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**The organization of discursive thought and activity in
psychology: A critical analysis and interpretation of the
"Publication Manual" of the American Psychological
Association**

Budge, G. Scott, Ph.D.

New York University, 1988

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THE ORGANIZATION OF DISCURSIVE THOUGHT AND ACTIVITY IN
PSYCHOLOGY: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION
OF THE PUBLICATION MANUAL OF THE AMERICAN
PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

G. Scott Budge

Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the
School of Education, Health, Nursing, and Arts Professions
New York University
1988

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6. *G. Scott Budge* 2/14/88

ABSTRACT

G. Scott Budge, Doctor of Philosophy, 1988

Major: Counseling Psychology, Department of Counselor Education

Title of Dissertation: The Organization of Discursive Thought and Activity in Psychology: A Critical Analysis of the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association

Directed by: Bernard Katz

ABSTRACT

In this study, the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association is examined as an expression and transmission of assumptions and practices regarding language, authors, science, reality, politics, and knowledge. Approaches to the text used draw from literary theory informed by phenomenology, structuralism, psychoanalysis, and post-structuralism. Initially, eight random samples were analysed according to their portrayal of characters and relationships (e.g., authors, editors, APA), statement categories (of fact, value, or policy), ideals (of thought and activity), assumptions, and its style, content, and modes of narration. These readings set the stage for a second reading which yielded the substance of three main interpretive chapters (III, IV, V). Chapter III, "In the Shadow of Scientific Writing," is concerned with what counts as scientific writing and what is excluded but appears to recur in manuscripts submitted for publication. The "experimental report" is seen as the transcendental model around which the

Manual's own interpretive structure is developed. The reading author is coached to avoid "literary elegance" and other practices which contradict the Manual's vision of clear, economical, and smooth expression. Chapter IV, "Group Relations and the Morality of Authorship," shows the imaginary interpersonal context in which this takes place. The narrator involves the reader in a "guidance" relationship with the Manual, while characterizing role interactions amongst many key figures in the publication process. The reader of the Manual is presented with many opportunities for identification with a number of these figures, thus internalizing its editorial and moral sensibility. Chapter V, "The Production of Psychological Discourse," examines transformations of text-products and issues of form and content, ownership, time, money, and the attendant human relations of production. The assembly-line quality of production serves the consumption and assimilation of ideas denuded of apparent emotional and political valences. The final chapter (VI) summarizes implications of this study, particularly those involving the Manual's potential impact on psychological knowledge, thought and practice.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study has been a long time coming. The seeds of the ideas for it stem in many ways from the discussions of an informal "politics and psychology" group in which I participated in the early 80's. For their original support and contributions to questions of psychological discourse in those years, I would like to thank Pat Sherman, Kay Jackson, Mark Pesner, Devin Thornburg, and Taylor Rockwell. Their influences live on in this endeavor.

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Without the attention of Ron Janoff to much I have written and without the years of dialogue across many philosophical, social science, literary and poetic territories, this study would not have taken the shape it has. His influence on this

project has been substantial--and one I am most grateful for.

My committee members Bernard Katz (Chair) and Mitchell Leaska have provided tremendous support and guidance, each in his own way. Professor Katz has been an outstanding mentor--in this project as in many-- largely through his way of probing for and helping me better say what I want rather than imposing his vision of the "correct" thing to say. Yet it is true that he is the originator of key ideas which I have employed over the years and which find expression in many aspects of this study. For his willingness to entertain this project to begin with, as well as to commit to seeing it through, I am deeply grateful. I am lucky to have been in such intelligent and supportive hands.

Professor Leaska, in addition to being someone who finally taught me how to "read," has assisted me both through his matchless eye for detail and his ability to pose the "big questions" for this study as they emerged along the way. His ability to keep me laughing throughout the project, added to his intellectual contribution, made this endeavor not only enduring but pleasurable and full of promise.

Finally, I must thank my wife, Deborah, whose critical and editorial presence is matched only by her patience and willingness to give in the ways

that make writing possible. This project required tremendous, often thankless, familial support, as I believe most such projects do. To her, and to our daughter, Jessica, I am grateful quite beyond words.

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PREFATORY NOTE

Even as this study reaches its final edited form, a front page article in the APA Monitor (April, 1988) has appeared concerning the political and organizational turmoil dividing the American Psychological Association. It is an organization fractured along many lines of divergent interests and politico-economic infighting, notably among scientists and practitioners. It is within this context that former APA president Logan Wright, chair of the Group on Restructuring, is quoted as saying: "We [psychologists] can no longer afford to fight among ourselves." And later: "With this plan [for restructuring APA] there will be a scientific voice, a more credible voice, and certainly a more single voice. We have everything to gain by staying together."

The belief in or the attempt to enforce or legislate a single scientific voice is what is put in question in this project. It will become clear that such an attempt not only fails but both conceals and discloses a desire for central, hegemonic control over a broad range of discourse,

thought, and practice. At the same time, this failure must be considered instructive and telling of a community's epistemological shortcomings and political stresses.

My main objective in this study is to "raise" or alter consciousness about the APA Manual and to envelope it in some of the philosophical problematics it stimulates when so apprehended. I am not advocating a better manual, but throwing into relief problems entailed in the manualization of discourse itself. Nor am I making recommendations for what to do, which would still amount to writing another manual. In fact, I would mistrust any hasty demand for solutions to problems which are only here introduced. Instead, I hope to offer over for rigorous scrutiny and contemplation a text which has so far been touched only by "suggestions for improvement."

It could be said that this study stands witness to the disintegration of psychology from within. The desire for "single voice" cannot be realized in individuals, never mind in entire disciplines. But more than this, the Manual is revealed as a perseveration of tradition--a short one overall--and a nostalgia for disciplinary unity in an environment already receding behind massive changes in media and

attendant reorganizations of the human sciences.
This study could be used in many ways. My intention
is that it be used to assist in the destabilization
of any control over what can be said in the human
sciences.

G.S.B.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (1983) is the subject of close critical readings in this study. This means that the Manual is treated as a form of literature and read using approaches derived from contemporary literary theory. These readings are divergent from one another in detail but convergent around the general agenda of studying the Manual as an important, organized representation and embodiment of discursive thought and activity in psychology.

The Manual, a text familiar to virtually all American psychologists, has not been the subject of critical inquiry. It is analyzed here as a statement of a number of assumptions the community of writing psychologists employs about the world, language, authorship, history, reality, knowledge, and politics. Samples of text are probed in several ways in order to examine their complexities, ambivalences, rhetorical strategies, and in some cases, their use of metaphor, symbolism, and other devices to create a writing milieu particular to this group of psychologists.

Characters, such as authors, editors, typists, and subjects, are examined along with how they are portrayed in relation to each other, the production of discourse, to science, and to the APA. Also examined are the ways narrational styles used and promoted by the Manual stage these relationships for a Manual reader. This study is, overall, an exploration of the Manual concerned with many aspects of its existence and possible impact on psychology. It is a gesture intended to make the Manual's familiar and practical pages unfamiliar and questionable. This will be done by offering it up as an object for contemplation and study in a way likely to be atypical for most of its readers. In the most ordinary sense, I offer in this study a "reading between the lines" which is less concerned about ultimate truths about the Manual than in mobilizing critical activity around the production of meaning in psychology in an area where there has been none.

In the last several years, a small but growing number of researchers have explored publishing processes and practices in psychology (Boor, 1986; Eichorn & VandenBos, 1985; Garvey, Gottfredson & Simmons, 1984; MacKay, 1980; Mahoney, 1985; Wachtel, 1980; Whitehurst, 1984). Studies of publication in psychology have begun to be seen as critical; pressures to publish among academics have increased,

while APA journals continue to reject an average of 75% of submitted manuscripts (Eichorn & VandenBos, 1985). Writing in the American Psychologist, Mahoney (1985) spoke to problems in publishing by saying that psychologists and other scientists "are still faced with the fact that scientific publication remains one of the most powerful and least studied phenomenon in contemporary science" (p. 31).

Some of the different tactics used to address this problem have included studies of manuscript review processes (Mahoney, 1977; Whitehurst, 1984), research on variables related to presenting versus publishing papers (Garvey, Gottfredson & Simmons, 1984), and analysis of factors affecting the probability of publication (cf. Mahoney, 1985). Studies of these latter factors have shown, for example, that high author (Lindsay, 1976) and institutional prestige (Prescott & Csikszentmihalyi, 1977), citing oneself (Mahoney, Kazdin & Kenigsberg, 1978), and reporting significant findings (Atkinson, Furlong & Wampold, 1982) and positive results (Mahoney, 1977) all increase the probability of a manuscript being published.

It is perhaps important to note that Mahoney (1985), in his review of these studies, was able to locate only one study of "writing style" (Armstrong, 1980), which offered up the unusual conclusion, in

Mahoney's (1985) words, that "difficult and obtuse writing styles may actually impress reviewers" (p. 33). Armstrong's (1980) study was, however, conducted on management, not psychology publications. So whether his findings have a bearing on psychology is questionable. Unfortunately, there is too little information about this potentially important variable and its effects on publication probabilities to make any definitive assertions in this area.

In the midst of critical discussions of new psychological methods (Faulconer & Williams, 1985; Gergen, 1973; Giorgi, 1970; Goldman, 1976, 1979, 1982; Koch, 1976; Levinson, 1986; Neimeyer & Resnikoff, 1983; Rychlak, 1977; and Wachtel, 1980), including those that are in one way or another about language data directly (Danziger, 1985; Gentner & Grudin, 1985; Gergen, 1985; Howard, 1986; Manicas & Secord, 1983; Packer, 1985; Rabinow & Sullivan, 1979; Sampson, 1985; Wicker, 1985), psychologists have begun to address the importance of understanding the language of psychology. While Wicker (1985) gave some attention to the need for examining conventional modes of using language and representation in psychology, it is perhaps Gergen (1985) who, drawing on the work of Wittgenstein (1968), most succinctly summarized this growing interest in asserting that "many classic problems both in psychology and philosophy appear to

be products of linguistic entanglement; with clarity concerning the nature and functions of the language the problems may often be decomposed" (p. 267).

Howard (1986) also used a Wittgensteinian point of view to speak to the particular differences between scientist and practitioner "language communities." He observed that,

the scientific psychologist speaks in the language of causes, variables, bias, statistical significance and so forth. Conversely, the practitioner often understands his or her clients in terms of reasons, intentions, biographical events, choices, moral and legal responsibilities, and so forth. Each language system is based upon quite different models of the world, models of human beings, models of science, and models of explanation (pp. 63-64).

The distinction Howard (1986) describes points to the importance of examining the Manual critically. Being the only manual on language in psychology positions it somewhere in the gap between the two language communities. Thus it may act as a buffer or point of reference in the translation of applied experience and research into scientific discourse. With this possibility in mind, the Manual can be examined not only according to what it promotes in scientific writing but what it excludes. Moreover, important as Howard's (1986) critical observation may be for this study, it lacks what is reliably missing from psychologists' attempts to understand their "language communities" and publication practices: a

systematic, critical attention to key texts or discursive practices themselves. However accurate such general statements about language communities may seem, they lack a historical and contextual specificity and leave psychologists with few conceptual and technical means to continue critical work in the area of psychological discourse.

The Manual, rarely cited in any of the literature on publication in psychology, is a text which may well play a particular role in differentiating the scientific language community (those who use it) from the practitioner community (those who mostly do not). But more importantly, the Manual appears to inhabit an intimate, yet invisible place in a research community which has drawn attention to problems of language in psychology without analyzing any of its actual formal embodiments. Similarly, none of the above studies is explicitly theoretical or addresses the assumptions about the relations between language and psychology which are implicit in such texts. Experimental and archival studies have preceded theory-making concerning language in psychology, leaving linguistic infrastructures unexamined. Studies which attempt to show via correlational or experimental methods what kind of text is more likely to be published leave American psychology's publication apparatus itself intact and taken for

granted. The Manual contains not only a description of this apparatus but reveals groupings of practical, aesthetic, economical, and ideological justifications of it as well.

Because this study is a "literary" study, and because studies internal to psychology reveal little relevant to its discourse, the approach used here is an eclectic one which draws from various disciplines and literatures. Literary theory, marked as it is by the thought of various disciplines, has developed in such a way during the last 30 years as to in turn influence many fields of intellectual endeavor. This is so because it permits a different, often destabilizing, perspective on what people do and have done to them through language, speech, and discourse.

Using a mix of literary methods and traditions, I set out in this study to employ a two-stage structured reading plan for the Manual. In the first, I randomly sampled sections of text from each chapter and examined them according to the following: the characters and relationships described; a rewriting of a sample's assumptions; a categorization of its statements according to whether they were primarily statements of fact, value, or policy; a categorization of statements as ideals of writing and relationship consciousness or activity; and finally, a general commentary on the sample's style, content,

or narration (see APPENDICES).

The second reading was based on findings I judged most critical to explore in further depth and became the substance of the three principal interpretive chapters (III, IV, & V). CHAPTER II summarizes background literature and discusses the approach to the Manual in more detail.

The three major areas of findings about, and interpretations of, the Manual are described in chapters III, IV, and V. The first, presented in CHAPTER III under the rubric of what is "IN THE SHADOW OF SCIENTIFIC WRITING," concerns what counts as scientific writing and what may disrupt or be excluded from this writing. The experimental report emerges as the exemplary form of writing, which must also display a "scientific semiotics," that is, signs that forms of evaluation will occur in "scientific" ways, rather than, for example, bigoted or blatantly prejudicial ways. A reader is cautioned about excesses and disruptions of scientific writing, such as the influx of "literary elegance"; in this chapter, conflict between intended and unintended meaning is examined as a terrain in which a desire to control not only writing but reading is made manifest in the Manual. The second area of exploration, on "GROUP RELATIONS AND THE MORALITY OF AUTHORSHIP" (CHAPTER IV), is concerned with the relationships

between characters, in particular how they are articulated within a more or less subtle moral framework. The nature of Manual authority is characterized, as is its narrative style. The would-be author reader is met by Manual "guidance" which stimulates, reproduces, or results from dependence, and the figure of the author is both valorized and effaced. The third area (CHAPTER V) concerns the "PRODUCTION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL DISCOURSE" and is based on a description of the processes and relations of production which find expression in the Manual. Issues of form and content, time and money, and production and consumption are shown to be nested within the attempt to streamline the production of discourse by slowing submissions and accelerating production of accepted manuscripts. Stresses and exploitation of Manual laborers (e.g., authors, typists, editors) are also discussed.

Conclusions and implications are offered in CHAPTER VI, as are suggestions for fieldwork or textual studies which would supplement this one. Objectives for this project as a whole include raising the consciousness of psychologists as to subtleties in writing which may have a major impact on thought about publication processes and practices, including those with moral and political dimensions. Related issues concern the way Manual rules, once

internalized through either the Manual, one's training, or one's "literary" (cultural, class, etc.) background, affect what is considered publishable. Consciousness of the Manual's gatekeeping function has implications for publishing in psychology, including, but not limited to, questions of who publishes in whose interest, who does not, and why. Also at issue is the awareness of some of the implications of centralized APA control over publication processes and practices and how this control has expanded with each increasingly long and detailed version of the Manual. Eventually, changes in apparently small areas of writing consciousness, like such initially small changes in anthropology, sociology, legal studies, and economics, may have a transformative effect on the discipline and open it further to more varied forms of self-study and intellectual commitment.

CHAPTER II
BACKGROUND AND APPROACH

Modern literary theory and criticism has grown out of some old traditions. They are as old, perhaps, as Western civilization, particularly if it is marked by the advent of Greek civilization. To lose track of this leads not only to the reinvention of the wheel but, worse, to a kind of immodest belief that one's researches are leading to a firm ground of unforeseen knowledge. I am thus going to go back briefly to a time in which an activity like criticism or interpretation is barely on the horizon of civilization. Only in this light will the modern theories make sense, not just in the way they add new questions but also return us in the 20th century to an older, familiar territory.

Rather than attempt to exhaust the entire literature relevant to this study, I will work a middle ground of the literature which has defined a broad terrain of theory and knowledge such that a study of this kind makes sense and occurs as a possibility in the first place. I will not only mention specific theories and practices but try to

show their direct bearing on this study, even if that bearing means simply an atmosphere created which may have given rise to a question or provided a certain lead.

Finally, I will provide a background to the specifics of the approach taken in this study, a methodological montage designed according to the nature of the task as it emerged from the traditions described in this chapter.

Background

Hermeneutics and Rhetoric

The advent of Greek civilization and Hellenistic expansion surely entailed a complex series of events, but among the complexities stands a development critical for understanding the early place of interpretation and criticism of texts, namely, the creation of Greco-Roman alphabets and the beginnings of literacy. Obviously, there cannot be literary theory in advance of literature, but the Greek phonetic alphabet, complete with vowels and uniting as it did repeatable, meaningless symbols with repeatable meaningless sounds, constituted a dramatic splitting of the world, privileging a continuous and uniform visualization of language such as the world had never seen (Havelock, 1976). As Ong (1982) says,

"the phonetic alphabet invented by the ancient Semites and perfected by the ancient Greeks, is by far the most adaptable of all writing systems in reducing sound to visible form" (pp. 91-92). Prealphabetic languages, in which sign and sound were more richly tied together, as in hieroglyphic and ideogrammatic systems, do not impose the spatial and psychological distance from the sociality of speech made possible by the alphabet. In McLuhan's (1964) words, "only the phonetic alphabet makes such a sharp division in experience, giving to its user an eye for an ear, and freeing him from the tribal trance of resonating word magic and the web of kinship" (p. 84). A certain (visual) distance is made possible such that speaking and writing are no longer unselfconscious actions. Perspective (from perspicere, to look through) is possible at the historical moment consciousness is capable of such distance.

Some scholars argue that the political and social accomplishments of the Greeks hinge a good deal on their development of the Semitic alphabet (Goody & Watt, 1963; Havelock, 1976). The ability to translate nearly any language into one code made for quick and powerful assimilation of barbarian cultures. In this way, the ability of the Greeks to translate, for example, Egyptian hieroglyphs is the

beginning of "literary interpretation."

The first attempts to interpret language appear to have been concerned with interpreting the sacred messages of the gods, not to mention the strangeness of alien cultures, which were invariably mysterious and in need of clarification. Hieros in Greek, in fact, referred to "sacred," and glyphein refers to carvings. Hieroglyphs were sacred carvings to be deciphered.

In Greek mythology, Hermes, the inventor of language, is also the messenger of the gods and in a sense the first "hermeneuticist" (from Hermēnones). Language and interpretation are in this early sense one and the same. Within the phonetic alphabet, the use of language is already an interpretation, with speaking and writing a way of making thought and perception clear and uniform. This perspective is both ancient, and, from Heidegger forward, modern (cf. Robinson, 1964). Heidegger's (1962) major reading of the Greeks is part of this, but it is even more plausible that Heidegger is part of a media crisis as were the Greeks. (As McLuhan [1962] puts it, "Heidegger surf-boards along the electronic wave as triumphantly as Descartes rode the mechanical wave" [p. 295].)

Hermenēia (in Latin, interpretari) is also used in Plato who is, of course, Socrates' scribe or

interpreter, and in that sense straddled oral and chirographic cultures (cf. Ong, 1982). Hermenēia had two primary senses as an interpretation of speech and translation of another obscure language. Still a third sense had to do with the notion of "commentary," which stands as a way of interpreting difficult tracts of text toward progressively clearer understanding. The clarification of the will of the gods is often at stake in each case. The spokesmen of the gods (hermēnēs) were, for Plato, poets, just as for Philo, Aaron was Moses' hermēneus (Robinson, 1964).

