004), was the most informative about the use of relations within the genre.

Despite the difficult analytic procedure, Rhetorical Structure Theory in our opinion seems informative about coherence in the text: the claim that some texts have one effect helps the analyst to describe which meaning holds the text together. We hope that our analyses have helped to provide a basic insight into the genre of linguistic book introductions in English and Czech.

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# Resumé

Úvodní kapitola diplomové práce s názvem *Rétorické vztahy v odborném textu: anglicko-česká kontrastivní studie* vymezuje samotné téma práce, kterým je výzkum koherence v žánru úvodu do monografií v angličtině a v češtině. Ve vybraném přístupu, Rhetorical Structure Theory, je koherence popisována pomocí rétorických vztahů, které se vyskytují mezi úseky textu. Díky tomu, že je organizace vztahů uspořádána hierarchicky, dokážeme pomocí teorie identifikovat hlavní vztah, a tím i hlavní účinek textu. Popisem hierarchické struktury je tak možno identifikovat to, co dává žánru úvodů jejich smysluplnost, a tím by práce mohla přispět k popisu tohoto opomíjeného žánru. Druhým cílem práce je popsat zkušenost s využitím teorie pro anotaci.

Teoretická část představuje pojmy, které jsou pro splnění tohoto cíle klíčové. Věnuje se koherenci samotné, žánrům odborného stylu a konečně teorii a jejím uplatněním při podobných úkolech. Vzhledem k tomu, že v současné době neexistuje souhrnná teorie koherence, představujeme tento koncept pomocí předpokladů, z nichž podobné práce vycházejí. Nejprve rozlišujeme tři hlavní oblasti výzkumu koherence, kterými jsou vedle koherence diskurzních vztahů také koherence referenční a také funkční větná perspektiva (Zikánová et al., 2015). Práce se věnuje pouze první z nich a z důvodu omezeného rozsahu práce se ostatními typy dále nezabýváme. Koherenci chápeme jako mentální obraz textu, který nevychází pouze z textu samotného, ale také nutně z jeho interpretace. Interpretace textu je spojena s inferencí, což je ústřední mechanismus, pomocí něhož uživatelé jazyka provádějí interpretace. V našem pojetí ji chápeme jako neformální vyvozování závěrů z textu, které se odehrává na pozadí znalostí o mimojazykovém kontextu promluvy. Vysvětlujeme, že vzhledem k povaze jevu, musí být koherence chápána nejen jako produkt, ale i jako proces. Naše práce popisuje koherenci jako produkt, ale tento produkt chápeme jako výsledek interpretačního procesu na pozadí kontextu.

Žánr definován jako prostředek, pomocí něhož diskurzní společenství uskutečňují své cíle, jenž se projevují v jeho schematické struktuře. Obecně lze říci, že hlavní cíl akademických institucí je vytvářet a šířit znalosti. Monografie, studovaný žánr této práce, je tedy prostředkem plnění těchto cílů. Další zmínky o tomto žánru jsou řídké, nicméně přesto byly identifikovány dva hlavní podtypy tohoto žánru. Práce tak rozlišuje mezi shrnujícími monografiemi, které shrnují všechny dostupné znalosti k danému tématu, a výzkumnými

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monografiemi, které představují výsledky nového výzkumu (Hyland 2009, Swales 2004). Monografie byly vybrány z oblasti lingvistiky, neboť jednotlivá vědecká odvětví se odlišují a je nutné je zkoumat odděleně. Co se týče úvodu samotných, předmětem práce jsou krátké úvody, které byly napsány autory a jejichž hlavní funkcí je představit knihu jako celek. Tento typ úvodu se liší od tzv. úvodních kapitol, které tvoří již důležitou součást práce samotné (Bhatia, 1994). Čmejrková (1997) uvádí, že české úvody se mohou lišit orientací na téma práce a také méně pevnou a jasnou strukturou: anglické úvody jsou orientovány na čtenáře a mají jasně danou strukturu.

Poslední část teoretické části dále rozvádí téma koherence. Nejprve je podrobněji představena podstata vztahů koherence: jedná se o sémantické vztahy, jež vždy spojují obsahy textu, a právě jejich sémantická podstata může vysvětlit, proč jsou texty vnímány jako smysluplné celky. To je patrné například z toho, že pokud se pokusíme číst text bez vztahů, může dojít ke ztrátě souvislosti mezi vedle sebe stojícími úseky textu. Pojetí koherence v rámci Rhetorical Structure Theory (Mann and Thompson, 1988; Mann and Taboada, 2006) má několik specifik, mezi hlavní patří to, že je ztotožněna s funkcemi jazyka. Vztahy jsou chápány jako komunikační nástroje, tzn. autoři textů je používají při tvorbě textů a čtenáři zase při porozumění. V tomto smyslu jsou pak definovány jednotlivé vztahy, tzn. sémanticky a pragmaticky. Vztahy nejsou definovány pomocí diskurzních konektorů.

Rétorická struktura a vztahy odráží jejich komunikativní chápání v několika ohledech. Jednak jsou rozlišovány dva hlavní typy vztahů podle účinku: pomocí tematických vztahů autoři prezentují různé aspekty tématu, pomocí prezentačních vztahů ovlivňují čtenáře. Dále lze vztahy rozdělit podle toho, jestli mají spojené úseky textu stejnou důležitost, či ne: tematické vztahy jsou symetrické, tj. úseky textu jsou stejně důležité, nebo asymetrické, tj, jeden úsek je důležitější než druhý. Prezentační vztahy jsou vždy asymetrické. Důležitější úsek se nazývá Nucleus, méně důležitý pak Satellite. Organizace vztahů ve struktuře je hierarchická, tzn. že účinek textu lze popsat pomocí jednoho vztahu, který je v hierarchii na nejvyšší úrovni. Vztahy na nižší úrovni pouze přispívají účinku jednotlivých úseků. Teorie nabízí inventář třiceti dvou vztahů, jejich definice lze nalézt v příloze. I když je vztah mezi strukturou žánru a rétorickou strukturou nejasný, bylo zjištěno, že typ žánru má vliv na to, jaké vztahy se objeví a jak budou organizovány. Žánr úvodu do monografií nebyl pomocí

zformulována obecná hypotéza: texty se napříč jazyky lišit v základu nebudou, mohou se však lišit v jednotlivostech.

Metodologická část práce se zaměřuje jednak na popis výběru úvodů, jednak popisuje zkušenost s užitím teorie pro popis žánru úvodů. Protože nebyl popis tohoto žánru dostatečně informativní (Swales 1990, 2004, Hyland 2009), k výběru dat jsme přistupovali bez předem stanovených pevných kritérií. Bylo shromážděno třicet monografií k jednotlivým jazykům a z nich byl posléze vybrán samotný vzorek. Přehled mimo jiné ukázal, že neexistuje shoda mezi momentálně probíranými tématy v jednotlivých společenstvích. Nejvíce výzkumných monografií v češtině vzniklo ve spojitosti s výzkumem kolem Českého národního korpusu. Britští autoři se oproti tomu věnovali nejvíce aplikované lingvistice. Proto nakonec vybraná data obsahují monografie z různých disciplín. To však může být výhoda, neboť se tak snadněji ukážou společné rysy žánru. Monografie z těchto aktuálních oblastí výzkumu však byly do vzorku zařazeny jako texty CZ4 and EN4. Přehled monografií také poukázal na to, že rozdíl mezi shrnujícími monografiemi a výzkumnými zde pravděpodobně je. Mezi ukazatele patřila například struktura obsahu, ale také název úvodu: shrnující monografie byly představovány v předmluvách (prefaces), výzkumné monografie v úvodech (introduction), či jako součást úvodní kapitoly (introductory chapter). Ovšem názvy také často tomuto vzoru neodpovídaly. Dvě monografie byly vybrány ke každému podtypu v obou jazycích.

Metoda popisuje převážně zkušenost s anotací textů. Prvním úkolem byla segmentace textů na základní jednotky. Vzhledem k tomu, že hlavním cílem práce bylo popsat žánr úvodů, nemusela být segmentace detailní. Základní jednotkou se stala věta, ovšem z vedlejších vět byly segmentovány pouze adverbiální typy, ve shodě s praxí jiných studií. Samostatnou jednotku také tvořily nefinitní realizace příslovečného určení. Ukázalo se však, že tento typ se objevil pouze v šesti případech, z nichž u dvou se jednalo o adverbium účelu, které je v češtině realizováno větně. Bylo provedeno hodnocení toho, do jaké míry syntaktická segmentace ovlivnila segmentaci celkovou. Oba jazyky byly zasaženy přibližně stejně (angličtina: 33%, čeština: 31%).

Jelikož rétorická struktura odráží záměry autora, úkolem anotátora je znovu tyto záměry objevit. Analýza vždy začíná u textu, ale závěry vyvozené z textu je vždy nutné posuzovat z hlediska kontextu, tj. zda autor mohl skutečně toto použití vztahu zamýšlet. Zde se jako velmi užitečné ukázaly znalosti kontextu získané z popisu žánru. Dalším užitečným krokem bylo shromáždění jednotlivých jednotek do větších skupin, které měly nějakou

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společnou funkci. Ty totiž ukazovaly na vztahy na nejvyšší úrovni struktury. Konečně pro anotace vztahů se ukázaly jako klíčové definice vztahů a testy nuklearity. Náročnost analýzy spočívá hlavně v tom, že vztahy jsou hierarchické, a vztahy na vyšších úrovních lze určit jen na základě vztahů na nižších úrovních a naopak, proto také neexistuje doporučený postup. V obtížných případech jsme pracovali s několika možnostmi, které jsme vylučovali po posouzení toho, zda autor tyto vztahy skutečně v daném kontextu zamýšlel. V momentě, kdy anotátor objeví vrchní vztah a hlavní efekt textu, je kombinace ostatních vztahů a efektů jasnější. Studie ukázaly (Gylling, 2013), že anotace úseků textu a nuklearity je spolehlivější než anotace konkrétního typu vztahu. S tím je nutné počítat i při hodnocení analýz této práce.