To interpret by speaking for someone else, divine or not, has become an important activity in our culture. Although the connection is not often made, the aspect of interpretation in post-alphabetic speech is related, I believe, to the ancient notion of rhetoric. The connection of hermeneutics and rhetoric is not direct in Aristotle's Rhetoric, but it seems no accident that Cicero, the great legal orator and rhetorician, also inhabited a position comparable to the court astrologer late in his turbulent career and wrote from this position a lesser-known treatise on the Nature of the Gods.

The relationships of hermeneutic to rhetoric is yet to be researched, but the point of examining the two is to show their relevance to this study. For a

study of the Publication Manual, the ancient concerns with interpretation and rhetoric are important because they situate not only the Manual but my approach to it in a longer history. On the one hand, authors of the Manual offer it as an interpretation, not of the gods, but of rules abstracted "from an extensive body of psychological literature, from editors and authors experienced in psychological writing, and from recognized authorities on publication practices" (p. 11). The Manual is an interpretation and articulation of rules with the goals of translation and clarification. Equally, this study can be construed as an interpretation of their interpretation.

On the other hand, the Manual can be seen as a modern handbook of rhetoric. A few recent studies do focus on the rhetoric of science (cf. Bazerman, 1983; Blanton, 1982; Knorr-Cetina, 1981; Winkler, 1983; Yearley, 1981; Zappen, 1983), a seemingly innovative and important advance. However, for Aristotle (1941), "rhetoric is the counterpart of Dialectic.... All men make use, more or less, of both; for to a certain extent all men attempt to discuss statements and to maintain them, to defend themselves and to attack others" (p. 1325). Rhetoric and logic or science were part of the same process. According to Aristotle, to communicate ideas at all required a certain emotional

involvement of the hearer. A man with a great idea and a poor way of engaging others was an unfortunate creature.

Moreover, of the five classical parts of rhetoric, invention (inventio), organization or arrangement (dispositio), style (elocutio), memory (memoria), and delivery (pronuntiatio), variously emphasized from Cicero to Augustine and Quintilian, the Manual is explicitly concerned with four and, as will be shown, implicitly with the fifth. Explicitly dealt with are invention and organization (Chapter 1: Content and Organization of a Manuscript), style (Writing style = Chapter 2, Expression of Ideas; Editorial style = Chapter 3, APA Editorial Style), and delivery (in the Appendix, under "Material for Oral Presentation"). It will be shown that the construction of historical memory is also a subtext in the Manual. Even so the correspondance is dramatic.

That rhetoric is separate from dialectic (logical dialogue) is something hardly peculiar to the modern world. This separation is found early in works by Peter Ramus in the 16th century. By the time of Ramus, rhetoric had begun its negative trajectory and subordination to logic such that the content of one's discourse could appear to roam more or less free of its stylization. Rhetoric began to have a

"bad name"; its necessary relation with argument had been severed. By the time of Descartes (1630s), the pursuit of "clear and distinct ideas" was a pursuit of a private certainty separate from public persuasion or demonstration. However, it is true that Descartes' project was ostensibly about demonstrating the existence of God to non-theologians and that his choice of Latin over French for his Meditations had to do with his fears of precisely the large-scale effects on readers his French texts had had.

The era of Ramus is also the era of the invention of the Gutenberg printing press, and it is notable that Ramus was a major creator of "textbooks" that "proceeded by cold-blooded definitions and divisions leading to still further definitions and divisions, until the very last particle of the subject had been dissected and disposed of" (Ong, 1982, p. 234; cf. also Eisenstein, 1978). The separation of thought from feeling or passion was powerfully informed and accelerated by the printed word, thus burying the intimacy of logic and rhetoric beneath the clear, rational continuities of typographic language.

Descartes' contemporary in England, Francis Bacon, undertook in the Advancement of Learning (1605) and Novum Organum (1620) a struggle with questions of language, terminology, and style. Like

Descartes, Bacon wrestled with something Aristotle must have taken for granted. Unlike Descartes, Bacon's struggle was itself worked out explicitly in print. Language for Bacon could be brought closer to empirical, sensual reality (Paradis, 1983). His projects were also geared to publishing and expanding knowledge, while he remained concerned that ambiguities in writing would stifle its progress. Bacon's influence was felt down through the founding of the Royal Society and the first scientific journals.

In the age following the Reformation, so-called "traditional hermeneutics" came to have as its main focus the interpretation of scripture. It was not long after the invention of the Gutenberg press that Luther was to inaugurate the rise of Protestantism by nailing his 95 theses to the door of the Wittenberg church (1517). The extent to which the printing press sped news of his protest not only overwhelmed him but quickly put his life in danger. At another level of language, a struggle was opening up by a dissemination of an experience of differences between the word of God and scripture. Often this was played out in debates concerning the relation of sermons (speech) to scripture (writing). Although relying on a doctrine of sola scriptura, Luther's re-reading of the scriptures left him with

one foot in the age of print and the other in oral, manuscript culture. This rendered ambiguous his doctrine of claritas scripturae, or the extent to which the content, spirit, or meaning of the scriptures is clear or not regardless of the clarity of the text (Ebeling, 1964). By the time of Schleiermacher's (cf. 1977) writings in the early 19th century, which were very influential on Dilthey, Heidegger, and Gadamer, hermeneutics is itself separated from "exegesis," the former corresponding to theory, the latter, practice. By this time hermeneutics has two basic problems before it, which have continued in some form well into current debates, namely, determining the "psychology" of a text's author while searching for a firm ground of valid interpretation.

I will not take this debate up here, since what I am leading up to is the influence of this history on this study in three basic ways. First, the activity of interpretation has a long religious and metaphysical history which stages the relationship of critic and text as a moral as well as epistemological confrontation. As a result, the possibility of speaking heresy has persisted throughout this study. Authors of the Manual present their text not to be critiqued but to be followed and themselves as, in a sense, hermēneōn hermēnēs, spokesmen for spokesmen,

of, for example, distant and anonymous "authorities on publication practices." Second, this is complicated by the Manual itself being a hermeneutics of writing in psychology. That it doubles as a manual of rhetoric and a manual of interpretation makes it important to address not only the discourse it promotes but its own discourse, its representation of writing issues and its manner of addressing readers. This leads to the third issue, which is what will be dealt with by what follows, namely, that the hermeneutic tradition itself needs to be acknowledged but not simply reproduced in this study. Modern theory has grappled more or less with a need to distance critical activity from traditional (not to be confused with classical) hermeneutics (exceptions, perhaps: Hirsch, 1976; Ricoeur, 1970, 1977) where validity of interpretation is concerned. The pursuit of valid interpretation is not the prime objective of this study. The goal of telling the Truth of this text would only be to reinvent the metaphysical agendas of classical and traditional hermeneutics where such a will to truth is intimately bound with the will to find or speak for God. Further, it would only reproduce rather than evaluate Manual presumptions about its truth and place me in the position of a Luther or Calvin, a believer righteously searching a "bible" for its true message.

My point in recalling the longue durée of hermeneutics and rhetoric is to give some depth to the many significances of interpretive activity as well as to question how the Manual itself is carved out of this tradition. What does it consider truth (knowledge, science)? And from where or on whose Word does it derive its authority?

Modern Developments

The 20th century has witnessed enormous developments in literary theory and criticism. Although the variety of approaches to texts resists summary, this study, because of its unusual "object," has been informed by many background literatures, while operating in other respects without apparent precedent. I will briefly discuss these modern influences in a way similar to Terry Eagleton's (1983) introduction, with some departures from his reading of the area. I will continue a discussion of hermeneutics in the way it has influenced phenomenology and briefly discuss structuralism and semiotics, psychoanalysis, post-structuralism, and other related influences. My goal is not to exhaust the subject of modern literary theory but to provide specific references to areas of work that posed important questions in regard to the task of studying the Manual.

Phenomenology and Hermeneutics

The relation of Heidegger to Dilthey and Schleiermacher was mentioned briefly in connection with the history of hermeneutics. This is only part of the story, however, for it was Edmund Husserl who was a major influence on Heidegger's philosophy. Husserl's background in the perceptual philosophy and psychology of the times, for example, Brentano's, led him to develop the methods for a transcendental phenomenology. The skepticism introduced to Kant by Hume about the existence and knowability of the "external" world served as a corrective in Kant's (1966) analytic philosophy. The double of phenomena/noumena retained the existence of things but privileged phenomenal understanding as the only basis of metaphysics and epistemology. Husserl (1962) takes this one step further and develops the phenomenological method as a method of "bracketing" phenomena in order to determine the operation of pure consciousness. This bracketing, an alternative to Cartesian doubting which Husserl saw as akin to "forgetting" and to the radical skepticism found in idealists such as Berkeley and Hume, enables a suspension of natural or conventional knowledge about anything at all for the purpose of conscious apprehension of the object. As he puts it, "all the

sciences natural and mental, with the entire knowledge they have accumulated, undergo disconnexion as sciences which require for their development the natural standpoint" (1962, p. 155). This natural standpoint had to do with all that is habitual and conventional in perception. It is to be suspended in order to assess experiences of objects such that the primary operations of consciousness can be determined.

Heidegger (1962) sets out a different task for phenomenology in Being and Time. His concern is to phrase the "question of Being" in an answerable, meaningful way. The being for whom Being is a question is Dasein, a being who, for the Greeks, is defined "as that living thing whose Being is essentially determined by the potentiality for discourse.... This is why the ancient ontology as developed by Plato turns into 'dialectic'" (Heidegger, 1962, p. 47). Heidegger will proceed to interrogate the Greeks so as to pose the question of Being even more powerfully for modern man. This he does in regard to Time, since Dasein is essentially historical and temporal. Even though the "elemental historicity of Dasein may remain hidden from Dasein itself" (p. 41), in "its factual Being, any Dasein is as it already was, and it is 'what' it already was. It is its past, whether explicitly or not" (p.

41).

Important for this study is the background possibility of the phenomenological method elaborated by Heidegger as it discloses an aspect of the approach taken in this study. Rather than confining his definition of phenomenology to the "science of phenomena," as common parlance would have it, Heidegger points to the early meaning of φαινόμενον as "that which shows itself in itself, the manifest" (p. 51), while λόγος is conceived originally as "discourse" (p. 55). Together, they can be read as a method based in interpretation or hermeneutic. "Our investigation itself will show that the meaning of phenomenological description as a method lies in interpretation" (p. 61). Heidegger in this gesture brings hermeneutic back into the nature of language itself.

Discourse 'lets something be seen'..., namely, what discourse is about... It lets us see something from the very thing which the discourse is about; and it does so either for the one who is doing the talking (the medium) or for persons who are talking with one another, as the case may be. (p. 56)

Literary theory influenced by Husserlian phenomenology attempts to "bracket" texts, enabling a close reading with suspended judgments. Anything not immanent to such a suspended reading of the text is to be held in abeyance. Varying the objects of consciousness, for example, samples of text, is done

in order to reach the essence of phenomenal understanding, or as in the work of Hirsch (1976) its "meaning." This study does, in a sense, bracket the Manual, and in the first "random" sampling of text, holds in suspension other textual objects. The Manual itself is positioned as an object of awareness and attention separate of its embeddedness in and reliance on, for example, journal articles and APA authorization. It is wrested from everyday understanding (the "natural attitude") and put solely and individually under careful contemplation.

The problems with such an approach are many. In particular, theory influenced by Heidegger does not imply a seeking of a transcendental consciousness of a text or a strict reading of meaning; Heidegger is concerned with the activity of interpretation which itself rests within language. Because of the temporality and historicity of Dasein, bracketing does not work. For criticism which follows from Heidegger, one cannot bypass or suspend one's own language to reach pure consciousness (of a text). Further, for Heidegger meaning is historical just as language is historical and predates and organizes interpretive activity. There is no escape. The Being of Dasein is found and transcended in time. As Eagleton (1983) says, "language for Heidegger is not a mere instrument of communication, a secondary

device for expressing 'ideas'; it is the very dimension in which human life moves..." (p. 63).

The influence of this on sociology (Garfinkle, 1967; Schutz & Luckmann, 1973; Taylor, 1979), anthropology (Geertz, 1973), and the sociology of knowledge (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Kuhn, 1977) has also been due to Heidegger's (1962) efforts to understand and interpret Dasein "as it is proximally and for the most part--in its average everydayness" (pp. 37-38). The study of the Manual is an attempt to look at a text in psychology which has just this kind of "everydayness" about it. It has hardly been regarded as literature; it is a manual, a "how-to" text, a kind of "cookbook." The attempt in this study is rather to treat the Manual as if it were an artifact of another culture and time with something to tell of its producers and users, this done with the realization that it is from within (its, my) language that it is approached.

Another important development arising partly out of phenomenology is that of "reception theory" or its derivative, "reader-response" theory (Eco, 1979; Fish, 1980; Ingarden, 1973; Iser, 1974; Rosenblatt, 1978; Tompkins, 1980). While some Russian Formalists (cf. Matejka & Pomorska, 1971) and some American New Critics (cf. Frye, 1957) tended not to focus on the reading response, phenomenology was ushering in and

privileging the experience of the reader of texts. As Eagleton (1983) observes about this development, the reader is seen as the one who "'concretizes' the literary work, which is in itself no more than a chain of organized black marks on a page" (p.76). The reader is addressed in specific ways in a text and in turn brings a stock of social knowledge which allows him to do the necessary "reading between the lines" in order to recognize what is being written. The emphasis in criticism is not so much on the contents of a text, nor as in structuralism on its internal relations, but on what is does to a reader. As such, it is consonant with "speech acts" theory (Austin, 1965; Searle, 1972; see also Fish, 1980), which is concerned with the performative aspects of (mostly) spoken language. Regardless of what the writer intends to express, something is done to readers, and readers do things in relationship to a text.

This is of more than passing import for this study and relates to my earlier attention to rhetoric. As will be shown, the Manual is involved in promotion both of itself and of its vision of what constitutes effective scientific communication. The reader of the Manual is addressed in specific ways relating to a portraiture of those who will read their manuscripts, including reviewers, editors, and journal readers. As suggested by Jane Tompkins

(1980), "reading and writing join hands, change places, and finally become distinguishable only as two names for the same activity" (p. x). To ignore the potential experience of readers of the Manual would significantly alter an understanding of its rhetorical function, particularly how the Manual's characterization of who might read its readers' manuscripts affects a reader of the Manual.

Whereas for Aristotle (1941) rhetoric is intimately related to dialectic and hence to science, it is only recently that an examination of the rhetoric of science has been re-legitimized (Bazerman, in press; Bazerman 1983; Bazerman & Paradis, in press; Blanton, 1982; Maranhao, 1986; McCloskey, 1985; Nelson, McGill & McCloskey, 1987; Tyler, 1987). A number of rhetorical studies are about to emerge in areas which have long withstood such analyses, including a study of Arrington's (in press) on The Rhetoric of Accounting. This literature is related to literature on style (cf. Alonso, 1942; Fish, 1970; Riffaterre, 1959; Segre, 1973; Shapiro, 1953; Ullman, 1973) and marks a kind of return to the Aristotelian vision.

In regard to the Manual, an attempt is made in this study to piece together its reader as construed by its authors but also to infer processes which may be activated in the reader at various times. The way

the reader is addressed is weighed along with what a reader must know or assume to make sense of the Manual (cf. Culler, 1980; Richards, 1935). This approach is consistent with reader-response and reception theory with the obvious limitation that other readers' reactions were not used.

Sartre's (1978) book, What is Literature? illustrates the extent to which writing is always to someone and that this is fundamental to literary expression. Obviously, when the Manual says, "When reporting inferential statistics.., include information about the obtained magnitude or value of the test, the degrees of freedom, the probability level, and the direction of the effect" (APA, 1983, p. 27), it says so with a specific reader in mind; less obvious, but by no means unimportant are what the following might imply: "The typist is responsible only for the accurate transcription of the manuscript" (p. 136) or "When you develop a clear writing style and use correct grammar, you show a concern not only for accurately presenting your knowledge and ideas but also for easing the reader's task" (pp. 42-43). The question of a "clear writing style" for whom will be posed in this study and is partly a derivative of the reader-response contribution to literary theory.

The work of Stanley Fish (1980) involves an

attempt to understand the basis of agreement and disagreement in readers' interpretations. Like David Bleich's (1978) work on Subjective Criticism, it is drawn from an examination of convergences and divergences in critics' and students' readings, a tradition inspired by I. A. Richards (1935). For Fish as for Bleich, variations in interpretation depend, as in science, on intersubjective agreements. Agreements by just anyone do not, however, make knowledge. A layperson's interpretation of Jane Eyre does not rank against that of a professional critic who is seen as an expert on Charlotte Bronte. Against the "objectivists" (usually New Critics, or Husserlian hermeneuticists like Hirsch, 1976, for whom a single true reading is possible), Fish shows that by introducing the reader one is introducing the notion that texts are dealt with differently by different "interpretive communities."

The fact of agreement, rather than being a proof of the stability of objects, is a testimony to the power of an interpretive community to constitute the objects upon which its members (also and simultaneously constituted) can then agree. This account of agreement has the additional advantage of providing what the objectivist argument cannot supply, a coherent account of disagreement. (Fish, 1980, p. 338)

The character of disagreements enables an assessment of who readers are (how they are constituted qua readers) in relation to a given text. In this respect, judgments of validity are shaped by social,

political, and historical determinants, though Fish does not take this aspect as far as he could.

Fish's work relates to this study in the manner in which it prepares the way for an understanding of why no criticism of the kind I employ has occurred with regard to the Manual. It is not that the Manual is not being interpreted but that the current "interpretive strategy"--like, for instance, the strategy of soliciting "users' suggestions for improvements" (APA, 1983, p. 9)--is not informed by, for example, phenomenology or psychoanalysis. If the Manual is "interpreted" at all, it appears only as a practical means to another discourse more worthy of study in its own right. In its community, it is read in a way analogous to how a road-sign, "Holland Tunnel Right Lanes," is read by someone leaving New York for New Jersey. This study could be said in a sense to be the mise-en-scene of an encounter of Manual discourse and other discourses, barbarian as they may seem to its current interpretive communities.

Structuralism and Semiotics

Structuralism and semiotics (I will use the two interchangeably, except where they diverge in emphasis) also emerge interwoven with traditions of

exegesis, though the connection comes via a different historical route. Mostly structuralism grew out of the modern disciplines of philology and linguistics. Philology is probably traceable to Philo, the early Jewish philosopher at Alexandria who, influenced by Plato and the Greeks, used their philosophies to read scripture "allegorically," perhaps for the first time; he also interpreted various Greek, Egyptian, and Jewish mythologies in these terms. A brief consideration of the transformation of philology into linguistics gives an important sense to the utility and limitations of a structuralist approach in general (cf. Foucault, 1970) and to the Manual specifically.

Philology as an actual "discipline" derives from the attempt, more or less consolidated by the early 19th century, to examine language and literature in order to tell something about the origin of languages and about the cultures in which they existed. Often, in the 19th century, this took the form of examining Greek and Latin so as to understand Greek and Roman civilizations. However, this "diachronic" or "historical" linguistics (so-called in retrospect) also sought to determine the origins of Indo-European languages and by the time of Schleicher (1861) also dealt comparatively with languages. The belief in an original language from which these languages

developed (the Proto-Indo-European) is one of the products of this period (Sampson, 1980), as is the belief of languages as organic wholes. As in Spencer's (1915) sociology, where society is a body which grows, has diseases, dies, so has language through the classical age into the 19th century begun to be seen as a "living body" which grows, changes, and even dies (cf. Bopp, 1945; Grimm, 1819; Pott, 1833; Schlegel, 1808). As will be seen in CHAPTER IV, this bodily imagery in relation to language persists in the Manual itself.

Like Durkheim's (1933) sociology, Saussure's (1959) linguistics retains some of this influence. However, language is not exactly seen as a bodily organic whole but as the "product of the collective mind of linguistic groups" (p. 5) which is present to any given speaker. Since language "never requires premeditation" (p. 14) by the speaker, for Saussure it became important to analyze languages "as they exist at a given time (often the present), ignoring (as their speakers ignore) the route by which they arrived in their present form" (Sampson, 1980, p. 13). In many ways this marks the shift from philology to linguistics, though this shift has not been a pure one. In distinguishing synchronic from diachronic approaches to language--for Saussure an analytic distinction, not a "real" distinction--Saussure makes

possible the study of language as a system, a structure both transcendent to and articulated in time. Saussure privileged language over speech, since "language [is] the norm of all other manifestations of speech" (p. 9). Language "is the social side of speech, outside the individual who can never create nor modify it by himself" (p. 14). This social side is what concerns Saussure, a concern in turn appropriated, as Saussure envisioned, by the sciences of anthropology (e.g., Levi-Strauss, 1958) and psychology (Piaget, 1968); Saussure is also considered with Charles Sanders Peirce (1940) in America to have co-founded "semiotics," the "science of signs" (cf. Barthes, 1967; Guiraud, 1975).

The notion of "structuralism" is applied along with semiotics because in their early forms they exploited the notion introduced by Saussure (1959) and later Jakobson (e.g., 1978) and Hjelmslev (1959) of the structural or relational character of sound and meaning. Each phoneme acquires definition and significance insofar as it is not another phoneme. The same is true at the level of meaning, where "Cat" is not "bat" or "car," but neither is it "kitty." Structuralism further refers to the structure of signs as the unity of "signifier" and "signified," bound arbitrarily as they are by conventional association.

Informed to some extent by Russian Formalists (e.g., Matejka & Pomorska, 1971; Shklovsky, 1970; Todorov, 1965), structuralists set out to define units of study in a text and proceed to analyse the relations of elements within its system. Even though in some cases influenced by phenomenology (notably Merleau-Ponty, 1964; 1973) structuralism, unlike phenomenology, employs a notion of the unconscious which is socially structured and supercedes intentionality. A text makes available a study of the choices it displays with no special concern for an author's or reader's conscious intentions around meaning. Just as individual speech (parole) takes a back seat to language (langue) in Saussure, for the structuralists "there is not first a subject and a world, and then a language created at their point of contact. Because to be a subject is already to live in a world" (Mepham, 1973, p. 126). Trying to figure out the specifics of this or that author or reader is to be distracted by specifics and miss the general relations in language which structure the very possibilities of variance. The point of structuralist literary analysis is to isolate these relations rather than attend to the specifics of a text's production and consumption. It is "a scientific method implying an interest in impersonal laws and forms, of which existing objects are only

realizations" (Todorov, 1973, p. 72).

The Manual is, from this standpoint, just such an object. That is, it can be seen as a rule-governed materialization of certain linguistic relations whose rules speak through both author and reader. The oppositions in the Manual between, for example, scientific and literary writing, intended and unintended meaning, and ownership and authorship can be seen as particular expressions of shared, largely unconscious rules. This may partly account for its transparency to readers and why only certain forms of criticism exist. It reflects, in this view, a taken for granted structuring of the world whose principles are not known to its participants.

An important and related influence of semiotics on this study lies precisely in its ability to render various dimensions of social life up for study within one's own culture. Were it not for advances in semiotics in studying, for example, signs of identity, polite behavior, traffic signs, fashions, protocols, games, wrestling, toys, menus, the striptease and other sign systems (Barthes, 1972; Guiraud, 1975), a study like this one may not have occurred in the first place. That is to say, in traversing many disciplines, semiotics produced many new social science "objects" for examination, including non-literary texts, and introduced the

possibility of the kind of distance to one's own embeddedness in sign systems that an anthropologist has in regard to another culture. It might be said that the historical developments which produced structuralism (see Foucault, 1970) were part of what presented the Manual as a possible object of study.

By not focussing on the individual, and hence on (typically) his genius or creativity, the rarefied notion of "literature" itself suffered a blow. The valorization of Great Books by Great Men was seen as an anthropomorphic hangover from the Renaissance in which scientific man is the intoxicated center of the universe. Marx, Darwin, Saussure, and Freud forced sobering realizations that the individual is the effect and not the cause of his or her personal and social life. Thus, rather than offering an appreciation of "classic" texts written by leaders in psychology in order to talk about great literary moments in psychology, I examine here the rule book of writing in psychology which itself may structure the very limits and criteria of creativity in this field.

Structuralism and semiotics, developing in the era of Freud, gave a place to unconscious processes from Saussure forward. As much as Levi-Strauss (1958) and Piaget (1968) built upon readings of Freud, so were psychoanalytic readings of speech and text to be

opened to new applications by Saussure. I will deal with psychoanalytic criticism momentarily; for now it is important to note that the structuralist unconscious is social, collective (not in the Jungian, bioarchetypical sense), and that the rules and conventions which produce meaning in any text, including the Manual, are in a critical way not their author's own. The individual does not master language, but is mastered by it. The Manual is thus not an isolated sample of its author's thoughts meriting blame or praise but a rule-governed embodiment of relations, the "deeper" of which surpass the author's awareness. This makes the Manual's originality a function of its variation of typical language relations. Structuralisms analyze this variation, but do so in regard to how this variation becomes typical, taken for granted, unconscious. A look is taken at certain operations in text or discourse which have resisted deliberate inquiry. As Eagleton (1983) has observed in this connection, "the fact that structuralism offends common sense has always been a point in its favor." Continuing on, he says that this "threatens the ideological security of those who wish the world to be within their control, to carry its singular meaning on its face and to yield it up to them in the unblemished mirror of their language" (pp. 108-109).

One problem with this is, given the unconscious character of structures, the question of whose interpretation is privileged, a question which also yields problems of truth and verification familiar to psychoanalysis. Post-structuralists venture an answer, but for now I will turn to criticism informed by psychoanalysis in order to show its impact on this study.

Psychoanalysis

Psychoanalytic criticism can be seen as analogous to psychoanalysis proper. Originally a form of "basic research" (cf. Freud, 1959), a tradition which has been maintained in Europe (Turtle, 1978), psychoanalysis begins and ends with interpretive activity in speech and language. Its clinical methods, its "talking cure," are translations of the "cryptic" unconscious (Freud, 1959, 1965) registered in the symbolizations of language. Freud's own readings of Greek and Judeo-Christian mythologies, Dostoevsky, Ibsen, Zola, Goethe, Rabelais, Shakespeare, and many more can be considered foundational rather than simply ancillary practices in psychoanalysis. As Jacques Lacan (1972) has observed,

If you open a book of Freud, and particularly those books which are properly about the unconscious, you can be absolutely sure... to

fall on a page where it is not only a question of words,, but words are the object through which one seeks for a way to handle the unconscious. Not even the meaning of words, but words in their flesh, in their material aspect. A great part of the speculations of Freud is about punning in a dream, or lapsus, or what in French we call calembour, homonymie, or still the division of a word into many parts with each part taking on a new meaning after it is broken down. (p. 187)

Freud's "textual" methods are probably best represented in The Interpretation of Dreams and The Psychopathology of Everyday Life, where he works on various levels of phonology and signification. In these works he deals with puns, jokes, figures of speech, slips of the tongue and pen, "verbal bridges," "switch words," songs, neologisms, and proverbs.

The whole domain of verbal wit is put at the disposal of the dream-work. There is no need to be astonished at the part played by words in dream formation. Words, since they are the nodal points of numerous ideas, may be regarded as predestined to ambiguity; and the neuroses (e.g., in framing obsessions and phobias), no less than dreams, make unashamed use of the advantages offered by words for purposes of condensation and disguise (Freud, 1965, p. 376)

For Freud, the ambiguity of language makes possible both furtive illuminations of the unconscious and its disguise. Free association reveals its determinate character.

In linguistics, the theorist who bridged the gap between Russian Formalism and structuralism, Roman Jakobson (1963), employed the notions of metaphor and

metonymy to Saussure's (1959) synchronic (paradigmatic) and diachronic (syntagmatic) axes of language. These correspond directly to Freud's (1965) discussion of the processes of condensation and displacement and figure directly in Lacan's expression that the "unconscious is structured like a language" (1978, p. 149; cf. also 1972, p. 188). Although Freud's explicit theorizing about language and literature is fragmented, The Interpretation of Dreams stands as a masterpiece of unparalleled interpretive criticism.

The analyst Lacan, who has most emphasized this aspect of Freud, grew up in a French milieu in which the insights of psychoanalysis, rather than being accepted after having been denatured and colonized by medicine as in the U.S., were employed mostly by social marginals in the arts. Dadaist and Surrealist literary movements, for example, constituted early irreverent and unruly attempts at synthesizing Marx and Freud. Their writing experiments, including the introduction of techniques like "automatic writing" (like "free association"), were aimed at upsetting the bourgeois split between dream and reality and at advancing in its stead "sur-reality." As Georges Bataille (1973) put it in retrospect, "I belong to a turbulent generation, born to literary life in the tumult of surrealism. In the years after the Great

War there was a feeling which was about to overflow. Literature was stifling within its limitations and seemed pregnant with revolution" (Preface). These movements did not gain ground and in some ways were suppressed and compromised out of existence.

Lacan began from a marginal position and, with post World War II disgust with Hitler on the right and growing knowledge of Stalin's crimes on the left, psychoanalysis and Lacan burst on the politico-intellectual scene in France and were powerfully associated with the seizure of the French university system and related strikes and protests in the Summer of 1968. Psychoanalysis in the work of Reich (1946) and others later known as the Frankfurt School (cf. Arato & Gebhardt, 1982) had long since used Freud to understand and destabilize fascism, but knowledge of Stalin, together with the deadening stranglehold of staid party communists in France, set for psychoanalysis a new critical task: that of the critique of fascisms and totalitarianisms in whatever disguise from the left or right.

Although there have been a number of writers concerned with psychoanalytic criticism in the Anglo-American world (e.g., Burke, 1941; Holland, 1968; Kris, 1952; Malin, 1965), I draw most from those within or affected by French developments (Bloom, 1973; Cixous & Clement, 1975; Felman, 1982;

Gallop, 1982; Hartman, 1978; Irigaray, 1977; Kristeva, 1986; Lacan, 1968, 1977, 1978, 1982; Mitchell, 1975) precisely because of the context in which the latter arose, and of its potential to interpret the American scene from unaccustomed angles. Lacan's "excommunication" (Lacan, 1978, pp. 1-13) from the International Psycho-Analytic Association for unorthodox teaching and clinical practices make this perspective more urgent in respect to thought it has stimulated about the interrelations of time, money, censorship, desire, and politics in speech and language; in addition, Lacan was an astute "reader" of the developments of American psychology generally, including its "native mental form, known as behaviorism" (1968, p. 6).

It is sometimes obscured that Lacan was primarily an analyst and a trainer of analysts, not a literary critic, nor even someone who wrote much. Because speech, language, and discourse are central in relationship to the unconscious, however, his work gave new impetus to criticism, including but not limited to his own "re-reading" of Freud.

Important for this study is that a psychoanalytic reading of the Manual can lay open several possible focuses of attention. Freud's comparison of the processes of distortion in dreams to literary censorship "down to their smallest

details" (1965, p. 177) opens the possibility that the Manual can be read not only in terms of what is advocates in writing, but what it condemns or excludes. In this sense, psychoanalysis provides a way of interpreting its censorship functions. Moreover, the narrative devices, the position of imaginary readers, the stimulation of transferences in readers to Manual authors or APA, the play of narrational countertransferences, processes of condensation and displacement, and a reader's introjection of characters, all become possible vectors of interpretation with a text like the Manual.

It is important to acknowledge how in this century it would be difficult to conceive of literary criticism separate of psychoanalysis, since they remain similar processes linked by their ancient roots even if they vary in technique. On the other hand, psychoanalysis dethrones the individual and introduces the question of desire in language (cf. Kristeva, 1980). Several questions can be posed to a text like the Manual where, for example, control, precision, concern with technique rather than content, the exclusion of poetry, polemic, and word play of all kinds, render the Manual easily susceptible to a psychoanalytic reading. These questions would be addressed to the nature of the

desire driving and accompanying such practices. However, even though interpretation is explicitly a "construction" (Freud, 1938) of meaning, one must be careful not to too hastily make judgments about what the symbols of the analysand mean. Who is in fact analyst and analysand? In Lacan, as in Freud, this relationship is destabilized and analytic "truth" remains a matter of dialogue, dialectic. A psychoanalytic reading of the European variety cannot really know in advance what a text means transcendentally but what it calls up and creates in specific contexts of its life. A psychoanalytic perspective opens the door for a variety of interpretations but limits them in this study to a very provisional status, as it were, pending a broader possibility of dialogue which psychoanalysis suggests from its very foundation (cf. Hartman, 1978). Chapter VI will take this up further.

Post-Structuralism

Post-structuralism arises out of structuralism and psychoanalysis in the sense that its key figures (including Derrida, Deleuze, Foucault, Guattari) at one time or another were in attendance at Lacan's seminars. It also arises from Marxism and many forms of gauchisme, and yet can be said to both criticize

and extend the limits of all these "systems" of thought, particularly to the extent to which they are no longer used as systems but deployed in bits and pieces as theoretical and practical agents of force. By the time one has dealt with the challenge of "schizoanalysis" to "psychoanalysis" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1977; Guattari, 1984), of "deconstruction" to the metaphysics of everyday life (Derrida, 1976, 1978), and of "pouvoir-savoir" to epistemology (esp. Foucault, 1979, 1980; see also Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983), one is not sure where one stands any longer--which is partly the point.

Post-structuralisms leave little that is familiar to the "human sciences" stable, least of which are those historical and cultural practices which have reassured "man" of his sovereignty in the world.

At the level of signification, the challenge to structuralism is to the unity and stability of signifier and signified. The signified is revealed as none other than more signifiers, just as to look up a word in a dictionary is to find only more words, chains of signifiers on signifiers (Eagleton, 1983).

In short,

There is no concept which is not embroiled in an open-ended play of signification, shot through with the traces and fragments of other ideas. It is just that, out of this play of signifiers, certain meanings are elevated by social ideologies to a privileged position, or made the centers around which other meanings are forced

to turn" (Eagleton, 1983, p. 131).

I will not attempt here to summarize the many developments of post-structuralist theory and practice, but again will draw specifically on that which influences this study.

Michel Foucault's work, including his studies of the implication of the human sciences in the constitution of illness (1969) and in forms of social and penal control (1979), influences this study in several global ways. His analysis of power, which is elaborated in The History of Sexuality (Vols. 1 & 2) offers much to a reading of a text like the Manual. In attacking the "repressive hypothesis", Foucault claims that power is not simply a blockage, censorship, or cover of natural, for example, sexual forces. It is productive and constitutive, just as it is controlling of the forces it creates. The confessing analysand is the product not of a libertarian release but of a new strategy of power.

Sexuality must not be thought of as a kind of natural given which power tries to hold in check, or as an obscure domain which knowledge tries gradually to uncover. It is the name that can be given to a historical construct not a furtive reality that is difficult to grasp, but a great surface network in which the stimulation of bodies, the intensification of pleasures, the incitement to discourse, the formation of special knowledges, the strengthening of controls and resistances, are linked to one another, in accordance with a few major strategies of knowledge and power. (1980, pp. 105-106)

The importance of this concept of power, with the necessary changes, is that it presents the opportunity of viewing a text like the Manual as something other than one which "hides" or suppresses its "essence," leaving the reader to endlessly pursue its "transcendental signified;" it renders the Manual other than simply repressive or an extension of a forbidding censorship apparatus. This psychoanalytic reading is only one side of the issue. Foucault's concept of power raises the question of what is produced by the Manual, what strategies it mobilizes and supervises, and what the effects of its discipline might be. Its control may not only be exclusive but inclusive; it rejects, but it also deploys discourse.

Power is also microscopic. It operates in the small spaces. Modern forms of power, like, for instance, modern American racisms (cf. Kovel, 1984), no longer require gross exercises or stark demonstrations, but operate in the most subtle acts of speech and gesture. The Manual, for instance, may not violate its power politesse by grand pronouncements, giving orders, or making exclamatory demands. Yet when it says, for instance, "Use a comma: before and and or in a series of three or more items" (APA, 1983, p. 52), there arises a question of how this small measure, this disciplinary minutia, is

fixed in a whole network of power relations defining acceptable grammar, scientific precision, semantic fixity, and likelihoods of publication, authorship, tenure, salary increases, and public respectability. This may overdramatize the situation, and yet when all of these small powers collide with others, are spread out in a line, or pick up speed (cf. Virilio, 1977), their imperceptability is part of their potency. No one is going to lose tenure over a comma, but the displacement of commas by semicolons, their disappearance altogether, or a refusal to use commas in specific contexts would surely imply different but potentially significant shifts in knowledge and power. In post-structuralism, big/small, molar/molecular, internal/external, psychology/sociology, are among the familiar ways of "structuring" problems of the human sciences which Foucaultians challenge (see Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983).

Felix Guattari, a political activist and psychoanalyst who, with Foucault's student Gilles Deleuze, wrote Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia (1977), develops along these lines a "micropolitics of desire", a "politics which addresses itself to the individual's desire, as well as to the desire which manifests itself in the broadest social field" (Guattari, 1977, p. 88). This

he works out in a number of forums and in a paper called "Everybody Wants to Be a Fascist." It is coextensive with that of Anti-Oedipus, which through a long, often poetic and heretical critique of anti-psychiatry, Freudo-Marxisms, and the "holy family" of psychoanalysis, inaugurates "schizoanalysis" as a way of dismantling, radicalizing and materializing psychoanalysis by exploding its key myth: Oedipus. In turn, it forwards a schizophrenic rather than neurotic model of man; it is a psychology of das Es and upends the repressive insistence in psychoanalysis of strengthening all that is normalizing and defensive in ego functions. Whereas (esp, American) psychoanalysis claims for the ego the status of tester of reality, schizoanalysis asks "Whose reality and under what conditions"? For Deleuze and Guattari, the answer too often in psychoanalysis is a bourgeois reality lining egos up for duty like ducks in a capitalist shooting gallery.

For this study there are two main points of contact and influence from Deleuze and Guattari. First, any effort to codify and standardize significations, as is found in the Manual, is subject to a political reading and intervention. Second, any signifying gesture is profoundly tied up in a network of social practices, a particular historico-political context in which engagement is ongoing. Signification

is always a collective affair; it occurs in and for groups, whether that be the "mommy-daddy-me" Oedipal triangle carried around "in one's head" or in the ways this triangle and other groupings engage molar collectivities. From this viewpoint, the Manual is a collective text, part of the "collective agencies of utterance" (Guattari, 1984) and is linked with social practices, divisions of labor, systems of grammar, and conventions in science which mark and appropriate it.

Deleuze and Guattari's (1977) emphasis on groups and collectives which are the product of and in turn produce texts recalls the work of Bion (1959) on "biblemaking" in groups and Freud (1959) on phantasy and identification in groups but is also aligned with Sartre's (1976) work on "practical ensembles" in the Critique of Dialectical Reason. Although critical of Sartre, who cannot really be considered a post-structuralist, Guattari does not in any way dismiss him as did many structuralists, notably Levi-Strauss. True to form, Guattari (1984) says, "I like Sartre not so much for the consistency of his theoretical contribution, but the opposite--for the ways he goes off on tangents, for all his mistakes and the good faith in which he makes them" (p.27). Sartre's work supports a non-static way of reading the possibilities of complex group formations in and

around the APA, including ways of situating one with respect to another. In particular, consulting Sartre helped to clarify the narrator's position in the Manual as a "third party" gatekeeper of relations between editor, printer, reader, typist, and others; his work also lends perspective to the way APA as an organization is portrayed in the Manual.