Výsledky analýzy byly zaznamenány do programu na vytváření hierarchických struktur s názvem RSTTool. I když by mohlo být sledování dvojznačností struktury zajímavé z pohledu popisu žánru, rozsah práce toto neumožnil, i když o nich bylo uvažováno zejména u textů EN1 a CZ1. Praktická část práce proto prezentuje ty interpretace, které se autorce zdály jako základní. Popis žánru a jeho srovnání napříč jazyky byl inspirován kontrastivními studiemi rétorických struktur. Kvantitativní hledisko ukázalo typy vztahů, jejich frekvence a pozice v hierarchii, kvalitativní pohled pak posuzoval zejména to, jak jsou rétorické vztahy uspořádány na nejvyšších úrovních hierarchie a kde se vztahy objevovaly tematicky (srov. Taboada 2004). Kvalitativní přístup se ukázal pro popis žánru jako vhodný, neboť vedl k uspořádání kvantitativních poznatků.

Analytická část práce popisovala jednotlivé skupiny úvodů do monografií podle principu uvedeného výše. První skupinu tvořily dvě anglické shrnující monografie. Ty byly definovány jako žánr, který prezentuje to, co může být publikací díla považováno za kodifikovanou znalost v dané oblasti. Jak název napovídá, tyto monografie především shrnují poznatky předchozího zkoumání. S ohledem na čtenáře má tento žánr informující funkci, ale také ukazuje na možnosti dalšího zkoumání. Kvantitativní analýza ukázala, že nejdůležitější vztahy jsou Elaboration, Background a Means – jak z pohledu frekvence, tak z pohledu pozice vztahů v hierarchii. Tyto vztahy jsou ilustrovány na příkladech spolu se vztahy Antithesis a Concession, které se v textu EN2 sloužily ke zvýšení čtenářova ocenění toho, že autoři prezentují sociolingvistické metody spolu s teorií. Kvalitativní analýza pak poukázala na to, že oba texty obsahovaly na nejvyšší úrovni vztah Background, který spojoval údaje o předchozím zkoumání a o předkládané monografii a sloužil k pochopení účelu monografie jako uceleného díla, které podává současný obraz daného tématu. Pomocí vztahu Means

autoři sdělují čtenáři, jakým způsobem bude tento cíl splněn. Nižší úrovně jsou pak tvořeny vztahem Elaboration and různými symetrickými vztahy, které se ukázaly jako stabilní frekvenčně i s ohledem na pozici. Prezentační vztahy se objevují zejména v kontextu prezentace předchozího výzkumu.

Druhou skupinu tvořily dvě anglické výzkumné monografie: ty dané téma především zkoumají pomocí empirických metod. Jsou pevně zasazené v kontextu předchozího výzkumu a cíl je, oproti shrnujícím monografiím, spatřován právě v příspěvku do oblasti, ze které vycházejí. Nejčastější vztahy byly Elaboration, Background a Justify, ovšem tento vztah se vyskytoval v hojné míře pouze u jednoho z textů. Oproti shrnujícím monografiím je zde větší podíl prezentačních vztahů, ale také symetrických vztahů. Kvalitativní analýza opět ukazuje, že hlavní vztah je Background, ovšem jeho funkce se odlišuje: informace o předchozím výzkumu slouží k pochopení toho, k jaké výzkumné problematice monografie přispívá. Druhý povinný vztah je opět Means, ale také se mírně odlišuje, neboť tematicky obsahuje to, čím konkrétně se výzkumná monografie zabývá. Tento typ monografie je tudíž prezentován jako prostředek k cíli, který leží vně monografii samotnou. Autoři používají prezentační vztahy pro představení předchozího výzkumu běžně, nově také vztah Interpretation. Vlastní výzkum je opět někdy prezentován tak, aby čtenář ocenil jisté postupy.

Třetí skupinou jsou české shrnující monografie. Definice žánru je stejná jako u anglických monografií tohoto typu. Nejčastější a nejdůležitější vztahy jsou opět Elaboration, Background a Means. Tato skupina je nejvíce orientována na prezentaci tématu, také podíl symetrického typu prezentace je nejnižší v porovnání s ostatními typy textů. Následuje ilustrace těchto vztahů v češtině. Zajímavostí je vztah Non-Volitional Cause, který je autorkami užíván pro vysvětlení příčin různých postupů v dané oblasti. Kvalitativní analýza byla velmi podobná té anglické. Zde by ale mělo být zdůrazněno, že reálná nejvyšší úroveň vztahů byla reprezentována vztahem Elaboration u CZ1, a vztahem Evidence u CZ2. Jelikož však se stejné vztahy nevyskytly u obou textů, interpretujeme je pouze jako variaci na daný žánr. Prezentační vztahy se u těchto textů kromě vztahu Background jinak neobjevují, proto má Elaboration obzvlášť silné zastoupení. Minulý výzkum je prezentován pomocí vztahů Non-volitional Cause a Interpretation. Monografie jsou představovány i pomocí vztahu Volitional Cause, pomocí něhož se vysvětlují motivace pro různé volby.

Poslední skupiny tvoří české výzkumné monografie. Žánr je opět definován stejně jako u anglických výzkumných monografií. Nejčastější vztahy byly také Elaboration,

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Background a Justify. Také zde je vidět nárůst prezentačních vztahů a symetrických tematických vztahů, ale frekvence i druhy prvního typu jsou značně omezené. Kvalitativní analýza vrchních vztahů je velmi podobná té u anglických výzkumných monografií. Monografie jsou opět představovány pomocí vztahu Volitional Cause a poprvé také vztahem Concession. I když se v předchozím výzkumu objevují prezentační vztahy, převládají frekvencí i významem vztahy tematické, které jsou naopak komplexnější, jako např. Solutionhood a Condition. Závěrečné shrnutí představuje formou tabulky to, co již bylo naznačeno popisem jednotlivých skupin: české monografie se více orientují na prezentaci tématu, zatímco anglické monografie se orientují na čtenáře. Také je zde zmínka o hlavním kvalitativním rozdílu mezi jazyky.

Závěrečná kapitola shrnuje především poznatky analytické části, okrajově se věnuje také shrnutí metodologické části. Protože tento žánr nebyl z pohledu Rhetorical Structure Theory zatím popsán, byla hypotéza této práce poměrně obecná: žánr podmíní stejný výskyt základních vztahů, budou se lišit pouze drobnosti. To se ukázalo jako správný předpoklad, i když je překvapivé nakolik podobné žánry napříč jazyky byly. Kvalitativní pohled na nejvyšší vztahy ukázal spíše rozdíly mezi shrnujícími a výzkumnými monografiemi. Hlavní úsek textu vždy představoval cíle monografií, hlavní vztah, Background, sloužil k pochopení tohoto cíle tím, že prezentoval předchozí výzkum. V monografich reprezentujících aktuální témata se vyskytlo jiné pořadí předchozího výzkumu a prezentované práce. Nepotvrdilo se, že by výzkumné monografie řešily problém v předchozím výzkumu, spíše byla monografie prezentována jako příspěvek v rámci osvědčené výzkumné tradice (srov. Swales 1990). Jediný rozdíl mezi jazyky byl v tom, že cíle jsou v češtině prezentovány jako poslední, čtenáři tak nemusí být jasné, jak spolu jednotlivé informace souvisí, dokud nedojde k závěrečné části textu.

Kvantitativní výsledky také ukázaly rozdíly mezi shrnujícími a výzkumnými monografiemi, zejména s ohledem na stabilní počet a pozici symetrických tematických vztahů, které byly častější u výzkumných monografií. Podíl tematických a prezentačních vztahů byl v tomto ohledu méně vypovídající. Avšak jednoznačně bylo prokázáno, že české monografie jsou více orientovány na téma, kdežto britské na čtenáře, ve shodě se Čmejrkovou (1999). V českých úvodech dominuje vztah Elaboration. Monografie jsou prezentovány pomocí vztahu Volitional Cause a Concession v češtině a pomocí Antithesis a Concession v angličtině. Největší rozdíl byl nalezen u prezentace předchozího výzkumu. Anglické úvody

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ukázaly, že se v této funkci může střídat mnoho druhů prezentačních vztahů, např. Evidence, Justify, Antithesis a Concession, se zvyšující se mírou zastoupení u výzkumných monografií. Oproti tomu v českých úvodech v této funkci převládají tematické vztahy, jež jsou u výzkumných monografií komplexnější, např. Solutionhood a Condition. Co však tvoří základ prezentace úvodů do monografií je poskytování různých detailů k tématu, jejich usouvztažňování a srovnávání.

# **APPENDIX I.: Relation Definitions**

Appendix I. gives a full list of relations used for the analysis. The account of the traditional set of 24 relations is based on the 1987 paper (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 48-77). The additional eight relations are reproduced from the RST website. Relations are presented according to the classification in 2.3. Within the asymmetric relations, there are further groupings according to resemblances among the relations (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 249). Due to constraints of space, only basic information along with one example is given; further information can be gained in the sources mentioned above. The definition and an example for Solutionhood was given in 2.3.

#### A. Asymmetric Relations

a. Subject-Matter relations

<b>Relation Name</b>	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
	Constraints on S	N+S combination	
Elaboration		S presents additional	R recognizes that the
		detail about the situation	situation presented in S
		or some element of	provides additional
		subject matter presented	detail for N. R identifies
		or inferentially	the element of subject
		accessible in N.	matter for which detail
			is provided.

(39) (i) Sanga-Saby-Kursgard, Sweden, will be the site of the 1969 International Conference on Computational Linguistics, September 1-4. (ii) It is expected that some 250 linguistics will attend from Asia, West Europe, East Europe including Russia, and the United States. (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 53)

Within the nucleus (i), the element elaborated is the conference. The satellite (ii) provides detail regarding the attendants of the conference (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 53).

<b>Relation Name</b>	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
	<b>Constraints on S</b>	N+S combination	
Means	N: N presents an	S presents a method or	R recognizes that the
	activity.	instrument which tends	method or instrument
	S:	to make realization of N	presented in S tends to
		more likely.	make realization of N
			more likely.

(40) (i)... the visual system resolves confusion (ii) by applying some tricks that reflect a built-in knowledge of properties of the physical world. (RST website)

The method in S, applying tricks (ii), makes the realisation of N, human vision resolving confusion (i), more likely.

<b>Relation Name</b>	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
	Constraints on S	N+S combination	
Circumstance	N:	S sets a framework in	R recognizes that the
	S: S presents a situation	the subject matter within	situation presented in S
	that is realized.	which R is intended to	provides the framework
		interpret the situation	for interpreting N.
		presented in N.	

(41) (i) Probably the most extreme case of Visitors Fever I have ever witnessed was a few summers ago (ii) when I visited relatives in the Midwest. (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 48)

The satellite (ii) provides the temporal framework for interpreting the nucleus (i) (Mann and Thompson, 1988: 48).

<b>Relation Name</b>	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
	Constraints on S	N+S combination	
Evaluation		S relates degree of W's positive regard to the situation in N.	R recognizes that the situation presented in S assesses the situation presented in N. R recognizes the value that
			S assigns.
Interpretation		S relates a framework of	R recognizes that S
		ideas to the situation	relates the situation
		presented in N. The	presented in N to a
		framework is not	framework of ideas not
		involved in N itself. The	involved in the
		framework is not	knowledge presented in
		concerned with W's	N.
		positive regard.	

- (42) (i) Features like our uniquely sealed jacket and protective hub ring make our discs last longer. ... (ii) It all adds up to better performance and reliability. (Mann and Thompson, 1987:69)
- (43) (i) Steep declines in capital spending commitments and building permits, along with a drop in the money stock pushed the leading composite down for the fifth time in the past 11 months... (ii) Such a decline is highly unusual at this stage in an expansion. (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 67)

As opposed to Circumstance, the frames provided here are not part of the subject matter of the nucleus and serve a different function:to assess the nucleus (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 67). The difference is that the frame in Evaluation is that of a scale of W's positive regard toward

N: the knowledge that discs last longer thanks to some of its features (i) presented in N is assessed positively in S in terms of the frame of better performance and reliability (ii) (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 69). In Interpretation, the frame is other than of the positive regard: the declines (i) presented in N are assessed by S in terms of a framework of cycles of economic activity (ii) (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 67).

<b>Relation Name</b>	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
	Constraints on S	N+S combination	
Volitional Cause	N: N presents a	S presents a situation	R recognizes the
	volitional action or a	that could have caused	situation presented in S
	situation that could have	the agent of the	as a cause for the
	arisen from a volitional	volitional action in N to	volitional action
	action.20	perform that action.	presented in N.
	S:	Without the presentation	
		of S, R might not regard	
		the action as motivated	
		or know the particular	
		motivation. N is more	
		central to W's purposes	
		than S.	
Non-Volitional	N: N presents a situation	S presents a situation	R recognizes the
Cause	that is not a volitional	that, by means other	situation presented in S
	action.	than motivating a	as a cause of the
	S:	volitional action, caused	situation presented in N.
		the situation presented	
		in N. Without the	
		presentation of S, R	
		might not know the	
		particular cause of the	
		situation. N is more	
		central to W's purposes	
		than S.	

- (44) *(i) ... we had the typewriter serviced and (ii) I may learn to type decently after all these years* (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 58)
- (45) *(i)* Remember all those vegetables you slipped under the table? *(ii)* Maybe that's why Sparky lived so long. (RST website)

There are five relations concerned with causation, i.e. one situation causes the second one. These are members of the so-called Cause Cluster (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 57). The nuclearity distinguishes Cause and Result relations. When the causing situation is S, the

 $<sup>^{20}</sup>$  The term action applies to subject matter, and refers "to activity on the part of some agent capable of volition" (1987: 79).

relation is called (Non)Volitional Cause (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 57), e.g. in both examples above, the causing situations (i) may be considered less central to W's purpose; the point of the pairs seems to lie in the possibility to learn something (ii) and Sparky's long life (ii). The volitional/non-volitional divide corresponds to intended vs. unintended outcomes (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 57): learning to type is an intentional activity (ii) while the length of Sparky's life is not (ii).

<b>Relation Name</b>	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
	<b>Constraints on S</b>	N+S combination	
Volitional Result	N:	N presents a situation	R recognizes that the
	S: S presents a volitional	that could have caused	situation presented in N
	action or a situation that	the situation presented	could be a cause for the
	could have arisen from a	in S. N is more central	action or situation
	volitional action.	to W's purposes than S.	presented in S.
Non-Volitional	N:	N present a situation	R recognizes that the
Result	S: S presents a situation	that caused the situation	situation presented in N
	that is not a volitional	presented in S. N is	could have caused the
	action.	more central to W's	situation presented in S.
		purposes than S.	

- (46) (i) Farmington police had to help control traffic recently (ii) when hundreds of people lined up to be among the first applying for jobs at the yet-to-open Marriott Hotel. (RST website)
- (47) (i) The blast, the worst industrial accident in Mexico's history, destroyed the plant and most of the surrounding suburbs. (ii) Several thousand people were injured, ... (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 62)

When the causing situation is N, the relation is referred to as a (Non)Volitional Result (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 57), e.g. the causing situations (the people lined up (ii) and the blast (i)) seem to be more central to W's purpose. The difference between 16 and 17 is again one of volition: the situation of the police controlling the traffic (i) has arisen from the volitional action of people lining up (ii), the injury of several thousand people was unintentional (ii).

<b>Relation Name</b>	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
	Constraints on S	N+S combination	
Purpose	N: N presents an	S presents a situation to	R recognizes that the
	activity.	be realized through the	activity in N is initiated
	S: S presents a situation	activity in N.	in order to realize S.
	that is unrealized.21		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The unrealised situation is understood as "imagined" or "yet to exist" (1987: 79).

# (48) (i)To see which Syncom diskette will replace the ones you're using now, (ii) send for our free "Flexi-Finder" selection guide and the name of the supplier nearest you. (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 64)

Purpose is neutral with respect to volition (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 57). The N presents the activity of sending (ii) that is supposed to be initiated with the aim of realising S, i.e. of seeing which diskettes should replace the reader's old ones (i) (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 64).

<b>Relation Name</b>	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
	<b>Constraints on S</b>	N+S combination	
Condition	N:	Realization of the	R recognizes how the
	S: S presents a	situation presented in N	realization of the
	hypothetical, future, or	depends on realization	situation presented in N
	otherwise unrealized	of the situation	depends on the
	situation (relative to the	presented in S.	realization of the
	situational context of S).		situation presented in S.
Otherwise	N: N presents an	Realization of the	R recognizes the
	unrealized situation.	situation presented in N	dependency relation of
	S: S presents an	prevents realization of	prevention between the
	unrealized situation.	the situation presented	realization of the
		in S.	situation presented in N
			and the realization of the
			situation presented in S.

- (49) (i) Employees are urged to complete new beneficiary designation forms for retirement or life insurance benefits (ii) whenever there is a change in marital or family status. (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 66)
- (50) (i) Project leaders should submit their entries for the revised brochure immediately. (ii) Otherwise the existing entry will be used. (RST website)

The remaining classical relations, Condition and Otherwise, were related in the 1987 study since both are concerned with the dependency between the (non)realisations of their situations (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 65). In Condition, N depends on S. The realisation of the situation in N, completing new forms (i), depends on the realisation of S, a change in marital or family status (ii) (1987: 66). In other words, if S is realised, N is urged to be realised. As opposed to Circumstance (see above), Condition presents a situation which is realised (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 49). In Otherwise relation, the dependency of S and N is reversed: the realisation of N determines the non-realisation of S. The realisation of N, submitting entries (i), will prevent the realisation of S, use of the existing entry (ii) (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 67). In other words, if N is realised, S is not realised.

<b>Relation Name</b>	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
	Constraints on S	N+S combination	
Unless		Realization of the	R recognizes that the
		situation presented in N	realization of the
		depends on non-	situation presented in N
		realization of the	depends on the non-
		situation presented in S.	realization of the
			situation presented in S.
Unconditional	N:	The realization of N	R recognizes that the
	S: S conceivably could	does not depend on the	realization of N does not
	affect the realization of	realization of S.	depend on the
	N.		realization of S.

- (51) *(i)* The following terms apply to all files associated with the software *(ii)* unless explicitly disclaimed in individual files. (RST website)
- (52) (i) In no event shall the author or distributors be liable to any party for direct, indirect, special, incidental, or consequential damages arising out of the use of this software, its documentation, or any derivatives thereof, (ii) even if the author has been advised of the possibility of such damage. (RST website)

The present work adds new relations to the group above, namely Unless and Unconditional taken from the RST website, because they are formed on the same basis. Unless relation is built on the same dependency as Condition, i.e. N depends on the non-realisation of S. The first example claims that if the terms are *not* disclaimed in individual files (ii), then the general terms apply (i): if S is *not* realised, the situation in N is realised. In Unconditional relation, the theoretical dependency of N on S is cancelled: the (non)realisation of S does not influence the realisation of N. In the second example, N will not be realised, i.e. the author or distributors shall not be liable for damages (i), even if S is realised, i.e. even if he knows about the possibility of a damage (ii).

Relation Name	Constraints on N Constraints on S	Constraints on the N+S combination	The Effect
	Constraints on 5		
Restatement		S restates N, where S	R recognizes S as a
		and N are of comparable	restatement of N.
		bulk.	
Summary	N: N must be more than	S presents a	R recognizes S as a
	one unit.	restatements of the	shorter restatement of N.
		content of N, that is	
		shorter in bulk.	

(53) (i) A well-groomed car reflects its owner. (ii) The car you drive says a lot about you. (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 71)

(54) *(i)* For top quality performance from your computer, use the flexible discs known for memory excellence. ... (xvi) It's a great way to improve your memory and get a big bonus in computer performance. (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 72)

Satellites of both relations (ii and xvi) involve the restatement of the subject-matter of N. The difference is in the bulk of the restatement: in Summary, S is much smaller than N which runs from unit (i) to (xv), which is not stated (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 70).