A section on post-structuralism would be incomplete without addressing Jacques Derrida (1973, 1976, 1978), whose "deconstructionism" has been taken up by an increasing number of literary theorists (e.g., Culler, 1982; Hartman, 1979; Johnson, 1980; Miller, 1982; Norris, 1982). Simply put, "The tactic of deconstruction... is to show how texts come to embarrass their own ruling systems of logic; and deconstruction shows this by fastening on the 'symptomatic' points, the aporia or impasses of meaning, where texts get into trouble, come unstuck, offer to contradict themselves" (Eagleton, 1983, pp. 133-134). In a sense, Derrida hounds a text and grabs hold of details often passed over by critics and commentators in order to draw down the whole interpretive edifice. Derrida's "politics" involves going after "metaphysics," the very processes which construct or define reality itself.

Like McLuhan (1962), Derrida regards the privileging of writing (logocentrism) or speaking

(phonocentrism) over each other as amounting to metaphysical biases with real practical implications. As with McLuhan, for Derrida "phonetic writing, the medium of the great metaphysical, scientific, technical, and economic adventure of the West, is limited in space and time and limits itself even as it is in the process of imposing its laws upon the cultural areas that had escaped it" (1976, p. 10). That speech is held to be "prior" to writing is complicated by the fact that speech "goes away" as soon as it occurs, but writing remains a trace behind which there lingers the something-else of speech. As Heidegger showed, Logos was a showing through talk; for Derrida, the priority of this showing (signifier), together with what always supplements it (signified) is the dialectic of the metaphysics of "presence": Writing is always supplemented and spills over with meaning. The pursuit of this meaning is what, for Derrida, Western metaphysics has always been about. This is the pursuit of the Transcendental Signified (e.g., God, as in what did God mean to say in scripture). Because philosophers or critics speak and write, they are no more exempt from, and in fact often heighten (as in Heidegger) these problems. With Derrida, the critic's own discourse falls back upon itself as mercilessly as upon its "objects," whose own instabilities it attempts to interrogate.

What deconstruction does is to destabilize "insight," "meaning," "truth," where they rest too comfortably. For this study, reading Derrida opens the way to examine at length some of the smallest details of the text, details which another reader might regard as irrelevant or absurd, such as when I seize on the Manual preference for "police officer" instead of "cop" and link this to various contradictions related to the promotion of Manual language as unbiased. The shift of attention to such small things, together with the self-critical aspects of Derridean approaches, served to reintroduce ways of challenging foundational assumptions inherent in both the Manual and my approach to it.

Other Sources

A number of other influences operate in the production of this study. Many of them intersect with the critical tendencies just described, but have not as yet been woven into the discussion. I will briefly mention these influences before moving on to describe methodological details of this study.

Marxist Criticism

It would be difficult to neatly disentangle the influences of political thought in this study from its other tendencies. Such an attempt, however, would

introduce another kind of criticism than those previously introduced here, namely, Marxist criticism. Forms of Marxist criticism resist summary, owing to their various developments in many contexts (Althusser, 1970; Coward & Ellis, 1977; Eagleton, 1976; Williams, 1977). From my vantage point, there are two starting points which arise from a reading of Marx on literature which have implications for this study. First is Marx's own critical style, such as that in his early critical writings on Hegel (see Marx, 1975; cf. also Lenin, 1972; Trotsky, 1971), which exhibit what in some circles can truly be regarded as a "close reading." Serious attention to content and an upending and extension of meaning and implication characterize this style, and give it scholarly and polemical force. Second, Marx's notion of language "as the immediate actuality of thought" (1970, p. 118) was formulated in the context of showing how "philosopher's languages" are abstracted from, and reflect distortions of ordinary language. "The philosophers would only have to dissolve their language into the ordinary language...to realize that neither thoughts nor language in themselves form a realm of their own, that they are only manifestations of actual life" (1970, p. 118), a statement strangely similar to Wittgenstein on "forms of life".

The abstraction of language from the actual

conditions of life, in short, its becoming ideological marks the beginning point of criticism for Marxist theory (cf. Benjamin, 1982; Lukacs, 1971). Literature is not produced from nowhere; the conditions and functions of discourse are to be examined as they impact, form, or contort language. Literature mirrors the world, though the mirror may be more or less fractured or distorted, often creating convoluted or inverted images of social life (cf. struggles between Brecht and Lukacs on this point; see Eagleton, 1976). The discourse of science is itself a profoundly "interested" discourse, as Habermas (1971) has shown and even Bertrand Russell (1962) concedes (see also Arato & Gebhardt, 1982, in regard to the Frankfurt School).

For this study, Marxist criticism compels a look at the Manual which makes one sensitive to the "manifestations of life" which may give rise to its positions. It points toward the "production" (Macherey, 1978) and "consumption" (Baudrillard, 1981) processes it describes but also the relations of production it may partially show and partially conceal. Within an understanding of how it contradicts itself can be poised a reading of its success or failure in obscuring the conditions of its production and its relationship to struggles of class. This is examined in CHAPTER V, where the

alienation of intellectual labor is shown as coterminous with the Manual class biases and forms of logocentrism.

Feminism

Interacting with this is the critique feminism has brought to bear on literary theory. Two examples include: Virginia Woolf's A Room of One's Own, and Simone de Beauvoir's The Second Sex. Woolf's (1929) simple, elegant thesis, that "a woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction," coalesces a number of the influences already discussed about what supports writing and the conditions of its possibility. Attention to material and economic support and obligation as represented in the Manual emerge clearly from this simple and understated but powerful source.

Simone de Beauvoir's treatise figures in because, not only is de Beauvoir encyclopedic in her treatment of women in history, mythology, and contemporary social life but her studies of Lawrence, Claudel, and Stendhal are significant feats of literary criticism and provide important points of departure for later feminist studies.

The main influence of more recent feminist scholarship on this study is twofold: the first

concerns most directly the question of sexism in language and the Manual's practices here (cf. Bass, 1979; Moulton, Robinson & Elias, 1978), while the second concerns the broader issue of the possibility of women's voices and writings (cf. the entire Revue des Sciences Humaine, no. 188; Irigaray, 1977; Lacan, 1982; Marks & de Courtivron, 1980; Mitchell, 1982; Rose, 1982) and their many possible relationships to what is considered scientific discourse (cf. Gilligan, 1982). The questions put to the Manual are: what does its position on nonsexist language accomplish and what is its relationship to women's science or women's writing? These questions cannot be taken up in great detail here but nevertheless inform a number of interpretations ventured. In claiming to superintend a non-sexist writing practice, Manual authors help to open this particular line of criticism.

Black Criticism

Likewise, issues of race interact with and complicate criticisms in important directions. Black criticism has announced and resurrected forms of writing which present challenges to the white, Euro-American categories of writing experience (cf. Chapman, 1972; Dillard, 1972; Gates, 1984). In the text, Prison Literature in America, H. Bruce Franklin

(1978) begins by looking at the "Slave Narrative" as the "first American genre" and in this gesture alone derails the polite criticism we are used to by challenging the very conventions of what constitutes a literary object. His argument for studying prison literature can be summarized thus: One begins "with the primary, and what should be the most obvious fact in the history of America: the conquest and virtual extermination of the people living here" (p. xxii). Then, "if the first great historical fact that defines and distinguishes 'America' is the colonization of much of the continent, the second and dominant one since 1850, is the enslavement of Black Africans" (p. xxiii). Finally,

in the seven-year period during which I worked on this book, I gradually realized that I was not looking at some peripheral cultural phenomena but something close to the center of our historical experience as a nation-state. At least from the viewpoint of the people creating these works, America is itself a prison, and the main lines of American literature can be traced from the plantation to the penitentiary. (p. xxx)

Franklin here introduces the multi-tiered nature of black criticism. Up until very recently, and only on occasion, were black writers taught in "American Literature" classes at all (Chapman, 1972; Gates, 1984), which is a manifestation as well of struggle between Black and Standard English dialects (Dillard, 1972; cf. also Labov, 1969). Labov's (1969) study in

particular alerts us to the fact that the speech of white scientific linguists and psychologists has mostly reduced black subjects to silence or, as Gates (1984) illustrates in another context, to figurative speech and writing. This shifts criticism of the Manual to an even broader question than race alone: What is scientific discourse even capable of articulating of the underside of life? As with the issue of women's writing, it is no longer a question of talking about various racial groups in a nonbiased way, but the extent to which racial or other groups speak at all through science. These are the broad outlines of what black literary theory introduces for this study. In opting for Marxist, feminist, and black perspectives, I am selecting from many possible atypical points of view in order to more clearly evaluate interests served by the Manual, even and especially as its authors are attempting to promote a non-biased language.

Three Critical Works

Related to the sociolinguistic studies, such as Labov's (1969), are a variety of sociological and anthropological studies which have been concerned with science or scientific discourse (cf. Bazerman's, 1983, review; Bloor, 1976; Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Dreitzel, 1970; Fleck, 1979; Gusfield, 1981; Kuhn,

1970; Larson, 1977; White, 1978). Of these, three are critical and require mention because they directly affected the directions chosen for this study.

Clifford and Marcus (1986) edited a book of studies presented at the School of American Research in Santa Fe, New Mexico (1984), on "the making of ethnographic texts." It is the report of anthropologists' efforts, similar to the one here, to look "critically at one of the principle things ethnographers do--that is, write" (Preface). It was an attempt to experiment with and explore the limits of how contemporary literary theories could help "reinterpret cultural anthropology's recent past and to open up its future possibilities" (Preface). In short, it represents an attempt to examine from the ground up the relationship of writing to the construction of anthropologies. Its title, Writing Culture, says it well. As with historiography in history, the effort reported in Writing Culture constitutes a major acknowledgement that anthropology is a form of literature. Such acknowledgment in psychology, of its profoundly literate character, remains on the horizon. This study of the Publication Manual can be said to emerge directly from the problems such an acknowledgement implies, including the relationship of writing to events, issues of the metaphorical quality of all language, and the

"fictive" character of "nonfiction." Influences of this kind on this study are not specific but global. That such a conference and event occurred at all stands witness to developments literary theory has been part of in recent times.

Serologist and philosopher Ludwik Fleck's (1979) work, on the Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact, can be said to have helped identify the Manual at all as a text to be studied. In a very direct way, before I read Fleck, I could not even see the Manual. That is to say, the forces of organization on writing remained stubbornly unsymbolized and unexpressed, creating a malaise in trying to write according to invisible (not in print) rules--until I encountered Fleck.

Briefly, Fleck, writing in the thirties, uses the case of the discovery of the Wasserman Test for syphilis, "one of the best established medical facts" (p. xxviii), to work out a detailed socio-historical examination of what gave rise to the collective perception of the factual nature of both syphilis as a "disease entity" and the test as its indicator. From the 15th century forward, he examines the mystic-ethical, empirical-therapeutic, pathogenic, and etiological configurations in knowledge which gave rise to "syphilis." He does this not in order to make a claim for a single disease existing through

time about which we know more and more but to chart the many influences organizing modern medical perception, even to the level of microscope-aided perception, which render syphilis up as a medical fact. As with Vygotsky (1978), for Fleck, such

cognition is the most socially-conditioned activity of man, and knowledge is the paramount social creation [Gebilde]. The very structure of language presents a compelling philosophy characteristic of [a] community, and even a single word can represent a complex theory" (1979, p. 42).

Thus Fleck uses analyses of texts to arrive at an understanding of the "thought styles" (from Denkstil) of those inhabiting scientific "thought collectives" (from Denkkollektiv). Thought collectives, only roughly comparable to Kuhnian (1970) "paradigms," have within them "exoteric" and "esoteric" tendencies and texts. Exoteric knowledge corresponds to popular knowledge (as in psychology is manifest in "pop psych" books). As "simplified, lucid, and apodictic science" (p. 112), the "aim of popular knowledge is a Weltanschauung: a special structure [Gebilde] emerging from an emotive selection of popular knowledge from various fields" (p. 113). This in turn shapes esoteric or expert knowledge, the expert having grown up in the same social milieu. "Little as any Weltanschauung can meet the demands of specialized knowledge, it does provide the background

that determines the general traits of the thought style of an expert" (p. 113).

Within the characterization of thought collectives, Fleck deals with the function of different types of modern texts: textbooks introduce a field and screen out the less interested; popular books maintain an educated and supportive public; meanwhile "journal science and vademecum science... together constitute expert science" (p. 112). The creative expert is described as "the personified intersection of various thought collectives as well as of various lines of development of ideas and as a personal center of new ideas. The report that he writes has, in the first instance, a form we may call journal science" (p. 118). Journal science thus "bears the imprint of the provisional and the personal" (p. 118), whereas in vademecum or handbook science, such as that of the Manual, "it is as if every competent scientist required, in addition to the control inherent in the style conformity of his work, a further control and processing by the collective" (p. 119).

This articulates the relationship of vademecum to journal science. Authors of the Manual admit it to vademecum status by saying that "it is a transitional document: Its style requirements are based on the existing scientific literature rather than imposed on

the literature" (APA, 1983, p. 10, my emphasis). As Fleck says: "Describable in terms of laboriously established, disjointed signals of resistance in thinking, this provisional, uncertain, and personally colored nonadditive journal science, then is converted next into vademecum science by the migration of ideas throughout the collective" (p. 119).

Finally, a vademecum cannot be directly built from journal articles, which "often contradict each other," but is built "through selection and orderly arrangement like a mosaic from many colored stones" (p. 119). What is critical for this study is said by Fleck in continuing:

The plan according to which selection and arrangement are made will then provide the guidelines for future research. It governs the decision of what counts as a basic concept, what methods should be accepted, which research directions appear most promising, which scientists should be selected for prominent positions and which should simply be consigned to oblivion. (pp. 119-120)

The Manual can be seen this way, with the qualifications which apply to it as a vademecum text of writing and representation itself.

Although he does not cite Fleck, Joseph Gusfield's (1981) study of Drinking-Driving and the Symbolic Order seems a remarkable retake of the case of drinking and driving in a way strikingly similar to Fleck's analysis of the case of syphilis. His

section on "Rhetoric and Science: Creating Cognitive Order," including a chapter on "The Literary Art of Science: Comedy and Pathos in Drinking-Driving Research," stands in my mind as the most thorough attempt to analyse a journal science text and situate it in a politico-legal and symbolic (cultural) context to date. He begins by criticizing what he calls the "window pane" theory of language, which

insists on the intrinsic irrelevance of language to the enterprise of science. The aim of presenting ideas and data is to enable the audience to see the external world as it is. In keeping with the normative prescriptions of scientific method, language and style must be chosen which will approximate, as closely as possible, a pane of glass. The normative order of science is thus approximated. Scientists express their procedures, findings, and generalizations in "neutral" language. Their words do not create or construct the very reality they seek to describe and analyze. (1981, p. 84)

Relying initially on Northrop Frye's (1957) brief treatment of "The Rhetoric of Non-Literary Prose" (see pp. 326-340), Gusfield shows the impossibility of such a window pane language and then proceeds to, in a manner of speaking, deconstruct the rhetoric and drama of drinking-driving by not only attending to voice, metaphor, myth, narration, and action but by fastening onto and interrogating major anomalies in scientific texts themselves which utterly contradict "evidence" offered in the service of the tragi-comedy of the "drunk driver." Attention

is paid to the structures of "accident consciousness" and to the dramatis personae, such as police, journalists, legislators, and drinking drivers who contribute to the creation of a public drama with epic consequences. Like the "author" in this study, the drinking driver is analyzed as the focus of a number of social constructions both audience and partly created by social scientists.

This kind of study, situated together with those studying the rhetoric of science and of "how-to" texts in general (see, e.g., Bazerman, 1983; Harris, 1983; Kinneavy, 1971), forms the contemporary (though in some ways ancient) dimensions of this work. In short, they constitute for this study the traditions which animate its assumptions and questions, present its objects, and organize its approach at their points of convergence and departure.

Approach to the Manual

Chronology

My "first reading" of the Manual occurred in the late 70's when it was in its 2nd edition. I used it, quite typically no doubt, as a reference in preparing a first manuscript for publication. I consulted it several times subsequently in the same connection, but as I mentioned above, the work of philosophers, analysts, critics, and finally Fleck brought it into

view in a different way. I read it carefully, cover-to-cover, in the Summer of 87 in preparation for writing the proposal for this study. The proposal contains a trial-run "close reading" of a difficult Manual passage from its editorial interior. At that time, I began to operate under two quasi-scientific pretenses: that I could (1) sample text randomly and ward off claims of subjectivity and (2) that the second reading would be based somewhat mechanically on the first. This is in fact partly what happened, which I will further detail in a moment. However, the notion of "two readings" was also upbraided by a confusion of clock-time with the Time of reading, or what might be called Science Time and Unconscious Time.

In Science Time, as I mentioned above, I "first read" the Manual in the late 70's. But it was not the first time I had heard of or read "Use a period at the end of a complete sentence" (APA, 1983, p. 52) or that "Adverbs modify verbs..." (p. 40) or that one should "avoid colloquial expressions" (p. 34). These words and phrases resonate with history and convention. That they arrive in a new context makes them seem unusual and familiar all at once.

I also know well to, "when reporting inferential statistics .., include information about the obtained value or magnitude of the test, the degrees of

freedom, the probability level, and the direction of the effect" (APA, 1983, p. 27), and that "the purpose of the APA is to advance psychology as a science, as a profession, and as a means of promoting human welfare" (p. 165). I had read this not so long ago, too. Now I have written it. Some would argue there was never any difference between such reading and writing.

The point is that the labeling of first and second stages of this study as will be described below is partly a mystification, though not without kernels of truth. In actuality, there are in this study readings upon readings; in a sense, they are quite countless when one considers how many times a given word has been encountered but also when one realizes that to read at all means bring a past to every phrase simply in order to recognize it. The two readings described below are distinguished by a different emphasis placed in clock time on reading. However, each reading anticipated or recalled another, falling backwards and forwards upon familiar and unfamiliar resonances, themselves colliding with ideas and flights of thought of often unknown origin or destination. This was also true when writing the study, for writing it became a third synthetic reading drawn from equally complex sources. At best, I can explain what I have done and on what basis, as

much, that is, as I can find myself aware of such presuppositions.

Methods

This said, I will describe the "two readings" which constituted the findings of this study.

First Reading. The first reading involved collecting "random samples" of Manual text from each chapter and the appendix. "Random" is not meant to signify a statistical but a semi-arbitrary sampling. 300-word samples were taken from each chapter, excepting Chapter 3, where a 500-word sample was selected because of its size. Chapter 7 was excluded because it is a bibliography. The basic approach was to sample Manual prose (rather than tables or figures) in order to subject it to structured readings. Another graduate student arbitrarily selected a line and page in each chapter from which the word count for the sample began. Samples began at the beginning of sentences and ended with complete sentences. Thus they were not exactly 300 or 500 words.

Each sample was then read according to the categories defined below.

Characters and Relationships: Characters are defined as the principal human agents in a text. They

may include any personified human form, individual or corporate--including, for example, editors, authors, typists, APA, or reviewers--who are described in the Manual. Also included, though different in some ways, are the narrator and the Manual's reader. The Manual's reader refers primarily to the imaginary figure for whom the Manual appears to have been written; it may also refer to me, though I will try to make this clear when it is relevant.

The relationships between these characters is described in this section. A relationship is recognized when two or more characters are connected or impact on each other in an implied or direct way. Examples of relationships summarized from the data include that between an author and typist, an editor and reviewer, an author and the APA, and so on.

Ideals. In the midst of characters and relationships, ideals of behavior or activity and consciousness are suggested. "Ideals" refer to ideals of writing and ideals of conduct. Together they constitute four types of ideals: (1) ideals of writing or publishing activity, (2) ideals concerning consciousness or thought about writing or publication, (3) ideals concerning the behavior of characters with one another, and (4) ideals concerning consciousness or thought about relationships. Figure 1 illustrates an organization

of these ideals into a 2 X 2 matrix, with one axis referring to process and the other to content expressed in each ideal. Although not intended to yield exact assessments of ideals, each statement in the sample is considered an ideal insofar as the Manual is assumed to be a grouping of ideal instructions to writers in an ideal world. The reason for grouping statements this way is to take note of any gross trends in any given type of ideal. For example, if most statements made in the early samples were about consciousness of relationships (Cell 4)

Ideals Matrix

PROCESS

	Activity (Behavior)		Consciousness (Thought)	
I			I	I
I			I	I
I	1		2	I Writing
I			I	I
I			I	I
I			I	I
I	3		4	I Relation-
I			I	ships
I			I	I

Figure 1
An Ideals Matrix Categorizing Domains of
Process and Content in Manual
Statements Sampled Randomly

and later samples indicated more ideals of writing behavior (Cell 1), this may say something about shifting Manual agendas which could be pursued in the second reading.

Statement Categories were used to arrange statements according to whether they had an emphasis as statements of fact, value, or policy. Although not meant to be exact or exclusive (e.g., statements could be all three), this categorization enabled an assessment of numbers of statements of what is real or incontrovertible for the Manual (factual), statements of what is important (valuable), and statements of principled conduct (policy). As in the case of Ideals, these categories were assembled to characterize general trends potentially worth investigating in the second reading. For example, if most Manual statements were statements of value, follow-up reading may help to clarify what values recur or dominate.

Assumptions constituted rewriting the sentences of the sample in such a way as to explore the minimum foundation of sense in the passage. For example, the statement, "Thought units--whether single words, a sentence or paragraph, or longer sequences--must be orderly" (p. 32), could be said to assume the following: Thought occurs in units. These units can either be single words, sentences, paragraphs or

longer sequences. They either are or should be orderly. I, as an author-reader, know what "orderly" means. Examining assumptions thus entails a rewriting geared to enable me to closely read each sentence for details it presupposes.

Commentary. This section is a category of general commentary devoted to notes about style, content, or often, narration. It is the least structured of the categories and was reserved as a summary of the "gist" of a sample.

The first reading consisted, then, of analyzing samples according to these categories. The "raw" material of these readings is presented in APPENDICES A-H. A brief introduction describes where the sample was found and is followed by numbered sentences in the sample. After each sentence is an "I" and an "SC" code. I = Ideals and is followed by the Cell number referring to the cell in Figure 1. SC = Statement Categories and is followed by an indication of whether the statement was one of fact (F), value (V), policy (P), or a strong combination (such as Fv or Pf) where the capital letter refers to the dominant category. As in any attempt to pin down language, which is not what I am trying to do in any case, these categories often fail in exactness where they succeed in indicating a trend. Many other categories

could have been selected. Primarily, the first read was designed to allow me a close and sustained contact with samples of text such that my approach to interpretation would be based on an intimacy with text produced by such contact.

Second Reading. Three main themes recurred and emerged as important in light of the effort to examine thought and activity constructed by and represented in the Manual. One was the double movement of putting forward one kind of writing while rejecting others. Another was the decidedly moral character of many passages, with moral meaning a concern with right and wrong or good and bad. Finally, the passage "from idea to print," that is, the transformations in writing implicit in the Manual, illustrated a number of production issues, among them a contradictory characterization of form and content. These three areas were successively pursued in depth and constitute the substance of chapters III, IV, and V.

CHAPTER III was put together by sampling text that had to do with what kinds of writing are promoted in the Manual and what kinds are rejected. Some attempt was made to thematize the structures of acceptance and rejection. Much interpretation in CHAPTER III is related to the subtle but unambiguous

valorization of the experimental report as a model of writing against which other kinds are less favorably compared.

CHAPTER IV interpretations enabled a building of a socio-institutional framework in which the moralization of writing occurred. It stimulated the heaviest outside reading of any part of the study, except for the review. While rereading Freud (1959), Bion (1959), Foucault (1977), Guattari (1984), and Sartre (1976), I attempted to deepen an understanding of the relationships (real or imaginary) which were shaping the moral and disciplinary character of the writing climate constructed for a reader by the Manual. This was done in the context of heavy sampling of text concerning relationships. Further nested within this was an attempt to infer the characteristics of the Manual's ideal reader, including how this reader is positioned in the community and affected by what the Manual does to or for this reader.

CHAPTER V exhibits findings based in samples of the Manual organized according to the many changes a text goes through before becoming an article. This is informed by a consideration of statements describing transformative moments in the process of transforming "idea" to (printed) "thing," but is also an extension of Chapter IV's foray into character relationships.

In Chapter V, these relationships are linked to the processes of production. That is, Chapter IV's analysis required elaboration in respect to how the "relationships" are organized not only by a moral subtext but by their being functional labor relationships as well.

CHAPTER III
IN THE SHADOW OF SCIENTIFIC WRITING

The third edition of the Publication Manual was written in order to solve a number of problems and articulate procedures for publishing psychologists. For the most part, its explicit agenda is to standardize writing practices by giving them a form easily assimilable by the psychological publishing apparatus. The consequences of this attempt, however, have yielded special problems. The Manual advances the experimental report as its model of acceptable writing and pays only minimal attention to other possible forms of writing. In addition, the Manual contains a statement of "how we do things," thus spelling out the terms of membership in its writing community. Yet, in spite of this, manuscripts pour in, apparently with violation upon violation of the rules. Manuscript writing appears full of excesses and the control and management of meaning is destabilized. This chapter relates these themes to one another and examines problems which evolve out of the Manual's intervention in the psychological

journal writing community.

Experiment as History

According to Publication Manual authors, "most journal articles published in psychology are reports of empirical studies" (APA, 1983, p. 22). The preparation of these reports is an explicit priority in the Manual. By comparison, the treatment of "review" and "theoretical" articles is negligible.

A reading of what is meant by an empirical study shows that what is promoted is actually the "experiment." That is, an equivalence is established between "empirical" and "experimental" in the Manual. The contrast between what the Manual considers empirical and what Bacon, Locke, Berkeley, or Hume would consider empirical would be enough to show how specific the notion of an empirical study has become for Manual authors. I will not undertake this contrast here, but instead briefly turn to some of the ways empirical means experimental in the Manual.

An experiment is recognizable in writing by the methods represented. And "no matter how well written, a paper that reflects poor methods is unacceptable" (APA, 1983, p. 19). Discerning what is unacceptable methodologically in the Manual illustrates the terrain of the acceptable. Defects in design at the level of method, although appearing to allow for the

possibility of "quasi-experimental" or "correlational" studies, include, for example, "the reporting of negative results" (p. 19) and a "failure to build in needed controls" (p. 19). Thus, it is implied that most designs will include some form of hypothesis testing under controlled circumstances.

In the section on "evaluating content," Manual authors employ a checklist format to help a reader in "deciding whether the research is likely to merit publication" (p. 19). Four of the seven items listed contain information on methods. One is concerned with instruments used, and asks, "Have the instruments been demonstrated to have satisfactory reliability and validity?" Technically, this does not indicate a necessity to conduct experiments; nor does the question in this checklist regarding subjects: "Are the subjects representative of the population to which generalizations are made?" (p. 20). However, the two core method questions directly imply an experimental approach: "Are the outcome measures clearly related to the variables with which the investigation is concerned?" and "Does the research design fully and unambiguously test the hypothesis?" Continuing on in this first chapter, in a description of what constitutes major authorship contributions to a study, the Manual explains that "substantial professional contributions may include formulating

the problem or hypothesis, structuring the experimental design, organizing and conducting the statistical analysis, interpreting the results, or writing a major portion of the paper" (p. 20). These are standard elements of an experiment.

Under a discussion of "reports of empirical studies, " a reader is given a list of sections typically included in a study (introduction, method, results, and discussion), but at the end told in parenthesis, "(See Figure 7 for a sample one-experiment paper and Figure 8 for an outline of a two-experiment paper.)" (p. 21). Thus, there is never a directive to only submit reports of experiments, but instead a shift of emphasis within the first three pages of Chapter 1 toward the experiment as exemplar. The sample paper in the Manual is a single-experiment paper. The other kinds of papers mentioned--two-experiment, review, or theoretical papers--are only outlined. Other possibilities for writing are simply not mentioned.

The experimental research report is a report of an event in the history of psychology. The Manual is, in this sense, involved not only with the formation of knowledge, but also with the construction of memory in psychological science. In its own terms,

The scientific journal is the repository of the accumulated knowledge of a field. In the literature are distilled the successes and the

failures, the information, and the perspectives contributed by many investigators over many years. (APA, 1983, p. 17)¹

The position of the Manual in relation to journal discourse is directly "metalinguistic" (Barthes, 1964, usage) in that it is a language concerned with another language, the language of experiments. Yet it is also metahistorical insofar as it outlines acceptable forms of writing about events which are themselves staged in different ways. History in the Manual is history provided via the discourse of the experiment.

But what kind of event is an experiment? The Manual addresses this question through the vehicle of the scientific report and, to some extent, via the criteria of manuscript acceptance and rejection.² The "quality of presentation" is judged according to clarity, precision, appropriateness, relevance, methodology, and other epistemological and aesthetic criteria (APA, 1983, p. 23 & 29; also see below).

Yet in addition to an articulation of the tenets of quality presentation and the architectonics of design is an elaboration of a relationship of language and world, or language and an "other" which it is about. The report, expected to "reflect" or "represent" research, is conceived of as homologous to the experimental event.

Reports of empirical studies are reports of

original research. They typically consist of distinct sections that reflect the stages in the research process and that appear in the sequence of these stages: introduction...; method...; results...; [and] discussion. (APA, 1983, p. 21)

The event affects its write-up and the write-up is anticipated in the event. The report is a two-way reflection not only of the architecture of the experiment, but of its past and future. The researcher stages the history of an experiment in part by understanding what forms constitute acceptable expression of the problem and an approach to working with it. An author is reminded in the first sentence of Chapter 1 that, in fact, "research is complete only when the results are shared with the scientific community" (APA, 1983, p. 17). The journal article is thus a monument, a memorial reflection of an important scientific event in the way it punctuates and preserves this event. It is public and final; an event will be remembered this way.

This way of reflecting events in scientific writing can be counted on to accurately reflect one's methodological ability as well, for "no amount of skill in writing can disguise research that is poorly designed or managed. Indeed, such defects are a major cause for the rejection of manuscripts" (APA, 1983, p. 19). In this sense, the manuscript, as a transparent reflection of history, allows reviewers and editors a direct reading of methods.

The constitution and recording of the research events are governed by a vision of language as reflective of what it is not. This kind of discourse is called "referential" or "object" discourse by literary theorists because it "refers to" or "talks about" something other than itself (in contradistinction to, e.g., poetry). In the Manual, the sentence,

Unity, cohesiveness, and continuity should characterize all paragraphs (p. 34),

would mean that this was how the event itself occurred. Or, more to the point, as a reflection of the history of the event, this is how it is to be remembered. Figure 2 portrays the way this appears to operate in the Manual by using a matrix in which writing is related to the event it describes along the dimensions of "unity, cohesiveness, and continuity." Aspects of the experiment which reveal multiplicities of effects or discontinuities, for example, either disqualify a study or become part of an inarticulate past. The memory of what-is-not-language must be represented in writing as unified, cohesive, continuous.

The sentence should accurately reflect the event. "Incorrect grammar and careless construction of sentences distract the reader, introduce ambiguity, and generally obstruct communication" (APA, 1983, p.

36). Whether the event was ambiguous or not is part

WRITING							
U, C ¹ , C ²			Not U, C ¹ , C ²				
I			I			U, C ¹ , C ²	E V E N T
I	Accept		I	Reject			
I			I				
I			I				
I	Reject		I	Reject			
I			I				

U₁ = Unity
 C₁¹ = Cohesiveness
 C₂² = Continuity

Figure 2

Acceptance of Rejection of Manuscripts
 on the Basis of Unity, Cohesiveness, and Continuity
 Between Writing and the Events It Describes

of a question of ambiguity in writing, posed in such a way as to imply that ambiguous events are not scientific, or more specifically, not experimental, since in an experiment one must "fully and unambiguously test the hypothesis" (p. 19). The Manual does not discuss the possibility of reporting ambiguous events clearly but appears to proscribe ambiguity in either events or writing (cf. Figure 1).

The development and use of an experimental vocabulary itself contains ambiguities which could be

understood in many ways. Consider variables which are "dependent" or "independent," or "subjects" who are assigned to groups between which "variance" and "error," wanted and unwanted, can be assessed, often in the context of experimental "trials." The terminology of "control" is key, as in whether one has sufficient controls or "control groups." The language of statistics, too, is a language of "significance," "rejection levels," "degrees of freedom," "standard deviations," and "measures of central tendency." Similarly, a manuscript's "worth" must be assessed, authors and contributors are given or not given "credit," and sending a manuscript is called a "submission." And so on. The point is that the Manual endorses a particular usage of language, a "language-game," to borrow from Wittgenstein (1956), which promotes a complex experimental terminology easily rendered ambiguous.

In addition to a homology of structure posited between writing and event is a sequencing of events, a temporality in reading and writing in the Manual which parallels the theatrics of the experiment. In this sequence, one is believed to read the literature, develop an idea and hypotheses, employ a method, get results, and discuss them--just as it appears in a journal article. (This is contrasted with review and theoretical articles, which are

"ordered by relationship rather than by chronology" (p. 21).) In this manner, authors promote the Manual by inserting it into this sequence of research and writing events. The organization of activity is entailed in the organization of time. Progress in writing is assessed along an imaginary time-line containing snapshots of events in which one must situate oneself.

Chapters in the Manual provide substantively different kinds of information and are arranged in the sequence in which one considers the elements of manuscript preparation, from initial concept through publication. (APA, 1983, p. 14)⁴

A positive development from concept to publication is articulated. And "although each chapter is autonomous, each chapter also develops from the preceding chapter" (p. 14).

However, the Manual authors render the Manual transcendently "synchronic" (from Saussure, 1959), deploying it as a continuous "presence" outside of time in one's thought about writing. "To use the Manual most effectively," they argue, "you should be familiar with the contents of all the chapters before you begin writing" (p. 14). In turn, this primary presence, being metalinguistic and metahistorical, is a critical presence being built into thought and practice from the outset. Thought already finds itself comingling with its own critique. And the critique itself may utterly divert the trajectory of

how a research event is known: "A section on evaluating content...lists questions you can use--before you begin writing--to decide whether the research is likely to merit publication" (APA, 1983, p. 15). That is, this critique may preempt an author from seriously considering writing up his or her research with publication in mind.

Having read all chapters of the Manual, the author is asked to internalize a critical discourse while participating in a sequencing of reading which itself reflects an historical event. The discourse of the Manual co-directs the experimental theater, becoming an internal editorial aspect of the researcher's participant observation as well as of his or her narrational style.

"We do it this way."

The staging and reporting of experience already takes shape in the choices which have brought the experiment to the foreground in the Manual as the way of producing and remembering scientific experiences. Detailing some of the specifics of the Manual's prescription for history also indicates the extent to which writing scientifically or not displays one's involvements with various writing groups.

A central Manual message, predictably, is that "this is the way we write." The self-quizzes, for

instance, which occur on the Manual cover and throughout the text, reliably articulate the dimensions of acceptable research and reporting. Significance, originality, importance, reliability and validity of content are to be embedded in a style which is precise, clear, unambiguous, logical, economical, smooth, consistent, and simple. Internal to this, however, are reminders that nothing less than "scientific" writing is at stake in the Manual: "Scientific writing . . . must be precise" (APA, 1983, p. 32), and "scientific articles contribute most to the literature when they communicate material clearly" (APA, 1983, p. 17).⁵ Or: "Devices that attract attention to words, sounds, or other embellishments instead of ideas are inappropriate in scientific writing" (APA, 1983, p. 43). "Scientific writing," writing concerned with the clear and precise communication of "ideas," is consistently valorized. This is what science is, and what scientists do. One must remember that,

Scientific prose serves a different purpose than creative writing does. Devices that are often found in creative writing, for example, setting up ambiguity, inserting the unexpected, omitting the expected, and suddenly shifting the topic, tense, or person, can confuse or disturb readers of scientific prose. Therefore, these devices should be avoided in writing that aims for clear and logical communication. (APA, 1983, p. 32)

Readers in this scientific community will be confused or disturbed should another genre of writing--as a

potential sign of commitments other than scientific commitments--makes its appearance in the scientific report.

Uniformity and consistency further distinguish scientific-psychological writing. Rules, such as those around double-spacing, "introduce the uniformity necessary to convert manuscripts written in many styles to printed pages edited in one consistent style" (APA, 1983, p. 11). This style is put forward as a group style. Many styles are possible, and may be found operative in the would-be member's repertoire, but to write for journals requires a specific standardization of style. For example,

The authors of a book may have considerable freedom in choosing editorial style, but an author writing for a journal must follow the style rules established for that journal to avoid inconsistencies among articles. (APA, 1983, p. 51)

The consequence of inconsistency, of allowing the style by which one may be an author of a book to traverse the journal writing project is referenced to audience members whom such writing "may distract or confuse" (APA, 1983, p. 51). The recurring emphasis on the reader accentuates the desirability of membership in the scientific writing group over many other possible concerns about the style and effects of writing. Questions of style are simultaneously

questions of membership.

In the Manual, the "imaginary reader" (cf. Ong, 1987) of scientific manuscripts is developed as one who is already a member of the scientific community and someone easily confused or disturbed. On the one hand, this reader must be attracted or seduced into reading scientific prose. For example, an abstract "can be the single most important paragraph in the article" in part because "readers frequently decide, on the basis of the abstract, whether to read the entire article" (APA, 1983, p. 23). Thus, a would-be author is told that "a good abstract is accurate... self-contained... concise and specific... nonevaluative... [and] coherent and readable" (APA, 1983, p. 23-24).

On the other hand, attracting a reader is no simple feat, and requires a writing strategy which is "interesting" but not "literary:"

Although scientific writing differs in form from literary writing, it need not and should not lack style or be dull. In describing your research, present the ideas and findings directly but aim for an interesting and compelling manner that reflects your involvement with the problem. (APA, 1983, p. 22)

Either way, the writing will reflect the author's involvement in the scientific project and display a kind of "scientific semiotics," that is, a organization of signs (from Saussure, 1966, mutatis mutandis) which signify involvement in the scientific

community. In Fleck's (1979) terminology, it is by publicly employing a particular "thought style" that one finds membership in a scientific "thought collective." Equally, membership in such a collective assumes more or less gradual assumption of a thought style.