<b>Relation Name</b>	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
	Constraints on S	N+S combination	
Background	N: R won't comprehend	S increases the ability of	R's ability to
	N sufficiently before	R to comprehend an	comprehend N
	reading text of S.	element in N.	increases.

# b. Presentational relations

(55) (i)Home addresses and telephone numbers of public employees will be protected from public disclosure under a new bill approved by Gov. George Deukmejian. (ii) Assembly Bill 3100 amends the Government Code, which required that the public records of all state and local agencies... be open to public inspection. (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 54)

S provides general information of any sort (RST website): here, it describes the function of new Assembly Bill (ii). By doing so, the reader is able to understand N, specifically, the element of subject matter "a new bill" (i) (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 54). Background differs from Circumstance (see above) in that S presents a different situation from that of N while in Circumstance the situations in S and N are the same (RST website).

Relation Name	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
	<b>Constraints on S</b>	N+S combination	
Evidence	N: R might not believe	R's comprehending S	R's belief of N is
	N to a degree	increases R's belief of	increased.
	satisfactory to W.	N.	
	S: R believes S or will		
	find it credible.		
Justify		R's comprehending S	R's readiness to accept
		increases R's readiness	W's right to present N is
		to accept W's right to	increased.
		present N.	

(56) (i) The program as published for calendar year 1980 really works. (ii) In only a few minutes, I entered all the figures from my 1980 tax return (iii) and got a result which agreed with my hand calculations to the penny. (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 9-11)

# (57) (i) The next music day is scheduled for July 21 (Saturday), noon-midnight. (ii) I'll post more details later, (iii) but this is a good time to reserve the place on your calendar. (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 10-12)

Both relations involve the reader's attitude towards the nucleus. Evidence is concerned with the reader's belief in N; Justify deals with the reader's acceptance of the writer's right to present N (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 9). In the first example, the writer gives credible information in S in the form of a personal experience with the programme (ii, iii), which increases the reader's belief in N that the programme really works (i). In the second example, by giving advice to the readers to reserve the time for a music day (ii, iii) in S, the writer tells readers why he has the right to present an imprecise description of the music day in N (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 10).

<b>Relation Name</b>	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
	Constraints on S	N+S combination	
Antithesis	N: W has positive	N and S are in	R's positive regard for
	regard for the situation	contrast22 which gives	the situation presented
	presented in N.	rise to incompatibility of	in N is increased.
		N and S. Due to the	
		incompatibility, one	
		cannot have positive	
		regard for both	
		situations. R's	
		comprehending S and	
		the incompatibility	
		between the situations in	
		N and S increases R's	
		positive regard for the	
		situation presented in N.	
Concession	N: W has positive	W acknowledges a	R's positive regard for
	regard for the situation	potential or apparent	the situation presented
	presented in N.	incompatibility between	in N is increased.
	S: W is not claiming that	the situations in N and	
	the situation presented	S. W regards the	
	in S doesn't hold.	situations presented in N	
		and S as compatible.	
		Recognizing the	
		compatibility between	
		the situations presented	
		in N and S increases R's	
		positive regard for the	
		situation presented in N.	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> See Contrast relation below.

- (58) (i)But I don't think endorsing a specific nuclear freeze proposal is appropriate for CCC. (ii) We should limit our involvement in defense and weaponry to matters of process, such as exposing the weapons industry's influence on the political process. (RST website)
- (59) (i) Although it [Dioxin] is toxic to certain animals, (ii) evidence is lacking that it has any serious long-term effect on human beings. (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 13)

This pair of presentational relations share the same effect: the outcome of the communication is R's increased positive regard<sup>23</sup> for the situation presented in N (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 11). In the first example, the writer clearly favours the idea in N, i.e. exposing matters of process (ii). In the second example, the writer believes N, i.e. Dioxin is not toxic to humans (ii). The two relations differ in the way by which they ensure that the reader has the same regard for N. In Antithesis, the ideas presented in S and N are presented as incompatible: endorsing a specific proposal (i) is contrasted with matters of process (ii). The reader recognises the incompatibility which results in his preference for N. In Concession, the situations are both compatible and potentially incompatible: Dioxin's toxicity to animals (i) is compatible with the lack of evidence that it is harmful to humans (ii) (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 14) (i) but it is also incompatible with it as toxicity to animals often implies toxicity to humans (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 14). The reader's positive regard arises from the compatibility of the situations.

<b>Relation Name</b>	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
	<b>Constraints on S</b>	N+S combination	
Enablement	N: N presents R action	R comprehending S	R's potential ability to
	(including accepting an	increases R's potential	perform the action
	offer), unrealized with	ability to perform the	presented in N is
	respect to the context of	action presented in N.	increased.
	N.		
Motivation	N: N presents an action	Comprehending S	R's desire to perform
	in which R is the actor	increases R's desire to	action presented in N is
	(including accepting an	perform action	increased.
	offer), unrealized with	presented in N.	
	respect to the context of		
	N.		

(60) (i) Training on jobs. A series of informative, inexpensive pamphlets and books on worker health discusses such topics as... (ii) For a catalog and order form write WIOES, 2520 Milvia St., Berkeley, CA 95704. (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 55)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Positive regard for an idea is a new technical term: it is a general notion which covers belief, approval or desire (1987: 78).

(61) (i) *The Los Angeles Chamber Ballet (the ballet company I'm dancing with) is giving 4 concerts next week... (ii) The show is made up of new choreography and should be very entertaining.* (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 56)

Enablement and Motivation are both concerned with the reader's action. By describing the products to the reader (i), the writer in the first example performs an indirect act of offering which includes reader's action of buying. By comprehending S, the reader's ability to act is increased as it provides the address of the company (ii). The next example is similar: N is an invitation for the reader to come to the performance (i). The Satellite praises the show (ii), in doing so increasing R's desire to perform the action presented in N. Motivation may be similar to Volitional Cause, however, in the presentational relation the writer wants R to perform the action denoted in N (Mann and Thompson, 1987:58).

# A. Symmetric relations

<b>Relation Name</b>	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
		combination of N	
Sequence	Multi-nuclear	The Nuclei present a	R recognizes the
		succession relationship between the situations	succession relationships among the nuclei.

(62) (i) Peel oranges (ii) and slice crosswise. (iii) Arrange in a bowl (iv) and sprinkle with rum and coconut. (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 74)

The steps of a recipe show temporal succession, but other types of succession relation are also allowed including spatial succession and others (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 74). Sequence can be interpreted as including both subject matter sequence (e.g. "after that") and presentational sequence (e.g. "secondly) (RST website).

<b>Relation Name</b>	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
		combination of N	
Contrast	Two nuclei only	The situations in the two	R recognizes the
		Nuclei are a)	comparability and the
		comprehended as the	difference(s) yielded by
		same in many respects;	the comparison.
		b) comprehended as	
		differing in a few	
		respects and c)	
		compared with respect	
		to one or more of these	
		differences.	

(63) (i) Animals heal, (ii) but trees compartmentalize. (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 75)

The entities that are being compared are animals and trees: they are similar in that they are living organisms, but differ in many ways. The difference being compared is their reaction to disease (Mann and Thompson, 1987:75).

<b>Relation Name</b>	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
		combination of N	
List	Multi-nuclear	An item comparable to	R recognizes the
		others linked to it by the	comparability of linked
		List relation.	items.

# (64) (i) I am 17 years old. (ii) It is summer and football practice is about to begin. (RST website)

The text is an excerpt from an essay by a student (RST website). Like Sequence, List comprises of nuclei expressing several items. However, the items are comparable by virtue of being in a List, such as being 17 (i) and practice being about to begin (ii). The spans are the first of a larger set of background facts, in a list (RST website).

<b>Relation Name</b>	Constraints on N	Constraints on the	The Effect
		combination of N	
Conjunction	Multi-nuclear	The items are conjoined	R recognizes that the
		to form a unit in which	linked items are
		each item plays a	conjoined.
		comparable role.	
Disjunction	Multi-nuclear	An item presents a (not	R recognizes that the
		necessarily exclusive)	linked items are
		alternative for the	alternatives.
		other(s).	

- (65) (i) Disney provides great access to transportation (ii) and every cast member is ready to provide detailed directions and tips for getting to your desired destination quickly. (RST website)
- (66) (i) Most National Council members are themselves disabled (ii) or are parents of children with disabilities. (RST website)

In the first example, both spans describe the transport system in Disney parks from different perspectives: (i) of access, (ii) role of staff. Together, they provide a unified picture of transportation. The second example describes the members of Council in terms of alternative groups that belong there. This relation may be exclusive or inclusive (RST website).

Relation Name	Constraints on N	Constraints on the combination of N	The Effect
Multinuclear	Multi-nuclear	An item is primarily a	R recognizes the
Restatement		reexpression of one	reexpression by the
		linked to it; the items are	linked items.
		of comparable	
		importance to the	
		purposes of W.	

(67) (i) But Grace also said he was able to see the contestants' true beauty. (ii) Grace is confident in his selections in the Miss Alberta and Miss Teen Alberta pageants by basing his judgment on the contestants' answers, how they projected their voices and their confidence through emphasis and firmness of their vocal deliveries. (RST website)

This text is about a blind beauty contest (RST website). The relation is identical to mononuclear Restatement except that in the multinuclear version, both spans are of the same importance for W's purposes: Grace is able to see the beauty (i) and Grace is confident in his selection (ii) are of comparable importance to the writer.

Schema	Constraints on N	Constraints on the combination of N	The Effect
Joint	Multi-nuclear		

(68) (i) Employees are urged to complete new beneficiary designation forms for retirements (ii) whenever there is a change in marital or family status... (iii) Employees who are not sure of who is listed as their beneficiary should complete new forms. (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 76)

The only connection between text spans (i) and (iii) is that they share subject matter and therefore appear in one text. Otherwise, they are unrelated and addressed to two different audiences. Thus, there is no rhetorical relation between them, and they are marked only by the schema JOINT (Mann and Thompson, 1987: 76-77).

# **Appendix II.: Book Introductions**

This section first gives the list of 30 English monographs and 30 Czech monographs assessed and the full texts of book introductions chosen for the analysis.

# A. List of monographs assessed

Year	English monographs	BIs
2000	Cruse, A. Meaning in Language: An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.	Preface
2001	Adams, V. Complex Words in English. Harlow: Longman.	Preface
2005	Ellis, R. and G. Barkhuizen. <i>Analysing Learner Language</i> . Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.	Preface
2003	Milroy, L.and M. Gordon. <i>Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation</i> . Malden: Blackwell.	Preface
2004	Chilton, Pr. Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice. London; New York: Routledge.	Preface
2004	Trudgill, Pr. New-Dialect Formation. The Inevitability of Colonial Englishes. Oxford: Oxford University Press.	Х
2006	Baker, Pr. <i>Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis</i> . London; New York: Continuum.	Introductory section
2006	Black, E. <i>Pragmatic Stylistics</i> . Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.	Introdution
2006	Walsh, S. Investigating Classroom Discourse. Routledge.	Introduction
2007	Martin, J.R. and D. Rose. <i>Working with Discourse: Meaning beyond the Clause</i> . London: Continuum.	Preface
2010	Handford, M. <i>The Language of Business Meetings</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.	Х
2010	Jeffries, L. <i>Critical Stylistics</i> . The Power of English. Palgrave Macmillan.	Introduction
2011	Culpeper, J. Impoliteness: Using Language to Cause Offence. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.	Preface
2011	Truswell, R. <i>Events, Phrases, and Questions</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.	Introductory section
2012	Aitchison, J. <i>Words in the Mind</i> . Chichester (UK), Malden (US): Wiley-Blackwell.	Preface
2012	Cogo, A. and M. Dewey. <i>Analyzing English as a Lingua</i> <i>Franca: A Corpus Driven Investigation</i> . London; New York: Continuum.	Introduction
2012	Corbett, G. Features. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.	Preface
2012	Jones, S.et al. Antonyms in English: Construals, Constructions and Canonicity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.	Introductory section
2012	Spencer, A. and A.R. Luis. <i>Clitics: An Introduction</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.	Preface
2013	Barton, D.and C. Lee. Language Online. Investigating Digital Texts and Practices. Routledge.	Preface

2013	Clark, U. and E. Asprey. <i>West Midlands English. Birmingham</i> and the Black Country. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.	Х
2013		Preface
2014	Dixon, R. M. W. <i>Making New Words: Morphological</i> <i>Derivation in English</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.	Preface
2014	Jenks, Ch. Social Interaction in Second Language Chat Rooms. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.	Introduction
2014	Leech, G. <i>The Pragmatics of Politeness</i> . New York: Oxford University Press.	Preface
2014	Matthews, Pr.H. <i>The Positions of Adjectives in English</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.	X
2014	McCready, E. S. <i>Reliability in Pragmatics</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.	Introductory section
2014	Millar, R. et al. <i>Lexical Variation and Attrition in the Scottish Fishing Communities</i> . Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.	Introductory section
2015	Fox, S. The New Cockney. New Ethnicities and Adolescent Speech in the Traditional East End of London. Palgrave Macmillan.	Introduction
2015	Murray, N. Standards of English in Higher Education Issues, Challenges and Strategies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.	Introduction
Year	Czech monographs	BIs
2000	Kloferová, S. <i>Mluva v severomoravském pohraničí</i> . Brno: Masarykova univerzita.	Introductory section
2000 2003	Masarykova univerzita.	
	Masarykova univerzita. Nebeská, I. <i>Jazyk, norma, spisovnost</i> . Praha: Karolinum. Jančáková, J. a Pr. Jančák. <i>Mluva českých reemigrantů z</i>	section
2003 2004	Masarykova univerzita. Nebeská, I. <i>Jazyk, norma, spisovnost</i> . Praha: Karolinum. Jančáková, J. a Pr. Jančák. <i>Mluva českých reemigrantů z</i>	section Předmluva
2003 2004	Masarykova univerzita. Nebeská, I. <i>Jazyk, norma, spisovnost.</i> Praha: Karolinum. Jančáková, J. a Pr. Jančák. <i>Mluva českých reemigrantů z Ukrajiny.</i> Praha: Karolinum. Blatná, R. <i>Víceslovné předložky v současné češtině.</i> Praha: Nakladetelství Lidové Noviny: Ústav českého národního korpusu. Cvrček, V. <i>Teorie jazykové kultury po roce 1945.</i> Praha:	section Předmluva X
2003 2004 2006	<ul> <li>Masarykova univerzita.</li> <li>Nebeská, I. Jazyk, norma, spisovnost. Praha: Karolinum.</li> <li>Jančáková, J. a Pr. Jančák. Mluva českých reemigrantů z Ukrajiny. Praha: Karolinum.</li> <li>Blatná, R. Víceslovné předložky v současné češtině. Praha: Nakladetelství Lidové Noviny: Ústav českého národního korpusu.</li> <li>Cvrček, V. Teorie jazykové kultury po roce 1945. Praha: Karolinum.</li> <li>Jandová, E. Morfologicko-syntaktické prostředky deagentizace v mluvených projevech polsko-českého smíšeného pruhu.</li> </ul>	section Předmluva X X
2003 2004 2006 2006	<ul> <li>Masarykova univerzita.</li> <li>Nebeská, I. Jazyk, norma, spisovnost. Praha: Karolinum.</li> <li>Jančáková, J. a Pr. Jančák. Mluva českých reemigrantů z Ukrajiny. Praha: Karolinum.</li> <li>Blatná, R. Víceslovné předložky v současné češtině. Praha: Nakladetelství Lidové Noviny: Ústav českého národního korpusu.</li> <li>Cvrček, V. Teorie jazykové kultury po roce 1945. Praha: Karolinum.</li> <li>Jandová, E. Morfologicko-syntaktické prostředky deagentizace v mluvených projevech polsko-českého smíšeného pruhu. Ostrava: Filozofická fakulta Ostravské univerzity.</li> <li>Krejčí, Pr. Bulharská a česká publicistická frazeologie ve</li> </ul>	section Předmluva X X Úvod
2003 2004 2006 2006 2006	<ul> <li>Masarykova univerzita.</li> <li>Nebeská, I. Jazyk, norma, spisovnost. Praha: Karolinum.</li> <li>Jančáková, J. a Pr. Jančák. Mluva českých reemigrantů z Ukrajiny. Praha: Karolinum.</li> <li>Blatná, R. Víceslovné předložky v současné češtině. Praha: Nakladetelství Lidové Noviny: Ústav českého národního korpusu.</li> <li>Cvrček, V. Teorie jazykové kultury po roce 1945. Praha: Karolinum.</li> <li>Jandová, E. Morfologicko-syntaktické prostředky deagentizace v mluvených projevech polsko-českého smíšeného pruhu. Ostrava: Filozofická fakulta Ostravské univerzity.</li> <li>Krejčí, Pr. Bulharská a česká publicistická frazeologie ve vzájemném srovnání. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.</li> <li>Svobodová, D. Internacionalizace české slovní zásoby. Ostrava:</li> </ul>	section Předmluva X X Úvod Úvod
2003 2004 2006 2006 2006 2006	<ul> <li>Masarykova univerzita.</li> <li>Nebeská, I. Jazyk, norma, spisovnost. Praha: Karolinum.</li> <li>Jančáková, J. a Pr. Jančák. Mluva českých reemigrantů z Ukrajiny. Praha: Karolinum.</li> <li>Blatná, R. Víceslovné předložky v současné češtině. Praha: Nakladetelství Lidové Noviny: Ústav českého národního korpusu.</li> <li>Cvrček, V. Teorie jazykové kultury po roce 1945. Praha: Karolinum.</li> <li>Jandová, E. Morfologicko-syntaktické prostředky deagentizace v mluvených projevech polsko-českého smíšeného pruhu. Ostrava: Filozofická fakulta Ostravské univerzity.</li> <li>Krejčí, Pr. Bulharská a česká publicistická frazeologie ve vzájemném srovnání. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.</li> <li>Svobodová, D. Internacionalizace české slovní zásoby. Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita.</li> <li>Bláha, O. Vyjadřování budoucnosti v současné češtině.</li> </ul>	section Předmluva X X Úvod Úvod Úvodní poznámka
2003 2004 2006 2006 2006 2006 2007	<ul> <li>Masarykova univerzita.</li> <li>Nebeská, I. Jazyk, norma, spisovnost. Praha: Karolinum.</li> <li>Jančáková, J. a Pr. Jančák. Mluva českých reemigrantů z Ukrajiny. Praha: Karolinum.</li> <li>Blatná, R. Víceslovné předložky v současné češtině. Praha: Nakladetelství Lidové Noviny: Ústav českého národního korpusu.</li> <li>Cvrček, V. Teorie jazykové kultury po roce 1945. Praha: Karolinum.</li> <li>Jandová, E. Morfologicko-syntaktické prostředky deagentizace v mluvených projevech polsko-českého smíšeného pruhu. Ostrava: Filozofická fakulta Ostravské univerzity.</li> <li>Krejčí, Pr. Bulharská a česká publicistická frazeologie ve vzájemném srovnání. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.</li> <li>Svobodová, D. Internacionalizace české slovní zásoby. Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita.</li> <li>Bláha, O. Vyjadřování budoucnosti v současné češtině. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého.</li> <li>Čechová, M. et al. Současná stylistika. Praha: Nakladetelství</li> </ul>	section Předmluva X X Úvod Úvod Úvodní poznámka Úvod