The Manual provides, in this respect, a broad education about one's audience, reminding the would-be author regularly of what will disturb, confuse, irritate, or otherwise upset the reading audience. Alternatively, it is through the clear, orderly, and logical presentation of ideas that one will find an agreeable audience:

Clear communication, which is the prime objective of scientific reporting, may be achieved by presenting ideas in an orderly manner and by expressing oneself smoothly and precisely. By developing ideas clearly and logically, you invite readers to read, encourage them to continue, and make their task agreeable by leading them smoothly from thought to thought. (APA, 1983, p. 31)

One must "express oneself," but in a particular way. That is, "express yourself, but make it agreeable." A writer assesses oneself, and one's project's value, in relationship to the standards of an important writing community:

The rules provided in the Publication Manual are drawn from an extensive body of psychological literature, from editors and authors experienced in psychological writing, and from recognized authorities on publication practices. Writers who conscientiously use the Manual will express their ideas in a form and style both accepted by

and familiar to a broad established readership in psychology. (APA, 1983, p. 11)

Admission to this group is further represented as a considered decision, the product of a serious evaluation of self and project. There are

several considerations authors should weigh before writing for publication--considerations both about their own research and about the scientific publishing tradition in which they are to take part. (APA, 1983, p. 17-18)

These considerations involve establishing the "worth" of the writing, "who gets credit [and] how that credit is given," the "consistency of presentation and format," and "consideration of the traditional structure of the manuscript" (APA, 1983, p. 18). All of this helps one "to communicate more easily with other individuals within the same tradition" (APA, 1983, p. 18). Discussing the "Content and Organization of a Manuscript" thus doubles as an orientation to dimensions of membership based in tradition.⁷ In the Introduction, it is asserted in this same vein, that Chapter 3 "defines the forms that over the years have been accepted in APA journals and that now are described as APA style" (APA, 1983, p. 12). In this manner, the Manual becomes the authoritative "keeper of style," itself being an archive of the traditions which psychologists have assumed and in turn hold initiates accountable to.

However strict the boundaries are around this community, there are, nevertheless, key marginals in whom the narrators are interested. Notable among them are students. Indeed, "use of the Manual in the production of [theses and dissertations] is excellent preparation for a research-productive career" (APA, 1983, p. 189). Yet students remain subject to and defined by universities. As a result,

The student should find out whether (or in what respects) the university's or department's requirements for theses, dissertations, and student papers take precedence over those of the Manual. (APA, 1983, p. 191)

Similarly,

Many psychology departments require that theses and dissertations be prepared according to the Publication Manual. . . However, theses and dissertations are submitted to the student's graduate school, not to a journal. Therefore, they must satisfy the graduate school's specific requirements, even if these requirements depart from the style outlined in the Manual. (APA, 1983, p. 189-190)

Here the student is reminded of a precedential membership in the university and given permission to deviate from Manual style. A student qua student cannot assume full membership in the scientific collective and must not only be instructed as to who the current writing authorities are, but also be reminded of the inadmissibility of student writing practices to the scientific collective. "A thesis or dissertation in its original form is not acceptable to APA journals" (APA, 1983, p. 190).⁸ The boundaries

between groups are here permeable, there rigid. Students who publish, for example, would have split identities and memberships. They are not discussed as a group in the Manual.

Even less clear, in membership terms, though, are those would-be authors who attempt submissions, but do not display in their efforts the elements of the scientific semiotics advanced by the Manual. This group may become visible as those, for example, who were members, but who could or would not change with transformations in discourse effected by a number of influences. Consider the following:

Changes in requirements for manuscript preparation may initially be inconvenient and annoying to persons submitting papers. Such changes are often unavoidable, however, because of changes in APA policy, in printing technology, in the economy, or in the state of science. (APA, 1983, p. 13)

Membership may be unstable; one must update it and change with the times.

A case in point involves the introduction of guidelines for nonsexist writing. In the Manual's terms,

One such influence came in 1982, when the APA Publications and Communications Board adopted a policy that requires authors who are submitting their manuscripts to an APA journal to use nonsexist language, that is, to avoid in their manuscripts language that could be construed as sexist. (APA, 1983, p. 43-44)⁹

Ridding language practices of sexism, and altering the conditions of membership, is not easy to do. In

part, a spirit of voluntarism is enlisted to further this end:

The task of changing language may seem awkward at first. Nevertheless, careful attention to meaning and practice in rephrasing will overcome any initial difficulty. . . . The result of such effort, and the purpose of the Table 1 guidelines, is accurate, unbiased communication. (APA, 1983, p. 44)

The success of this effort is not at issue here. What is important at this point is the communication to aspirants of the "way we do things." In this light, consider the following two quotes:

Scientific writing, as an extension of science, should be free of implied or irrelevant evaluation of the sexes (APA, 1983, p. 44).

An example of implied evaluation is found in the term culturally deprived when it is used to describe a single group rather than to compare two or more groups. Using the term to describe one group of subjects--without the supporting data required in scientific writing--implies that one culture is a universally accepted standard against which others are judged (APA, 1983, p. 45, emphasis in the original).

What is important from the standpoint of group membership is the emboldened phrase between hyphens: "without the supporting data required in scientific writing." In effect, "we base our evaluations of sex or culture on data." Simple bigotry will not do. Awkward changes in language become necessary; there is a threshold beyond which the author's reserve and objectivity are compromised, and bias flows over into one's writing. Implied or irrelevant evaluations must

be avoided in favor, apparently, of explicit or relevant evaluations, based on data.

Advice is also given as to how controversy is to be dealt with. Authors are told outright to "avoid polemics" (p. 28) and, in specific regard to controversy, that "whatever your personal opinion, avoid animosity and ad hominem arguments in presenting the controversy" (APA, 1983, p. 25). These are modes of writing journal science which its readers will simply not entertain. To become a writing psychologist, a member of the scientific community, is to display one's position scientifically.

To restate what has been established so far: the signs which inhere in writing practices and products signify membership in the scientific collective of authors and readers. This membership is in part premised on certain ways of both staging and reporting scientific events. Part of the intelligibility of these events for the author lies in how they will be accountable to the form and content of the experimental report. The journal article constitutes the memorial point of departure for research: What is to be remembered is referred backward and forward into tradition and anticipation organized around acceptable writing practices.

Those practices are the subject of the Manual.

In the process of writing or wishing to write, the would-be author-member quizzes him or herself and evaluates the research project continuously along the abstract dimensions of clarity, economy, simplicity, objectivity, precision, and continuity. These signs, abstract as they are, are the means by which authorship is achieved and membership in the scientific community displayed. However, because they are abstract and repetitious, they tend more to serve the pursuit of an ideal style. One's consciousness is turned not only toward writing,¹⁰ but toward idealizations of self, world, and the group of journal reading psychologists. One looks inward, but what is discovered is supplied by the Manual--if, that is, one is already a potential member. Self-discovery involves a creation and in turn discovery of the Other, the scientist, within. This aspect of the text is above all part of its rhetorical function. Questions in the Manual are not for contemplation. They are more likely read, in fact, as prescriptive statements, nested in questions, for which the "correct" answer is obvious.

When one as a would-be author encounters one of the many quizzes which interrogate self and work, and finds what the Manual promotes, then one may submit the manuscript--that is, one may now throw the dice with the best of expectations. If one has, for

example, answered "Yes" to detailed questions on the inside front and back covers of the Manual--from "Is the title 12 to 15 words?" to "Are page numbers provided in text for all quotations?"--one is a candidate for membership.

Excesses

The would-be author scientist in the Publication Manual, and the discourse which is both an effect and constituent of this identity, is, however, prone to excesses. The construction of memory and membership are organized by and evidenced in the manuscript. Yet this writing is fraught with excesses which slow or eclipse the production of journal writing. It can be recalled that one claim the Manual authors make in reference to the relationship of the Manual to APA style is that it is not "intended to determine all points of style but rather to resolve the questions that occur most frequently in manuscripts written for psychological journals" (APA, 1983, p. 12). This can reasonably be interpreted to suggest that certain problems occur regularly in submitted manuscripts. The manner in which they are dealt with may shed little light on those problems, but will instead bring into view the response such excesses have evoked in the psychology publishing establishment.

One passage in Chapter 2, for example, details

the overwhelming of "frugal" word choices by the possible intrusion of an animated list of unacceptable contaminants:

The author who is frugal with words not only writes a more readable manuscript but also increases the chances that the manuscript will be accepted. . . You can tighten overly long papers by eliminating redundancy, wordiness, jargon, evasiveness, circumlocution, and clumsiness. Weed out overly detailed descriptions of apparatus, subjects, or procedure; gratuitous embellishments; elaborations of the obvious; and irrelevant observations and asides. (APA, 1983, p. 33)

Frugality is threatened by a colorful host of apparently frequent excesses.

One principal dimension of such excesses is that they simply create more words. An economics of writing is at stake and a calculus of cost and benefit yields the familiar "less is more" axiom. This economics reveals a utilitarian aspect, as well, insofar as one should, in titles, for instance, "avoid words that serve no useful purpose" (APA, 1983, p. 23). Judging by Manual authors' responses, economy and utility are violated time and again.

These violations, among other things, threaten the clear communication of ideas. "The main causes of uneconomical writing are jargon and wordiness" (APA, 1983, p. 33), and "wordiness is every bit as irritating and uneconomical as jargon and can impede the ready grasp of ideas" (APA, 1983, p. 34). Wordiness irritates and "impedes the ready grasp of

ideas" just as "excessive use of abbreviations . . . can hinder reading comprehension" (p. 63) and "overuse [of dashes] weakens the flow of material" (p. 53). This kind of writing exhibits a lack of constraint that makes possible "lapses" into mere "literary elegance:" "Unconstrained wordiness lapses into embellishment and literary elegance, which are clearly inappropriate in scientific style" (APA, 1983, p. 34).

Manual authors do not sustain a simply quantitative view of excesses, though. In the following passage, the terminology suggests moral indiscretion:

Abruptness is often the result of sudden shifts in verb tense and the capricious use of different tenses within the same paragraph or in adjacent paragraphs. (APA, 1983, p. 33)

Chapter IV will consider this in more detail. But for now, excesses can be seen in regard to their manner of revealing an author's character, around which the Manual's influence extends only so far: "Authors should balance the rules of the Manual with good judgement" (APA, 1983, p. 10).

It is also apparent that uneconomical language and various excesses are joined by "disorder" in threatening good writing and judgement. Thought itself--which above was seen as "reflected" in writing--must be orderly:

Thought units--whether single words, a sentence or paragraph, or longer sequences--must be orderly. So that readers will understand what you are presenting, you must aim for continuity in words, concepts, and thematic development from the opening statement to the conclusion. Readers will be confused if you misplace words or phrases in sentences, abandon familiar syntax, shift the criterion for items in a series, or clutter the sequence of ideas with wordiness or irrelevancies. (APA, 1983, p. 32)

Is the "abandonment of familiar syntax" a frequent problem? The intimation is that such "thought disorders" persist and regularly undermine "the orderly presentation of ideas." Linear time and development are again at issue. Order and continuity are interrelated. Language which deviates from that considered scientific shows a lack of restraint, timing, and judgement which regularly threaten to overtake scientific writing.

Two possible accounts of these excesses are that they outline the extent to which the history required by the model of reporting promoted in the Manual corresponds to the writer's experience¹¹ or, that membership in the group is recurrently threatened or refused through the vehicle of writing. These are possibilities which could coexist.

Discourse, time, and experience may not so neatly correspond and reflect one another. This finds expression in an unusual statement in the Manual's Introduction: "Because the written language of psychology changes more slowly than psychology

itself, the Manual does not offer solutions for all stylistic problems" (APA, 1983, p. 10). Writing in this view is a necessary brake on the momentum of psychological science, and the Manual authors are falsely modest in their resulting inability to offer "solutions for all stylistic problems." They, too, are subject to fall short of an ideal. The allusion to "psychology itself" remains unclear; perhaps it refers to a perception of that "something else" which may ultimately spill over into writing, leaving behind traces of disorder, excesses. Whatever it is, it supersedes writing and suggests that, for Manual authors, the "essence" of psychology may lie elsewhere.

Intended/Unintended

The many possibilities for excess may interact to produce tension in the Manual's reader which could emerge from the shared wish to produce a crystalline language, a universal language of science perfectly clear to each member of the scientific thought collective. It has already been suggested that the Manual is an idealization. Any such manual would be. The point is that its authors claim to have put it together with, if not actually utopian, at least honorable intentions.

The pursuit of a clear, unified language of

science in terms of such intentions may extend back to the Judeo-Christian account surrounding the construction of the tower of Babel. Genesis 11.1 suggests that in the beginning "the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech." Yet some form of unease with "one language" stimulated the possibility of a mortal effort to reach God through building a tower into the skies. The arrogance of this project in turn brings God's wrath:

And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. (Genesis 11, verses 6 & 7)

The effort to recover one Language in the West at various points in time seems an attempt to recover a pre-Babylonian language, a language free of impurities.

In the Manual, the intention is to reinforce the ideal of a literature which is clear, concise, and free of bias. The clear expression of ideas, which is "the prime objective of scientific reporting" (p.31), is also a Cartesian project in the sense of it being about the pursuit of "clear and distinct ideas" (Descartes, 1960). But as Descartes's project in the Meditations was vulnerable to upset by the possibility of a deceiving "evil spirit," so too is this pursuit; as portrayed in the Manual, it is

plagued by resurgences of the "unintended" in writing. In one example of this, the Manual's reader is referred away from the poetic possibilities of language and cautioned around the use of metaphor. It is in part to do with what is unintentional and potentially "misleading" in such writing:

Avoid heavy alliteration, accidental rhyming, poetic expressions, and cliches. Use metaphors sparingly . . . Avoid mixed metaphors. . . and words with surplus or unintended meaning. . . , which may distract if not actually mislead the reader. (APA, 1983, p. 43)

Some words have a "surplus or unintended meaning," though the implication is that the meaning of words is controllable:

Make certain that every word means exactly what you intend it to mean. Sooner or later most authors discover a discrepancy between their accepted meaning of a term and its dictionary definition. In informal style, for example, feel broadly substitutes for think or believe, but such latitude is not acceptable in scientific style (APA, 1983, p. 34).¹²

The control of meaning consists paradoxically of extricating one's usage from informal practices, yet bringing it into agreement with dictionary usage. And this means "every word." (Of course, even dictionaries have more than one meaning for words. In fact, Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language lists fully 10 "meanings" of feel, one of which is to "think; believe; consider.") This paradox, rather than resolved, is displaced to a kind of sublime acknowledgment that control over meaning,

in fact, implies control over reading. Control over the "signifier" is not tantamount to control over the "signified." A variety of readers yields a variety of meanings:

Approximations of quantity (e.g., quite a large part, practically all, or very few) are interpreted differently by different readers in different contexts. They weaken statements, especially those describing empirical observations. (APA, 1983, p. 35)

The possibility of a statement's being read in multiple ways is a sign of weakness. An empirical observation, executed in a situation with readers or listeners who are not sharing a homogeneous thought-style, is vulnerable to multiple readings.

The control of meaning itself is inextricable from control over the reception of textual material. (Most literary theory after American New Criticism, if it agrees with little else, agrees with this.) This control necessarily fails in proportion to the variability of readers. The intention to control meaning is commendable to Manual authors, but it is recognized as everywhere subject to perversion:

Many writers strive to achieve smooth expression by using synonyms or near synonyms to avoid repeating a term. The intention is commendable, but by using synonyms you may unintentionally suggest a subtle difference. (APA, 1983, p. 33)

This is also true in regard to the question of sex or cultural bias: "An investigator may unintentionally introduce bias into the research

design." (APA, 1983, p. 43). These unintentional influences corrupt even the best intentions and may insidiously appropriate them toward less admirable, that is, less scientific, forms of statement:

When you refer to a person or persons, choose words that are accurate, clear, and free from bias. Long-established cultural practice can exert a powerful, insidious influence over even the most conscientious author. (APA, 1983, p. 44)

This influence, embedded in "long-established cultural practice," can be transcended by becoming more scientific, that is, more accurate and more precise. Precision and accuracy stand in opposition to the unintentional in language, and in a sense, then, to the racist and sexist use of language. "Language that reinforces sexism can spring from subtle errors in research design, inaccurate interpretation, or imprecise word choice" (APA, 1983, p. 43). Sexist language is portrayed as springing from, for example, design errors, but not from the conscious, sexist practice of a researcher.

In this view, a researcher would not intentionally introduce bias into research. It is unscientific, and a scientist is a well-intentioned being. As mentioned before in this regard, it has become a matter of policy, that is, intention, to be scientific. Yet the dialectical involvement of the intentional and unintentional remains unresolved,

except, for Manual authors, to the extent that executive control can predominate. Notably, the submitting writer's intentions are not questioned, but presumed. If control over reading (meaning) were achievable, the intentions of Manual authors themselves would not be questioned. And, formally at least, the intentions of Manual authors are above suspicion in that no critical discourse around the Manual itself has been invited or taken shape in journal science.

According to Manual authors, psychologist readers share a common vocabulary or meaning system more often than not. One main interpretation of "assumptions" in random samples (see Appendices) indicates that this commonality is presumed substantial. It is illustrated primarily by the extent to which Manual authors do not offer evidence or definition of concepts, which under other circumstances could evoke major misunderstandings. For example, the notion of "clarity," unchallenged as an essential ideal in journal science, is never defined, but assumed. Perhaps it is assumed with good reason: psychologists share a more or less homogeneous epistemological repertoire in regard to writing as a result of their training, class, values, and so on. Clarity for psychologists, however, may be the very embodiment of obscurity, privilege,

arrogance, and obfuscation for others. The findings of sociolinguistics time and again demonstrate this kind of phenomenon (cf. Labov 1972, for example). On a less sophisticated level, it is easy to imagine, for example, groups of anthropologists and psychologists speaking clearly amongst themselves and becoming completely confused when trying to talk across disciplinary groups. In fact, it was in 1928 that "editors and business managers of anthropological and psychological journals met" (p. 9) to produce the 7-page article on style which Manual authors claim as the Manual's forerunner. Yet there is a real question as to whether such a meeting would even occur today.

Even within the discipline of psychology alone, the Manual authors' assumption that psychologists understand their usage of "clarity" may be presumptuous. Manual authors can claim, for example, that "instructions about style and policy that were confusing have been clarified" (p. 11), or that "all sections [of Chapter 3 on APA Editorial Style] have been clarified" (p. 12). Yet if the Manual authors believe this edition addresses most of the recurrent questions or issues surrounding journal writing, apparently the notion of clarity has not been clear or itself resists clarity. Ideally and intentionally, writers may desire clarity, but in failing to control

readers they fail to "make certain that every word means exactly what [they] intend it to mean" (APA, 1983, p. 34), or to "say only what needs to be said" (APA, 1983, p. 33). The utter impossibility of fulfilling an absolute demand for clarity mostly lays bare the desire to do so, the desire for control of a reader's reception of text and the phenomenology of the reading event. Wanting to be clear, in this case, carries with it the wish that everyone in this reading and writing community would think alike.

The tension between intentional and unintentional also recalls the tension between "conscious" and "unconscious" in some cases, though this terminology is not used. The first line of connection to this psychoanalytic conceptualization occurs in relation to Freud's discussion of "parapraxes" in The Psychopathology of Everyday Life. In particular, it calls to mind a discussion of "slips of the pen." Returning for a moment to the account ventured earlier for the persistence of excesses, it was suggested that the memory of the experiment may vary from the form it is supposed to take in writing, or that group membership may be problematized in writing. Along with the nature of the excesses found in submitted manuscripts, the trouble posed by a concern with unintended meaning suggests that submitting writers may be conflicted

about some dimension of membership and that, from the Manual narrator's point of view, something is wrong with these writers. The onus of responsibility for writing problems in the field is placed on submitting authors rather than on any other group involved with publication processes.