	Čermáková, A. <i>Valence českých substantiv</i> . Praha: Nakladetelství Lidové Noviny: Ústav českého národního	,
2009	korpusu.	Úvod
2009	Homoláč, J. Internetové diskuze o cikánech a Romech. Praha: Karolinum.	Úvod
2010	Čermák, F. <i>Lexikon a sémantika</i> . Praha: Nakladetelství Lidové Noviny.	Předmluva
2010	Kolářová, V. Valence deverbativních substantiv v češtině. Praha: Karolinum.	Úvod
2010	Radimský, J. Verbo-nominální predikát s kategoriálním slovesem. České Budějovice: Editio Universitatis Bohemiae Meridionalis.	Úvod
2010	Šimandl, J. <i>Dnešní skloňování substantiv typu kámen, břímě</i> . Praha: Nakladetelství Lidové Noviny: Ústav českého národního korpusu.	Introductory section
2011	Mikulová, M. <i>Významová reprezentace elipsy</i> . Praha: Ústav formální a aplikované lingvistiky.	Úvod
2012	Hladká, Z. a O. Martincová. <i>Slova v soukromých dopisech.</i> <i>Lexikografická sonda</i> . Brno: Masarykova univerzita.	Předmluva
2012	Sojka, Pr. Tvaroslovná a hláskoslovná variantnost v dialogických textech rozhlasové publicistiky. Praha: Pedagogická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy.	Předmluva
2014	Hirschová, M. a J. Svobodová. <i>Komunikační strategie v jednom typu mediálního diskurzu</i> . Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci.	Úvod
2014	Kettnerová, V. <i>Lexikálně-sémantické konverze ve valenčním slovníku</i> . Praha: Karolinum.	Úvod
2014	Petkevič, V. <i>Morfologická homonymie v současné češtině.</i> Praha Nakladetelství Lidové Noviny: Ústav českého národního korpusu.	Úvod
2014	Rysová, K. O slovosledu z komunikačního pohledu. Praha: Ústav formální a aplikované lingvistiky.	Úvodem
2014	Zeman, J. a E. Martinková. <i>Prezentace dospívajících dívek v dívčích časopisech</i> . Hradec Králové: Gaudeamus.	Úvod
2015	Jelínek, T. <i>Skladební funkce a pád v korpusu: Frekvenční analýza</i> . Praha: Nakladetelství Lidové Noviny: Ústav českého národního korpusu.	Úvod
2015	Radková, L. a J. Rausová. <i>Mluva uživatelů a výrobců drog.</i> Ostrava: Filozofická fakulta Ostravské univerzity.	Předmluva
2015	Schneiderová, S. <i>Analýza diskurzu a mediální text</i> . Praha: Karolinum.	Úvod
2015	Svobodová, I. et al. <i>Psaní velkých písmen v češtině</i> . Praha: Academia.	Předmluva
2015	Voleková, K. Česká lexikografie 15. století. Praha: Academia.	Úvod

### **B.** English sample

#### EN 1: Words in the Mind

This book deals with words. It sets out to answer the questions: how do humans manage to store so many words, and how do they find the ones they want? In brief, it discusses the nature of the human word-store, or "mental lexicon."

This is a topic which has recently attracted the attention of a large number of researchers. At one time, much of the work was tucked away in scholarly journals and conference proceedings. Yet since the first edition of this book was published (1987), the mental lexicon has become a trendy topic, and the number of books published on it has escalated. This (fourth) edition has the same aim as the earlier ones, to make recent findings on the mental lexicon available to a wide range of people, and to provide a coherent overall picture of the way it might work. Hopefully, it will prove of interest to anyone concerned with words: students of linguistics and psychology, speech therapists, language teachers, educationists, lexicographers, and the general reader who would just like to know how humans remember words and how children learn them.

The book does not presuppose any previous knowledge of linguistics or psychology. It contains a minimum of jargon, and all technical terms are fully explained. For those interested in pursuing any topic further, there are references and suggestions for further reading in the notes at the end of the book.

Work on the lexicon has exploded since the earlier editions of this book were published (first edition 1987, second edition 1994, third edition 2003). From being a minor interest of a few, the lexicon has become a major interest of many. This is reflected in this new edition, which contains important additional material. A new chapter has been added (chapter 4 on the brain). Another chapter on phrases (chapter 10) is a combination of new material, together with sections from an overlong chapter in the previous edition. Another chapter from the previous edition has been expanded and renamed. In addition, new paragraphs and new references have been added throughout.

In some of the earlier editions, I thanked by name those people who particularly helped in the preparation of the edition, by sending me offprints, making helpful suggestions and so on. Such a list has now got so long that I would undoubtedly (and accidentally) leave off valuable names. So I will thank everybody together, and say please continue to send me emails and letters about my book, especially if any errors have inadvertently crept in. Please also continue sending offprints. I really do read them, even if there was (this time) insufficient space to include everything.

However, as before, I want to thank my husband, the lexicographer John Ayto, whose books, constant support, non-stop loving kindness, and brilliant cooking made my task an easier one.

Of course, the views expressed in this book are my own, and I alone am responsible for any errors which remain.

#### **EN 2:** Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation

Over the past decade and a half the field of sociolinguistics has experienced remarkable growth which is marked not simply by the continuing attraction of new scholars to

the field but more importantly by the expanding range of approaches now practiced by sociolinguists. Evidence of the expanding interests of sociolinguistic researches can be seen in the kinds of linguistics phenomena they investigate, the data they consider, the analytical tools they employ to uncover patterning, and the linguistic and social theories they draw upon to interpret their results. This book seeks to provide readers with a sense of the range of this research.

While questions of method constitute a major focus of our discussion, the book is not intended to be a handbook or an inventory of techniques, although it certainly is designed to be of practical value to anyone interested in studying the ways people use language in various social contexts. Sociolinguistic method is discussed in terms of its relationship to theory, in the belief that if this link is not acknowledged, *interpretation* of research results may ultimately be difficult and unsatisfying. Some apparently innocuous methods – which are in fact associated with a specific theoretical paradigm – can often conceal important underlying assumptions. Methodological problems and principles will therefore be discussed not only in practical terms, but in terms of the assumptions underlying the chosen method and the theoretical goal of the research. An account of method divorced from theory is not considered to be helpful, desirable, or even possible.

The origins of this book lie in Lesley Milroy's *Observing and Analysing Natural Language (OANL)* which first appeared in 1987. While the general orientation of that work has been maintained, and some of its material has been reproduced here, the tremendous expansion of the field has necessitated that the original work be substantially revised and updated for the current project. A good deal of new material has also been included to treat issues that have since emerged as significant (see, for example, the discussions of instrumental techniques for analysing phonological variation (section 6.3.2) and the treatment of style-shifting as a strategic maneuver (section 8.3)). The additional perspective provided by the co-author, Matthew Gordon, serves to distinguish further the current work from *OANL*.

The basic structure of the book partly follows that of *OANL*. Chapter 1 offers a theoretical introduction to the general framework of variationist sociolinguistics, and is followed in chapters 2 and 3 by a discussion of study design and methods of data collection. Chapters 4 and 5 explore issues related to the social dimensions of language variation, and chapters 6 and 7 focus on linguistic issues, discussing various aspects of data analysis and interpretation related to phonological variation, and grammatical variation. Finally, style-switching and code-switching are examined in chapter 8.

### EN 3: Lexical Variation and Attrition in the Scottish Fishing Communities

In late September 2012, Mr Bobby Hogg, the last survivor of the final generation who spoke the traditional dialect of the fishing population of Cromarty, a small Scots-speaking enclave to the north-east of Inverness, died at the age of 92. The story appeared to resonate with people around the world. It was picked up by the international media and discussed as far from Scotland as Fiji. The Scots dialects with which this book is concerned are also almost all in danger of being "swamped" by larger-scale linguistic units. While, in contrast to Cromarty, it is unlikely we will ever be able to talk about a "last speaker" for most of these communities (population levels are too high), the dialects' autonomous status appears rapidly to be being broken down. In the following pages we will be focusing on mapping and analysing these

changes. In this initial chapter the theoretical bases for the research will be introduced and critiqued.

This book is centred in observing and evaluating two discrete but inevitably connected subject: the study of lexical variation and change, and the study of lexical attrition. The first could be described as concentrating on the changes in use, meaning and form natural to all living language varieties. Words change meaning and use, new words are introduced, people from different backgrounds use different lexis on occasion, but the dialect itself continues its passage through time. The study of lexical attrition, however, concerns itself in the main with those occasions where, with some personification, we can say that a dialect is being "stripped" of the lexis which helps define it as a discrete unit; which may, indeed, be its primary distinguishing feature. In the most extreme situations, inhabitants of a particular place cease to maintain the local dialect in its full lexical form. Bugge (2007) may actually represent evidence for both processes at work on Shetland dialect. This chapter will concern itself with the theoretical and, to a degree, methodological concepts necessary to provide a grounding to the study as a whole, although methodological discussion related to the creation of the research instruments employed in the study will be presented in greater detail in Chapter 3.

## EN 4: Social Interaction in Second Language Chat Rooms

This book investigates second language chat rooms from a social-interaction perspective. More specifically, it examines how speakers of English as an additional language manage their voice-based interactions in chat rooms. As such, this book contributes to the body of work known as computer-mediated communication (CMC). The study of CMC is concerned with examining the social, interactional, and linguistic effects of technology (Herring 2004; Thurlow et al. 2004). The present study examines the interactional effects of technology (see Chapters 5-7), and later explores the social and linguistic implications of communicating in second language chat rooms (see Chapters 8-10).

Although second language chat rooms have been investigated somewhat extensively in the CMC literature, comparatively little work has adopted a social-interaction perspective (for a review of CMC studies, see Chapter 3). This is noteworthy, as a social-interaction perspective is able to provide an account of CMC which is detailed in its treatment of discourse and revelatory in the social actions accomplished in, and through, talk and interaction (for a discussion of what a social-interaction perspective is, see Chapter 2).

It should also be noted that this book does not examine what can be called the prototypical chat room (for a description of the data collected for this study, see Section 4.5). That is to say, nearly all of the chat rooms investigated in the CMC literature are text-based (e.g. Negretti 1999; Simpson 2005; Smith 2008). Conversely, the present study examines voice-based chat rooms. The interactions that take place in voice-based chat rooms are referred to in this book as online spoken communication (this terms is used interchangeably with "computer-mediated spoken interaction"; see Section 2.3.1.2). Voice-based interactions represent a small, but growing area of study in the CMC literature (see Section 3.2.4). This book builds on this body of CMC work by using a social-interaction perspective to uncover the sequential, interactional, and social organization of online spoken communication.

Before discussing what a social-interaction perspective is, it is worth mentioning that a book on CMC, electronic-mediated communication (see Baron 2008a), computer-mediated discourse (see Herring 2004), or whatever term that is in current fashion or application, is both timely and outdated. A book on CMC is timely in that societies are increasingly reliant on hyper-connectivity and technology-driven communication. Immigration and migration has, in part, increased the need to communicate across many time zones and nation states (Taran and Geronimi 2003), while younger generations are effectively socialized into a world of digital communication and media (Buckingham and Willett 2006). Studying these societal trends is important to the development of the social sciences in general, and CMC in particular.

However, a book on CMC is, and will always be, outdated in that technologies advance at a much faster rate than the time it takes for a book to be written and put through the rigors of peer-review publication. An observation made in one year will likely be outdated, technologically speaking, the following year. While researchers can predict future trends and applications, CMC applications are constantly evolving and shifting. Yet this does not mean that technological changes and advancements make older CMC studies obsolete, nor do these changes and advancements take away from the empirical utility and validity of past and ongoing investigations of online communication. CMC researchers have a professional obligation to document and understand current communication trends, build on previous observations and findings, and identify and suggest ways to advance their area of study.

This book does precisely that: it begins with a literature review of CMC (see Chapter 3), provides data-driven, transcript-based observations of online spoken communication (see Chapters 5-7), applies these findings to issues related to language teaching and lingua franca encounters (see Chapters 8-9), and ends with suggestions for future research (see Chapter 10). The book has been written for applied linguists, but readers with an interest in CMC that come from education, communication, linguistic anthropology, and sociology will also find this book useful.

# C. Czech sample

## CZ 1: Současná stylistika

Předložená kniha je zaměřena na potřeby profesionálních uživatelů jazyka, především těch, jimž se stala tvorba textů a posuzování jejich stylové vytříbenosti profesí. Jsou v ní zpracovány otázky koncepce a teorie stylistiky, a tak může být východiskem pro chápání stylových problémů a dynamiky ve stylových oblastech a národním jazyku vůbec, a tím by měla mít určitý pozitivní vliv i na praktické využití poznatků při stavbě a stylizaci komunikátů. Autoři jsou vysokoškolští učitelé: mysleli tedy i na studenty a doktorandy, a proto kniha obsahuje k jednotlivým tématům poměrně rozsáhlou bibliografii českých prací, akcentující zejména práce základní a studie z posledních let. K praktickým uživatelům, nejen studentům, se obrací hlavně kapitola XIV.

Studium stylistiky je završením poznávání jazyka a řeči. Sama stylistika je jazykovědnou disciplínou, která souvisí s mnoha dalšími obory lidského poznání a jejíž zvládnutí usnadňuje komunikaci po stránce kompoziční a stylizační.

Zároveň však platí, že množství otázek, které si stylistika klade a na něž očekáváme odpovědi, znesnadňuje její vymezení v kontextu jazykovědy, činí ji někdy až nepřehlednou a rozptýlenou mezi různými teoretickými koncepcemi a mezi doporučeními praktickými.

Na vzniku, způsobu realizace a výsledku řečotvorného úsilí se obráží míra propracování jednotlivých stadií tvorby textu: důkladné, cílevědomé, nebo naopak povrchní až bezděčné stadium preparativní, vlastní stadium realizační, jehož je adresát už skutečným nebo potenciálním účastníkem, a dále i stadium percepční a hodnotící. Hodnocení stylových kvalit komunikátu a jeho účinku se může ujmout původce projevu, jeho skutečný adresát i náhodný vnímatel, ale také jazykověda (stylistika): možnost rozdílů v hodnocení je tu výhodou i úskalím stylistiky a jejích zobecnění. Vlastní pole stylistiky představuje pak vnitřně jazyková stratifikace, jež se opírá o jazykové, slohové a komunikační normy – těch si bývají zpravidla produktor i adresát vědomi. Poněvadž každý komunikát existuje ve společenské interakci, stalo se právem stylistiky přihlížet při výkladu rovněž k rozmanitým vnějším faktorům utvářejícím komunikát a upravujícím řečové chování komunikantů.

Stylistika patří mezi nejdynamičtější oblasti jazykovědných zkoumání. Důsledkem toho je jistá labilita v jejím systému a fungování, a proto se složitost stylistické problematiky už dnes jen stěží zachycuje v jediné syntetizující odborné práci.

Autoři se pokusili koncepcí výkladu pokrýt celou oblast oboru. Nepředkládají sice všeobsahující kompendium, nýbrž ve výběru tu současnou stylistickou tematiku, kterou pokládají za základní; shrnují však i poznatky starší. Jednotlivé kapitoly jsou – jak je patrno i z charakteristických rysů stylu – autorskými interpretacemi, a proto pozorný čtenář zjistí, že se některé dílčí problémy opakují, protože jsou nazírány z různých hledisek. To si týká i výběru literatury.

Kniha podává prohloubený pohled na danou vědeckou disciplínu v dnešním jazykovědném kontextu; v žádném případě neskrývá, ale spíše obnažuje místa dosud neřešená nebo nedořešená. Některé pasáže mají dokonce provokovat k novému promýšlení otázek stylu.

### CZ 2: Jazyk, norma, spisovnost

K základním otázkám, kterými se lingvistika dlouhodobě zabývá, patří vztah mezi tím, jak se mluví a píše, a tím, jak by se mluvit a psát mělo; s tím úzce souvisí otázka, do jaké míry a na základě jakých kritérií je vhodné jazykovou praxi regulovat.

Počátkem 30. let pražská funkční lingvistika vystoupila s promyšleným programem péče o spisovný jazyk, jehož cílem bylo přiblížit spisovný jazyk soudobému úzu. Bylo formulováno i nové kritérium jazykové správnosti: jazyková norma. Pojem **jazyková norma** se v české teorii jazykovém kultury stal na několik desetiletí pojmem klíčovým.

V této práci bychom se chtěli zamyslet nad tím, jak pojetí jazykové normy přispělo k řešení teoretických i praktických otázek české jazykové kultury a kde dnes vidíme jeho omezení. K tématu přistupujeme z hlediska vývojového. Metodou je analýza a interpretace textů především českých lingvistů a následné uspořádání a zobecnění poznatků o jazykové normě, spisovnosti, normách stylových a komunikačních.

V první kapitole ukážeme, z kterých myšlenkových zdrojů pojetí jazykové normy v české lingvistice vykrystalizovalo, jaké byly rysy pojmu norma v klasickém pojetí a místo normy v pojmoslovné soustavě Pražské školy.

Druhá kapitola se zabývá dalším vývojem a postupnými modifikacemi pojetí jazykové normy v české lingvistice, zdroji, z nichž se tento vývoj inspiroval, a konečně postupným směřováním akcentů od pojmu norma k pojmu spisovnost.

Obsahem třetí kapitoly jsou normy stylové a komunikační. Vymezení stylových norem je představeno jako významný mezník v české teorii normy i jako předjímání pozdějšího komunikačně pragmatického obratu v lingvistice světové. Normy komunikační nabízejí obecnější přístup k regulaci jazykové praxe.

Čtvrtá a pátá kapitola pojednávají o dlouhodobém napětí mezi kodifikovanou normou a územ převládajícím v každodenní komunikaci, které bohemisté pociťují jako závažný problém české jazykové kultury. Uvádějí se některé příčiny tohoto stavu a návrhy možných řešení.

Vlastním cílem práce je tedy naznačit **vývojové tendence**, které se v uplatňování funkčního principu regulace jazyka v české jazykovědě projevovaly a projevují. V souladu se zjištěnými vývojovými tendencemi se přikláníme ke komunikačnímu přístupu k jazyku a napětí mezi tím, jak mluvíme a píšeme, a tím, jak bychom mluvit a psát měli, interpretujeme jako vztah mezi normami komunikačními a jazykovými.

Na tomto místě bych ráda poděkovala vědeckému redaktorovi a oběma recenzentům této publikace za cenné připomínky, které ovlivnily závěrečnou fázi přípravy rukopisu.

K práci na monografii jsem využila prostředků z grantu Univerzity Karlovy č. 128/95.

## CZ 3: Mluva v severomoravském pohraničí

Zkoumání vývoje, jímž se ubírá jazyk běžné každodenní komunikace na území českého národního jazyka, míra uplatnění teritoriálně podmíněných jazykových jevů v našem běžném vyjadřování, perspektivy regionálně zabarveného vyjadřování – to všechno jsou dílčí otázky vyňaté z širokého okruhu problematiky souvisící s vývojem dialektů, s jejich ustupováním na jedné straně a s přežíváním určitých tradičních teritoriálních nářečních jevů na straně druhé. Existují různá hlediska, jak lze tuto problematiku zkoumat, rozličné přístupy, jichž lze k tomuto účelu využít. Jednou z možností může být pohled dialektologický, který

vyplývá z popisu nářeční situace, jak ji postihuje Český jazykový atlas (dále ČJA). Díky tomuto stěžejnímu dílu české dialektologie se nám dostává nejen jazykovězeměpisného obrazu našich nářečí, nýbrž i postižení vývoje v nich, jak je zaznamenaly rozsáhlé terénní výzkumy v 60. a 70. letech. Připomeňme, že je zde doložen – jako základní stupeň – nejstarší zjistitelný nářeční stav, který představuje vyjadřování nejstarší žijící generace ve venkovských obcích a ve městech na území s kompaktním nářečním osídlením, tj. na území tradičních teritoriálních dialektů. Další vývojový stupeň jazyka prezentuje v tomto díle stav zaznamenaný u mladé generace (zjišťovaný u mládeže ukončující základní školní docházku) ve městech s tradičním nářečním okolím. ČJA však nezůstává jen u zobrazení tradičních nářečí a jejich vývoje, ale registruje i stav, jenž byl zjištěn v mluvě mladé generace ve městech tzv. pohraničí. Na kterékoliv z jazykovězeměpisných map ČJA se tak představuje trojí podoba nespisovného vyjadřování: 1. nejstarší zjistitelný stav na venkově a ve (vnitrozemských) městech, 2. další jeho vývojový stupeň, tj. mluva mladé generace na venkově, ale především ve vnitrozemských městech, 3. podoba mluvy utvářející se bez bezprostředně působícího vlivu tradičního okolí v městech na území bez kompaktního nářečního podloží, tj. v oblastech tzv. pohraničí, které byly nově osídleny po roce 1945.