However, the response of Manual authors contains an authoritative interpretation of problems which remains their interpretation. It is in the Manual that responses to real or imagined problems in manuscript psychology occurs. All data, for example, even the "questionnaire... distributed in 1979" (p. 9), which are available around writing are represented in summary form in the Manual, according to its authors. The rest of the collective's written products remain obscured by the authoritative response concerning what is held to distort or eclipse scientific writing. Manual authors have become interpreters for the collective of its writing, and conveniently, the category of intended/unintended manifest in their document renders latent or inarticulate any return criticism of their intentions. There is neither a forum in which to explore "unintended meanings," nor, if the psychoanalytic conceptualization is retained, is it possible to assume any but the Manual's point of view as to what is wrong with manuscripts. In other words,

it becomes obvious that the Manual represents a particular point of view on writing, and that the possibility of reading the Manual as an embodiment of a kind of "institutional countertransference" (Guattari, 1984) remains open.

It is in a related sense possible to construe the Manual as a large-scale group intervention. The broader character of relations in this group will be taken up in the next chapter. For now, a return to the issues raised in this chapter will be undertaken so as to recast them in terms of the Manual's authoritative intervention in its own community.

This intervention is one which itself claims an intentional aspect, a goal, which reaches back in time for its justification. Consider the following passage from the Forward:

Every edition of the Manual has been intended to aid authors in the preparation of manuscripts. The 1929 guide could gently advise authors on style because there were then only about 200 authors who published in the 4 existing APA journals. Today, the editors of APA's 18 journals consider close to 6,500 manuscript submissions a year (of which approximately 1400 reach print). Without APA style conventions, the time and effort required to review and edit manuscripts would prohibit timely and cost-effective publication and would make clear communication harder to achieve (APA, 1983, p. 10).

This quote, taken in relation to the 4 themes of this chapter, can be read in the following way: 1) The Manual is a report of and a response to changes in

history, later construed as "the maturing of the language of psychology" (p. 10), which have led to a veritable flooding of psychology's publishing infrastructure. 2) Most aspiring authors' manuscripts are not accepted and may or may not contain signs of membership in the "scientific community" and all that it implies. 3) Excesses--recalling, for example, problems of wordiness--are tied directly, on a molar scale, to time and money agendas. 4) The "intention" to aid authors in "clear communication" is a good one, even if it mostly has failed and will fail, but this aid can no longer be "gentle."

In a word, this writing group is held to have problems, and they are problems in relation to which writing problems appear symptomatic. Writing in this regard is both sign (a semiotics of membership and commitment) and symptom (of failed expectations in an era of growth, and an inflationary "economics of expression"). These problems are, in this sense, both revealed and concealed by the manner in which the Manual is articulated into the research collective as a kind of intervention. One critical aspect of this intervention involves the attendant development of a consciousness about self and one's research more than simply publication activity. But there are other associated implications.

Regarding history, the Manual foregrounds the

experiment as its preferred ideal form of reportage. This is so exclusive of any reservations about experiments as the method of choice. From a historical point of view, the Manual author's claim that "style requirements are based on the existing scientific literature rather than imposed on the literature" (APA, 1983, p. 19) is significant of the denial that the Manual unselfconsciously promotes the experiment as a transcendental historiographical form. The eminent French historian, Fernand Braudel has made a point pertinent here. For him,

history is the total of all possible histories--an assemblage of professions and points of view, from yesterday, today, and tomorrow.

The only error, in my view, would be to choose one of these histories to the exclusion of all others (1980, p. 34).

The experimental archive is just such an exclusive choice. The achievement of journal knowledge is premised on a formula in a manner analogous to journalistic formulas or "formula novels." The flow of discourse is screened by the experimental formula, leaving undeveloped those other histories, those unclear, uneconomical, disturbing, imprecise, and uncontrolled occurrences on the historical scene of research. Most importantly, however, is the extent that the Manual's authors accept and perpetuate the illusion of innocence arrived at in the text by the initial disavowal of

its formative role in psychology's history and development. Denying its place in this history and promoting the positivist history of the experiment appears to make possible statements like those about psychology's "maturing language" quoted above. The link with 19th as well as 20th century positivism is made. (see Comte, 1853).¹³ Psychology is getting bigger, better, faster, clearer, more powerful, according to this presumption, and experimental empiricism is its vehicle. Yet all is not well, and this genre of reporting, if anything, is restrained and the language of the Manual defensive.

In regard to membership, the Manual's aim to help authors produce the signs of scientific research becomes part of the ideological basis upon which nearly 80 percent of all submitted manuscripts are rejected. It is only once in Chapter 6 implied, for example, that excellent studies are rejected simply on the basis of page or cost limits (cf. APA, 1983, p. 166 on "page allocations"). Instead, the Manual reader is encouraged to perpetually develop an aspirational consciousness in which one is ever perfecting one's writing according to mostly unchallenged ideals. An author is asked regularly to "aim for" or "strive to achieve" some ideal end in writing. Moreover, since "research is complete only when the results are shared with the scientific

community" (p. 17), membership in the scientific community is forever just around the corner for most. Each new "submission" reinstates the process and redraws the boundaries. "Publish or perish" takes on a new meaning. The Manual bears the mark of the struggle for membership just as the tablets of Moses bore the conditions and limits of membership in the House of the Lord: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Whosoever hath sinned against me, him I will blot out of my book" (Exodus, 32.33).¹⁴

The analogy of inadequate writing to sin may seem strained, but if entertained leads to a reconsideration of the excesses in relation to which the Manual emerges. What is notable about these excesses is that they appear as violations of the economics of publishing and the utility of idea communication. Problems such as wordiness are resolved where the economic and the ideal are enjoined or superimposed. The "economical expression of ideas" is not only a better way to communicate an idea, it is cost-effective as well. An economic problem of the group is simultaneously a textual problem. An efficient economics of publishing is given deeper justification in an economics of communication. The economics of expression is in turn elevated to an ideal and given a utilitarian rationale: "Use fewer words and the idea will be

better conveyed." Better, perhaps for someone, for there appears to be a great number of ideas not being conveyed.

Alternatively, the intervention of Manual authors to the group can be read as saying that members talk much and say little. Excesses are typified as trivialities, clumsiness, evasions, unwarranted speculation, polemical discussions, and so on. Writing over the (page?) limit is represented by Manual authors as irritating, annoying, disturbing, or confusing to other members of the community, that is, readers. (Readers are, of course, subscribers, if not stockholders or advertisers.) The portrayal of the "rights" and demands of readers, as represented in the Manual, constitute them as a phantasy audience with a righteous obsession with the smooth and economical use of each word. Yet against this posture, as the Manual authors intimate, emerge excesses upon excesses: too many manuscripts, too many words.

Finally, at the imaginary juncture where producers and consumers of writing meet the struggle over intentional and unintentional meaning occurs. If the Manual is a group intervention, it is in this respect an interpretation aimed toward the strictest uniformity of thought. Manual rules introduce uniformity that will "spare readers from a

distracting variety of forms throughout a work and permit readers to give full attention to content" (APA, 1983, p. 11). Writers will produce words so utterly clear, so singular in intention, that a whole community would spontaneously make sense of a communication. Discourse, as such, would evolve (mature) to a level of pure and immediate re-cognition. The medium would recede in the service of its impeccable message (cf. McLuhan, 1964). Journal writing would become pure content, pure information, a way of "making every word contribute to clear and concise communication" (APA, 1983, pp. 11-12). Problems in psychological writing would continue to be just problems of semantics.

Unfortunately, misunderstandings, double-entendres, multiple readings and overdetermined terminologies, jokes, flights of thought, free associations, poetry, "literary expression," and the other possibilities by which discourse excites, disrupts, or sets a group in motion are excised from the surface of scientific discourse only to reemerge with a vengeance. This appears in turn to fuel and rationalize rejections.

The command to "make certain that every word means exactly what you intend it to mean" as an intervention implies not only control over the other's processes of signification, but over oneself.

The unintended is feared. The possibility that frightfully racist, sexist, polemical, or ad hominem writings would occur, or rather, do occur is addressed. (What is notably absent from this is the interaction of social class, a point to be taken up elsewhere.) In this sense, the response to excesses could be translated as "Control yourself in your writing!"--this being nested in a well-intentioned discourse which effectively diverts any direct discussion of censorship. It is as if authors of the Manual experience writing in the field as out of control and riddled with multiplicities of meaning and implication. Yet rather than reflecting on this, surveying its possibilities, or revising their reflection theory of language, the authors of the Manual redouble efforts to make rational the desire to supervise and control discourse.

CHAPTER IV

GROUP RELATIONS AND THE MORALITY OF AUTHORSHIP

In the previous chapter, the Manual was interpreted as a group intervention on the part of its author or authors. The nature of the intervention has yet to be explained, however, and relies for a fuller intelligibility on a description of networks of relations established between Manual characters. These relations, including those between reader and narrator, author and APA, editor and reader, reveal complex organizational relations which are superimposed on writing practices. There is no single, fixed set of relations, but instead a series of shifting regularities such that Manual readers may find themselves in various more or less charged roles, each orchestrated by shifts in content and narrative style. A few of these regularities are examined now in order to address some of the complexities of writing according to Manual prescriptions.

Manual Authority

The Manual was shown in CHAPTER III to share in

the construction of memory in psychology via its specification of acceptable forms of reporting. In the process of assimilating these forms the aspiring author is educated as to how authors in this tradition do things. Included in the Manual is a catalogue of excesses and faults which are regularly displayed in members's writing. Similarly, a lack of control over meaning is registered by the apparent wish to extend the domain of intentional meaning over against that considered unintentional.

Why these themes now? What is at stake for reader, author, and the others?

This edition of the Manual is distinguished from its 7-page forerunner--published as an article in 1929--in the Manual Preface by references to the way it could "gently advise" authors and "would not dictate to authors..." (APA, 1983, p. 9). Just prior to this, in 1925, the APA had become incorporated, and in this respect, the first Manual marks a beginning of an institutionalization of discourse which was coextensive with certain forms of developing organization within the field of psychology. That is, the Manual's forerunner surfaces in response to some more or less articulate need to regulate and standardize the production of discourse just as the APA was achieving incorporation as the major association of American psychologists. The

development from a 7-page article into a 208-page manual parallels the APA's growth from a few thousand to over 60 thousand and embodies the trend toward increased publishing and organization. From owning only 4 journals which published 200 authors to 18 journals publishing 1400 articles annually, the field has grown tremendously.

Manual authors attribute the continuing need for their "transitional document" to the absolute growth of the field of psychology. Efficiency and economy are cited as rationales for the standardization of style. However, it is conceivable that this growth could have taken shape along a variety of contours, each leading to the adoption of a variety of styles, genres, and enunciative positions. It remains curious that an organization with over 40 divisions would adopt only one style.

In the context of these many divisions exists the authorization of the Manual as the definitive embodiment of the requirements of publication. This authorization is characterized as a kind of community-wide authorization. "In response to users' suggestions for improvements to the Manual, the Publications and Communications Board authorized a revision of the second edition" (APA, 1983, p. 9). It is described as a development in response to "users' suggestions," suggestions which have now become

requirements: "The Publication Manual describes requirements for the preparation and submission of manuscripts for publication" (APA, 1983, p. 14).

Part of the authority the Manual exercises is entailed by shared assumptions about the production of manuscripts. As has been shown, Manual authors define or justify few of the ideals they hold for writing. The reader of the Manual is, in fact, directly told to assume that a certain stock of knowledge is held by the journal reader (cf. Husserl, 1962; Merleau-Ponty, 1965). The Manual in turn underwrites this knowledge by organizing a form and style, a way of containing ideas for common use. In part, its authority appears to stem from its employment of concepts which are not likely to raise questions in its readers.

Authority is also expressed in the attempt to rid writing of unintended meaning. Yet, as mentioned before, control over the signifier does not promise control over the processes of signification. Only the exercise of authority in groups in which such a seizure of the mechanisms of meaning is acceptable yields any success in this domain. The works of French analyst Felix Guattari (1984) on processes of signification in various organizations and institutions underscore how this process is a function of authority relations in a broader sense.

For him,

The relation between the signifier and the signified (which Pierce sees as conventional, Saussure as arbitrary) is at root merely the expression of authority by means of signs.... The establishment of meanings, of what is to be understood, has to remain the business of authority. (p. 88)

Thus, when the Manual says "do not use while in place of although, whereas, and, or but" (p. 41, emphasis in original), or "Hopefully means 'in a hopeful manner' or 'full of hope'" (p. 49, emphasis in original), it exercises a certain kind of authority. "This is what is meant by that."

Gestures of authority take many forms. Among them are the drawing of jurisdictional boundaries, as in,

Style manuals agree more often than they disagree; where they disagree, the APA Manual, because it considers the special requirements of psychology, takes precedence for the APA journals. (APA, 1983, p. 51)

Psychology is differentiated from other discourses and the APA journals are governed, ultimately, through the Manual.

Along with this is the juridical authority represented in the Manual by the distribution of "rights" and roles in the community. This operates on several levels of copyrights, the rights of readers, and the rights and authority of Manual authors themselves. The right to reject manuscripts, for example, is entirely invested in the figure of

journal editors, who are in other ways low profile characters in the Manual. Consider the following: "Journal editors reserve the right to return manuscripts if measurements are not expressed properly" (APA, 1983, p. 75). It was not expressed as "Journal editors may return..." or "editors could return..." etc. Instead, "journal editors reserve the right..." A politico-legal distribution of authority operates in the Manual as well as the above-mentioned forms of conceptual or jurisdictional authority.

Psychology and the Other

From another standpoint, the Manual's "intertextual" relations (from Kristeva, 1984) shed light on the way psychological discourse is nested within, and relies upon, other authoritative discourses. Any text is both like and unlike other texts and embodies an independent production which is never fully autonomous (Macherey, 1985; Said, 1979). The Manual is thus like the MLA Style Guide, the Chicago Manual of Style, and other such manuals, but remains different nevertheless. It is a materialization of language common to all English speakers (more or less), but remains a unique materialization. As Kristeva (1984) has shown, the nature of a text's relations with other texts can

help to situate a text within its social history. In the context of this study, it shows the extent to which Manual discourse relies on other discourses for its authority and intelligibility.

The manner in which Manual authors claim it to be "based on the existing scientific literature rather than imposed on it" reveals one aspect of their dependency on what they saw as the requirements of that literature. They were not free, so this argument would go, to arbitrarily and autocratically create and promote a style. The existing literature outlined immediate and automatic limits to what could be said, with APA approval or disapproval laying a background for this. (Manual authors appear to have relied on an "endorsement" from APA's Council of Editors and Publications and Communications Board (cf. p. 10).)

Psychological discourse is shaped from other directions by at least two distinct and often contradictory discursive possibilities: the pull toward "ordinary language" and the pull toward "scientific language." This struggle emerges in Manual references to the "dictionary" and the "scientific community"--as in the case of the threshold where technical language becomes jargon.¹

The dictionary, a book of common, authoritative signification represents the pull of psychology in

the direction of what Fleck (1979) calls "popular" or "exoteric" science. The utter severance of psychology from popular culture would entail its undoing in the immediate terms of funding, clientele, status, and so on. A reckoning with the dictionary symbolizes psychology's embeddedness in the broadest conventions of signification of the times. The following quotes are examples of this alignment:

Consult the dictionary when in doubt about the plural form of nouns of foreign origin. (APA, 1983, p. 37)

Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary is the standard reference for the APA journals. If a word is not in the Collegiate, consult the more comprehensive Webster's Third New International Dictionary. (APA, 1983, p. 55)

APA style permits the use of abbreviations that appear as word entries (i.e., that are not labeled abbr) in Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1981). (APA, 1983, p. 64)

The dictionary, however, cannot sustain the production of a scientific discourse, a discourse which must achieve difference and independence from ordinary conversation or exposition. The authority of the dictionary must give way to the authority of science. For example,

Because the language is constantly expanding, especially in science, dictionaries may not provide an authoritative spelling for the new compounds common to science. (APA, 1983, pp. 55-56)

And as textual oppositions between scientific and literary or other writing practices show (see also

Chapter III and APPENDICES), psychologists aspire most of all to write scientifically. This, however, requires a certain conformity to what publishers of science want. Consider the case of references:

Reference notes are now incorporated into the reference list, and the year of publication cited in the reference list now appears immediately after the author's name, a style that conforms to a uniform system of citation that many publishers in the social, physical, and biological sciences recognize.

In a broader sense, the Manual contains an adoption of the standards of scientific writing as a result of an interpretation of the requirements of the scientific community.

Members of the scientific community generally agree that the characteristics of primary, or original, publication are (a) that articles represent research not previously published..; (b) that articles are reviewed by peers before being accepted or rejected by a journal; and (c) that articles are archival. (APA, 1983, p. 167)²

This paragraph indexes the intertextual dependence of psychological discourse on an appearance of scientificity. APA has primary journals with primary publications: "In the APA primary journals, the standard of primary publication is supported..." (APA, 1983, p. 167)

In the area of style, the Manual presents a mixed picture around the use of other authorities. "For more comprehensive discussions of grammar and usage in general, authors should consult appropriate authoritative manuals" (APA, 1983, p. 36). Yet,

authors are warned that "some style authorities accept the use of while and since when they do not refer strictly to time; however, words like these, with more than one meaning, can cause confusion" (APA, 1983, p. 41). Confusion must be avoided when it comes to authority and science. Thus, "because precision and clarity are the standards in scientific writing, the Manual restricts while and since to their temporal meanings" (APA, 1983, p. 41). The Manual is like "some style authorities," but is primarily a keeper of, and is dependent on, the conventions of scientific writing for its identity.

The potential differences of psychologists' interests, styles, and subject matters are met in the Manual with an invocation of a unique admixture of authorities, which subordinates writing to the common and the scientific. This is so in the context of a definite avoidance of, for example, the "literary" or "poetic" possibilities of language--such avoidance becomes conflicted at times, as in, for example, the use of metaphor, where "although they can help simplify complicated ideas, metaphors can be distracting" (APA, 1983, p. 43).

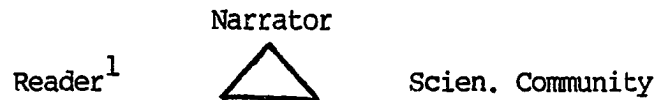
The authors of the Manual adopt a dependent journalistic stance, being authorized by the APA Publication and Communications Board to describe existing practices (not to invent them) and transmit

this stance outward (regarding the governance of editors) and downward (regarding the orientation of author to authorities). This stance positions Manual authors as "regulatory third parties" (from Sartre, 1976), figures, that is, who actively or passively mediate group relations from a position of otherness. It results in a narrational style which triangulates the reader with other Manual characters and normalizes their relations, an issue to which I will now turn.

Triangulation and The Guidance relationship

Among the important findings of the random sampling procedure was a certain regularity of triangulated involvement of the narrator and two characters. This is where the narrator talks to one character about another. For example, in APPENDIX E a triangulation of narrator, author, and typist was broken down in some detail. Often, as in this case, the narrator underscores a division of labor and responsibility proper to each character. The narrator serves as an omniscient translator of the many character roles for the reader of the Manual, giving this reader a position in relation to each. It doubles as both a description and an authorization of intermember relations. See Figure 3 for examples

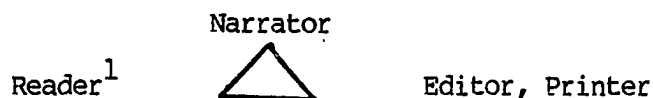
Chapter 1. "Research is complete only when the results are shared with the scientific community" (p. 17).



Chapter 2. "By developing ideas clearly and logically, you invite readers to read..." (p. 31).