První tři svazky atlasu (1992, 1997, 1999) jsou zaměřeny na slovní zásobu úzce spojenou s tradičním způsobem života, s tradičním způsobem hospodaření, s tradiční kulturou a tradičními zvyky. Vývoj, jenž se v tomto jazykovém plánu zrcadlí, je výmluvný, avšak nepřekvapující: slovní zásoba spjatá s tradičními životními podmínkami rychle ustupuje a upadá v zapomnění. Ztrácí se stejně rychle, jak rychle se mění životní styl a utvářejí nové společenské vztahy.

Výrazně méně zasaženy zůstávají však ostatní jazykové plány – morfologický a hláskoslovný. Jim jsou věnovány závěrečné dva svazky ČJA. Tato publikace vznikala v době, kdy se třetím dílem ČJA uzavřel popis nářeční slovní zásoby a započalo se s pracemi nad svazkem čtvrtým, morfologickým, a pátým, hláskoslovným. Naskytla se tak vzácná příležitost doplnit popis jazykového stavu na našem území, jejž přináší ČJA, o vhled do běžného úzu na teritoriu, které je v atlase zastoupeno pouze mluvou měst. Jde o příspěvek dílčí, který si všímá situace v běžném vyjadřování ve venkovských obcích severomoravské pohraniční oblasti. Snaží se ukázat, co se v konkurenci koexistujících podob a tvarů uplatňuje jako součást živé, běžné řečové normy. Sleduje míru uplatnění oblastních rysů a hledá odpověď na otázku, jaká je prestiž nářečních rysů, ať už shodných, nebo neshodných se spisovným jazykem. Analýza živých spontánních promluv postihuje rovinu hláskoslovnou, ale zejména morfologickou; v těchto rovinách lze totiž pozorovat vývoj v teritoriálně zabarveném běžně mluveném vyjadřování velmi zřetelně. Toto omezení má však i další příčinu: Postihnout obraz běžné mluvy ve všech jazykových plánech a v konkrétním časovém období na tak rozsáhlém území, navíc s tak složitými východisky, které je nutno pro popis jazykového vývoje na tomto území brát v úvahu, je úkolem pro badatelský tým, nikoliv pro jednotlivce. (K vývoji slovní zásoby v této oblasti viz Kloferová, 1989-1990.)

Dovoluji si na tomto místě vyslovit přání: Doufám, že po důkladném srovnání se stavem doloženým v ČJA přispěje tato práce k postižení tendencí, které se uplatňují ve vývoji regionálního úzu.

Mé upřímné poděkování patří prof. PhDr. Marii Krčmové, CSc., a PhDr. Janu Balharovi, CSc., za jejich cenné rady a připomínky, které provázely vznik této práce. Za mnohé podněty vděčím rovněž PhDr. Pavlu Jančákovi, CSc.

# CZ 4: Morfologická homonymie v současné češtině

Tato publikace se věnuje problematice morfologické homonymie v češtině, přičemž si klade tyto hlavní cíle:

- uvést přehled všech typů homonymie v češtině
- podrobně popsat všechny typy vlastní a nevlastní (částečné) tvarové morfologické homonymie v dnešní češtině v rámci jednotlivých slovních druhů a mezi slovními druhy
- pořídit na základě korpusů současné češtiny klasifikovaný soupis homonymních slovních tvarů patřících k těmto typům morfologické homonymie
- podrobněji seznámit čtenáře s problematikou automatické (počítačové) morfologické disambiguace homonymních tvarů.

Zjištěné výsledky přispějí, jak doufáme,

- k obohacení teoretického popisu češtiny o poznatky související s jevem homonymie, jimž se dosud věnovala malá pozornost;
- ke zkvalitnění softwarových nástrojů pro automatickou morfologickou disambiguaci a úkoly s ní spjaté: je to zvláště gramatické a sémantické značkování korpusů a jejich analýza syntaktická a sémantická, strojový překlad, extrakce informací z textů a vůbec všechny aplikace vyžadující rozpoznání významu homonymních forem v textu.

V následující druhé kapitole definujeme hlavní pojmy, s nimiž budeme pracovat, a charakterizujeme všechny typy homonymie v češtině včetně homofonie a homografie. V nejrozsáhlejší, třetí kapitole se pak zaměříme na homonymii morfologickou, rozlišíme ji na vlastní a nevlastní a představíme všechny její typy spolu s co největším repertoárem forem každého typu. V kapitole čtvrté se budeme zabývat automatickou morfologickou disambiguací, jejími problémy a metodami. Pátá kapitola obsahuje příklady morfologické homonymie, homofonie a homografie v některých evropských jazycích. V kapitole šesté uvedeme doklady mezijazykové homonymie mezi češtinou a jinými jazyky a na příkladech rovněž předvedeme existenci mezijazykové homonymie některých evropských práce.

Materiálovou základnou pro výzkum homonymie jsou pro nás tyto korpusy, které jsou součástí projektu Český národní korpus:

- korpus SYN2010 (100 milionů slovních tvarů, 122 milionů korpusových pozic; srov. Český národní korpus – SYN2010 v soupisu použité literatury)
- korpus SYN2013PUB (900 milionů slovních tvarů, 1,2 miliardy korpusových pozic; srov. Český národní korpus – SYN2013PUB)
- korpus SYN (2,2 miliardy slovních tvarů, 2,6 miliardy korpusových pozic; srov. Český národní korpus SYN).

Specifickou klíčovou datovou základnou je pro nás morfologický slovník (srov. Hajič 2004) užívaný k pražské morfologické analýze češtiny. Mimoto jsme využili i nepublikovaného soupisu homonym Karla Olivy a seznamů homonymních slovních tvarů obsažených v tzv. modrém sborníku (Panevová et al. 1981). Z hlediska zpracovávaných variet češtiny jsme se snažili neomezovat svá zkoumání jen na jazyk spisovný (včetně některých mluvených tvarů), ale pokusili jsme se do nich zahrnout i nekodifikované tvary, obecnou češtinu, někdy i slangy,

v minimální míře pak nářečí, v malé míře i tvary dnes už pociťované jako archaismy. Repertoár homonymních tvarů, které v této práci uvádíme, je ovšem zásadně závislý na obsahu zmíněného morfologického slovníku, který plně vychází ze Slovníku spisovného jazyk českého (dále SSJČ, 1974, 1989), což se týká zvláště diachronních aspektů: v SSJČ je z dnešního hlediska poměrně hodně archaismů. U archaismů obsažených v morfologickém slovníku jsme tedy zvažovali, které z nich zařadit do naší práce o homonymii v *současné* češtině, někdy byla naše volba dána tím, že tvar zakládal nový typ homonymie a byla by škoda jej neuvést, nebo nám prostě připadal zajímavý.

Lze říci, že systematicky se homonymie včetně homonymie morfologické a polysémie ve světové lingvistice (srov. např. Lyons 1975; Deane 1988; Langacker 1987, 1991a, 1991b; Tuggy 1993; Chierchia a McConnell-Ginet 1993) ani české lingvistice (srov. Těšitelová 1966, Filipec 1970; Filipec a Čermák 1985; Horalík 1967, 1968; Horálek 2005; Čermák 2010) příliš nestudovala, zvláštně ne před nástupem matematické a obzvláště korpusové lingvistiky. Dnes se zejména v souvislosti se značkováním jazykových korpusů ukazuje studium homonymie i polysémie jako klíčové. Aby se korpusy daly kvalitně morfologicky, syntakticky i sémanticky anotovat, musí se řešit řada problémů spjatých s homonymií slovních tvarů, lexémů a syntaktických struktur. Na rozdíl od problematiky homonymie byla problematika automatické morfologické anotace včetně disambiguace (zjednoznačnění), která se řeší stochasticky a/nebo pomocí lingvistických pravidel, již popsána ve velkém množství publikací ve světě i u nás (např. Church 1988; DeRose 1988; Charniak 1997; Garside et al. 1997; Brill 1992; Hajič 2004; Petkevič 2006). Obecně platí, že při počítačovém zpracování jazyka slouží správná morfologická analýza a disambiguace automatické syntaktické analýze a ta zase případné analýze sémantické. Přitom jedna fáze zpracování jazyka zásadně ovlivňuje další: je-li vstupní věta nesprávně morfologicky analyzována nebo disambiguována, je velmi pravděpodobné, že následná syntaktická analýza bude chybná, a pokud bude syntaktická analýza chybná, negativně to ovlivní analýzu sémantickou. Aby se věty obsahující homonymní, homofonní či homografní tvary analyzovaly správně zejména v systému využívajícím lingvistických disambiguačních pravidel, je nutno tyto tvary nejprve náležitě klasifikovat z hlediska gramatického systému češtiny, přičemž taková klasifikace nemá zdaleka jen praktický význam pro korpusovou anotaci, ale přispívá i teoretickému obohacení poznatků o studovaném a zpracovávaném jazyce, a našem případě češtině.

# **Appendix III.: RST Analyses**

Appendix III. gives the analysis of all book introductions. However, Due to their length, the graphs are enclosed in the folder situated on the inner side of the back cover. Unfortunately, RSTTool was not able to read Czech diacritics, therefore, the Czech language book introduction do not appear in their fully correct orthographic form.