Chapter 3. "When editors or printers refer to style, they usually do not mean writing style..." (p. 15).



Chapter 4. "A well prepared manuscript looks professional to editors and reviewers..." (p. 135).



Chapter 5. "The efficient handling of a manuscript is a responsibility that the author, editor, printer, and publisher share....You...can contribute...by following the guidelines provided in this chapter" (p.157).



Chapter 6. "The American Psychological Association, founded in 1892 and incorporated in 1925, is the major organization for psychologists in the United States" (p. 165).



Figure 3

Graphic Representation of Triangulated Relationships
in Relation to Manual Quotations.
Reader¹ = Reader of the Manual; Reader² = Other Readers

taken from the introductory paragraphs of the 6 principal chapters.

In part this is done in the context of the establishment of a "guidance relationship" between the Manual's reader and its narrator. Although this narrator may no longer "gently advise" the reader, he (or she)³ does orient the reader to the complexities of publishing in psychology. It not only guides would-be authors, but "aims to be an even more useful guide for authors, editors, students, typists, and publishers" (APA, 1983, p. 11).

The tone of guidance in the Manual is varied. In some cases, it represents a running of interference for the aspiring author and in other cases it is heavily valuational, even moralistic. In the former, the narrator is experienced as an ally, a kind of older sibling looking out for the neophyte author, in the latter, a strict preacher of good values.

As an ally, the narrator assumes the voice of experience and takes the position of the "subject who knows" (from Lacan, 1982). Typical pitfalls in writing can be avoided if the reader will take notice of what the narrator is saying. Compare the following:

Whatever your personal opinion, avoid animosity and ad hominim arguments in presenting the controversy. Do not support your position or justify your research by citing established authorities out of context. (APA, 1983, p. 25)

Avoid polemics, triviality, and weak theoretical comparisons in your discussion. (APA, 1983, p. 28).

In 1982, the APA Publications and Communications Board adopted a policy that requires authors who are submitting their manuscripts to an APA journal to use nonsexist language, that is, to avoid in their manuscripts language that could be construed as sexist. (APA, 1983, pp. 43-44)

Even if paternalistic or condescending at times, it is easily possible to accept such guidance as coming from one who has one's own interests at heart.

Equally, the Manual says it can help and no doubt does. For example,

Format aids... will help you easily locate and identify the answers to questions on style and format. Organizational aids... will help you organize and write the manuscript... (APA, 1983, p. 14)

Speaking to the reader about editors can also be read as helpful and a product of an alliance between reader and narrator:

Editors find in submitted papers the following kinds of defects in the design and reporting of research: piecemeal publication..; the reporting of only a single correlation..; the reporting of negative results..; failure to build in needed controls..; [and] exhaustion of a problem.

It is nice to know what to watch out for in an editor's response. The Manual can be trusted. The narrator is an ally.

Even when an author fouls up, so to speak, he or she will find in the Manual a certain support for misguided, though well-intentioned efforts. For

example, "writers often become redundant in a mistaken effort to be emphatic" (APA, 1983, p. 34)⁴ Correctives can be introduced into one's writing with the assistance of the narrator. Having good intentions, of course, makes the Manual's guidance compelling.

On the other hand, the narrator occasionally uses a moralistic terminology to address the reader. Compare the following quotes, in which I have emphasized this terminology:

Choose references judiciously and cite them accurately. (APA, 1983, p. 28)

The discrete use of pronouns can often relieve the monotonous repetition of a term without introducing ambiguity. (APA, 1983, p. 33)

The author who is frugal with words not only writes a more readable manuscript but also increases the chances that the manuscript will be accepted. (APA, 1983, p. 33).

Use figurative expressions with restraint and colorful expressions with care. (APA, 1983, p. 43)

The next section [on consideration of the reader] discusses the importance of choosing words that are appropriate to your subject and free from bias, another way to achieve disciplined writing and precise, unambiguous communication. (APA, 1983, p. 43).

Acting judiciously, discretely, frugally, and with discipline, care, and restraint are among the many, decidedly value-laden directives given in the guidance relationship. It is in no way the discourse the Manual promotes, the language that should be

"free from bias." A double-standard operates in which the narrator is above the criticisms or help it transmits. And with guidance being either alliance-based or moralistic, little in the way of encouragement, support, or concern for the would-be author is manifest.

The reader is left with an authority figure who is here an ally and there a source of a moralistic appraisal. Although there are limits to the utility of this relationship or the extent of its value to authors (since "good writing is an art and a craft, and instructing in its mastery is beyond the scope of the Publication Manual" (p. 31)) it must remain clear who is in charge of what within the ranks of the hierarchy.

Thus, the Publications and Communications Board and the Council of Editors together establish specific policies for the journals. Journal editors and APA staff concerned with the publication of journals implement the policies. Editors, operating within the framework of the general policies described in this chapter, select the manuscripts to be published in the journals. The APA staff produces the journals. Authors should review the policies described here for general orientation and also should note specific instructions published in every journal and policies of style and manuscript preparation described in the preceding chapters of the Manual. (APA, 1983, p. 166)

Guidance and orientation are channelled back through the Manual. In random Sample 2 (APPENDIX B), this guidance was shown to hinge primarily on a readiness in the reader to internalize the narrator's

inquisitive mode, as in the following:

Identifying the practical and theoretical implications of your study, suggesting improvements on your research, or proposing new research may be appropriate, but keep these comments brief. In general, be guided by these questions: What have I contributed here? How has my study helped to resolve the original problem? What conclusions and theoretical implications can I draw from my study? The responses to these questions are the core of your contribution, and readers have a right to clear, unambiguous, and direct answers. (APA, 1983, p. 28)

Similarly, in the processes of publication, the reader-author is reminded of the need to follow directions, the directions of the Manual. In the chapter on Submitting the Manuscript and Proofreading, it takes the following shape:

The efficient handling of a manuscript is a responsibility that the author, editor, printer, and publisher share.... You, the author, can contribute to the efficient processing and publication of articles by following the guidelines provided in this chapter. (APA, 1983, p. 157)

Likewise, in the following chapter, on the Journal Program of the American Psychological Association, readers are told:

Authors are expected to follow editors' detailed recommendations for revision, condensation, or correction and retyping in order to conform with the style specified by the Manual. (APA, 1983, p. 173)

Thus the reader must situate self in the network of more or less complicated, often contradictory and one-sided commands. Although instructed to "use the active rather than the passive voice" (p. 36), the

author-reader must follow directions issued along specific lines or chains of command authorized by APA. The Manual is the source of clarity in case of confusion.

From another angle, the granting of "permissions" is part of this relationship. Along with moralizations and double-standards, the flow of permission and non-permission serves to index and reproduce a kind of parent-child relationship, which finds culmination in the formation of an "APA Permissions Office:" "Requests for permission to reproduce material should be directed to APA's Permissions Office" (APA, 1983, p. 169). This is a function of the way authorship is treated in the Manual with respect to politico-legal copyright concerns which mark this book in many places, from the copyright page itself--"No part of this book may be copied or reproduced in any form or by any means without written permission of the American Psychological Association" (APA, 1983)--to the reminders about specific "permissions" an author is responsible for:

It is the author's responsibility to determine whether permission is required from the copyright owner. (APA, 1983, p. 71)

If you quote at length from a copyrighted work in material you intend to publish, you usually also need written permission from the owner of the copyright. (APA, 1983, p. 71)

Authors who publish articles in APA journals are permitted to reproduce their own articles for personal use without obtaining permission from APA as long as the material incorporates the copyright notice that appears on the original publication. (APA, 1983, p. 163)

Permissions, or as well, the permissiveness of the narrator--spokesman as he is for copyright law and procedure--are not confined to this application. For example, in following the sequence of activity prescribed for the preparation of manuscripts there is a space and time of freedom related dialectically to the passivity entailed by obedience. Thus, "in the Discussion section, you are free to examine, interpret, and qualify the results, as well as to draw inferences from them" (APA, 1983, p. 27). Similarly, "after you have introduced the problem and developed the background material, you are in a position to tell what you did" (APA, 1983, p. 25). An author may also be told where not to do things, as in: "The Results section summarizes the data collected and the statistical treatment of them....Discussing the implications of the results is not appropriate here" (p. 27). The when and where of an author's freedom in the Manual are part of the constitution of the narrator as an authority figure. This authority flows in part from the Manual's intertextuality, its internalization and reproduction of the relations of discourse to dictionaries, to

Science, to copyright codes, and so on.

It is further interwoven in the fabric of instruction and laced with moments of "freedom of expression." Such freedom is tenuous, however, and always subject to withdrawal:

APA as a publisher accepts journal authors' word choices unless these choices are inaccurate, unclear, or ungrammatical. Because APA as an organization is committed both to science and to the fair treatment of individuals and groups, however, authors of journal articles are required to avoid writing in a manner that reinforces questionable attitudes and assumptions about people. (APA, 1983, p. 43)

It is as if such word choices or forms of expression are treated in the Manual as "tools of expression" (Guattari, 1984) with writing psychologists as school-children or inmates dependent on outside authorities for their rules of conduct. In this scenario,

Tools of expression are provided for those who use them in the same way as spades and picks are handed out to prisoners.... There can be no escape. The first commandment of the law, of which no one must plead ignorance, is based above all on the need for everyone to realize the importance of the dominant significations. (Guattari, 1984, p. 88)

The guidance relationship in the Manual relies upon the "dominant significations" of the times, such as those found in the dictionary, and organizes the milieu in which tools of expression passed down. This milieu is often one of infantilization.

It would be a mistake, however, to characterize

Manual authority as being distributed unilaterally from the top down. The authority of the Manual is hardly despotic, and a failure to account for the desire to be led (cf. Deleuze & Guattari, 1977) would present an oversimplified view. A certain need for security in readers may be presumed on the part of narrators. One can imagine the reaction in the reading and writing collective to a position in which it was claimed that, "Any style goes," or "Use references as you like," or "Polemicize your writing at will!" Instead the Manual narrator is positioned as a guide on whom insecure writers can rely.

There may, in fact, be little security for any author who must "publish or perish," and the Manual may derive its unquestionable authority by housing the only acceptable style. The singular pursuit of Manual ideals, in which hard work toward clarity, smoothness, economy, precision, and so on promise possibilities for publication and may set in motion images of security and opportunity for groups of would-be scientists, students, non-tenured academics, and others who will need to publish. The necessity of publication, together with a desire to publish in scarce, authoritative media, may find the Manual's reader caught between the Scylla of desire for voice as an adult scientist and the Charybdis of his or her utter dependence for expression of this voice on its

potential for conformity to APA style.

As suggested in the last chapter, the Manual as an idealization appears to stimulate a continuous pursuit of abstractions such as clarity, precision, economy, and smoothness in writing. The desirability of publishing and of acceptance into the scientific writing collective is no doubt reactivated in the Manual by the supplanting of actual membership with ideal membership in an ideal community via the pursuit of a scientific semiotics. Freud (1959) has taken note of this process in groups where dependence is exhibited as a devotion to Ideas, whether they be Democracy, Freedom, Socialism, the Good Life, etc. Although I am aware of only one psychologist who claimed to be "having an affair with the Manual," the process of putting an object in the place of an ego ideal is not an uncommon occurrence in group psychology (Freud, 1959, p. 46). It is structurally similar to the investment of desire in the hypnotist and involves the "same humble subjection, the same compliance, the absence of criticism" (p. 46). This occurs partly in response to a need for security easily imaginable as characteristic of a Manual reader. Such idealization, in Freud's terminology, involves an identification of one's ego ideal with a group ideal.

Contemporaneously with this 'devotion' of the

ego to the object, which is no longer to be distinguished from a sublimated devotion to an abstract idea, the functions allotted to the ego ideal entirely cease to operate. (Freud, 1959, p. 45)

Thus, if I as a reader could write clearly or smoothly enough, for example, I might get published and thus relieve my need through a kind of sublimated self-subordination. In return, exaltation results when ego and ego ideal become one in the triumph of publication. Until then, the replacement of Manual ideals for ego ideal would be a process reproduced in the Manual, according to the Freudian view.

A primary group of this kind is a number of individuals who have put one and the same object in the place of their ego ideal and have consequently identified themselves with one another in their ego. (1959, p. 48)

Me and the Others

The possibility hereby exists that readers of the Manual identify with each other in the pursuit of publication ideals. Yet there are other imaginary characters having relatively high definition in the Manual who apparently must not immediately be identified with but instead pleased: readers of manuscripts and articles. These are the others to whom a manuscript is written and who are represented as having specific needs which require the author's consideration.

As has been indicated before, this reader is

often portrayed as easily upset and demanding. For example, the task of reading must be made "agreeable" and "convenient" for this reader rather than, for example, stimulating, thought-provoking, exciting, or challenging. Compare the following:

[Labels] organize the subsections and make referring to a specific experiment convenient for the reader. (APA, 1983, p. 28).

By developing ideas clearly and logically, you invite readers to read, encourage them to continue, and make their task agreeable by leading them smoothly from thought to thought. (APA, 1983, p. 31).

Turning a journal sideways to read a table is an inconvenience to readers. (APA, 1983, p. 93).

Further, this reader should not be confused.

Confusion is given a decidedly negative valence:

Devices that are found in creative writing, for example setting up ambiguity, inserting the unexpected, omitting the expected, and suddenly shifting the topic, tense, or person, can confuse or disturb readers of scientific prose. (APA, 1983, p. 32).

So that readers will understand what you are presenting, you must aim for continuity in words, concepts, and thematic development from the opening statement to the conclusions. Readers will be confused if you misplace words or phrases in sentences, abandon familiar syntax, shift the criterion for items in a series, or clutter the sequence of ideas with wordiness or irrelevancies. (APA, 1983, p. 32).

Pronouns confuse readers unless the referent for each pronoun is obvious; readers should not have to search previous text to determine the meaning of the term. (APA, 1983, p. 35)

This reader needs orientation, guidance, and pacing through the text:

Always tell the reader what to look for in tables and figures and provide sufficient explanation to make them readily intelligible. (APA, 1983, p. 27).

Does the statement of purpose adequately and logically orient the reader? (APA, 1983, p. 29)

[Punctuation marks] cue the reader to the pauses, inflections, subordination, and pacing normally heard in speech. (APA, 1983, p. 32)

If your paragraphs run longer than a page in typescript, you are probably straining the reader's thought span. (APA, 1983, p. 34)

Strong negative reactions on the part of the reader may occur as well, as cases of "grating jargon" or "boring prose:"

Federal bureaucratic jargon has had the greatest publicity, but scientific jargon also grates on the reader, encumbers the communication of information, and often takes up space unnecessarily. (APA, 1983, pp. 33-34)

Although writing only in short, simple sentences produces choppy and boring prose, writing exclusively in long, involved sentences creates difficult, sometimes incomprehensible material. (APA, 1983, p. 34)

Irritations are possible, as are lapses of attention or "interruptions" of thought, and these must be prevented via careful use of language:

Help the reader focus on the content of your paper by avoiding language that may cause irritation, flights of thought, or even momentary interruptions. (APA, 1983, p. 43)

Overall, this reader is difficult to please. Not only are flights of thought and interruptions a function of "sexual, ethnic, or other kinds of bias" (p. 43), but other "inappropriate" embellishments in

writing, such as metaphor and "heavy alliteration, accidental rhyming, poetic expressions, and cliches" (p. 43). At times, one must walk a veritable tightrope with this reader at times. In regard to describing one's methods, "given insufficient detail, the reader is left with questions; given too much detail, the reader is burdened with irrelevant information" (APA, 1983, p. 26). The same is true with commas or dashes, where "overuse may annoy the reader; underuse may confuse" (APA, 1983, p. 32). And the writer may offend readers even unintentionally: "Imprecise word choices, which occur frequently in journal writing, may be interpreted as biased, discriminatory, or demeaning even if they are not intended to be" (APA, 1983, p. 43). As a result, "when you refer to a person or persons, choose words that are accurate, clear, and free from bias" (APA, 1983, p. 44).

The APA author, shown in CHAPTER III to be a well-intentioned being, is encouraged to be "thoughtful" in consideration of this reader.

Correct grammar and thoughtful construction of sentences ease the reader's task and facilitate unambiguous communication. (APA, 1983, p. 36)

Another consideration in writing is that of maintaining the reader's focus of attention. Such a concern demands the thoughtful use of language. (APA, 1983, p. 43)

An author's thoughtful preparation [of tables] makes the difference between a table that

confuses and one that informs the reader. (APA, 1983, p. 84)

Thus, a would-be author is stimulated to meet a stern, demanding, potentially irritable and offended reader with a text which displays a thoughtful consideration of "the language" and of this reader's every reading need.

But who is this reader, really? In part, they are "authorities:"

To ensure the quality of each contribution--that the work is original, valid, and significant--authorities in the subspecialities of a field carefully review submitted manuscripts. (APA, 1983, p. 167)

This makes sense when readers are "reviewers," of course, but also appears applicable to a much more general reader in the Manual. For example, "experienced investigators" may be ones who will not only read but replicate one's work:

The Method section describes in detail how the study was conducted. Such a description enables the reader to evaluate the appropriateness of your methods and the reliability and validity of your results. It also permits experienced investigators to replicate the study if they so desire. (APA, 1983, p. 25)

A key word here is "replicate," however, because it is in this precise sense that the reader is not only the Other but "me." First of all, the journal reader knows what the Manual reader knows (e.g., "Assume that your reader has a professional knowledge of statistics" (p. 27)); they share membership in a

"wide professional audience." One need not overdevelop the history and background of one's problem, but one must "develop the problem with enough breadth and clarity to make it generally understood by as wide a professional audience as possible" (APA, 1983, p. 25).

Secondly, one may take the place of the reader. In quizzing oneself about one's report, one is directed to ask, "If the report came from another researcher, would you read it? Would it influence your work" (p. 19)? A certain commonality of perception, an interobserver reliability, is possible not only at the level of method but of writing.⁷ The stern reader may not only be replaced, but aligned with or interiorized. In the Discussion section of a manuscript, "each new statement should contribute to your position and to the readers' [sic] understanding of the problem" (p. 28). An advance in one's position is coextensive with the reader's understanding of one's problem. Similarly, "by reporting conclusions in the present tense, you allow readers to join you in deliberating the matter at hand" (p. 33). A merger with the reader is not only possible but desirable. One may swap places or align with readers, while reading the Manual, in such a way as to shift one's point of view from that of reader to that of writer and vice versa.

The interiorization of the reader, if it is an interiorization of the demanding, easily confused and upset reader, reinstates the process observed in CHAPTER III wherein the author's ideas about research must comingle with their critique along the dimensions of the experimental formula. It suggests, in addition, not only the interiorization of a formula, but adds more to an understanding of what is entailed in the assumption of group membership. Namely, the possibility of trading places with the others in the text involves the reader in a complex phenomenon enabling one to assume the identity of any character in the Manual. Consider the ways in which a colleague may become like an editor:

Because you have spent so much time close to your material and have thus lost some objectivity, you may not immediately see certain problems, especially inferred contradictions. A reading by a colleague may uncover such problems. (APA, 1983, pp. 32-33)

Or like reviewers:

Even better, get critiques from two colleagues, and you have a trial run of a journal's review process. (APA, 1983, p. 35)

Or still another use of a "reviewer," who could be you or your colleague:

In a sense, a review article is tutorial in that the author defines and clarifies the problem; summarizes previous investigations in order to inform the reader of the state of current research; identifies relations, contradictions, gaps, and inconsistencies in the literature; and suggests the next step or steps in solving the problem. (APA, 1983, p. 21)

We are thus in a way each other and our own critics. I am a colleague among colleagues who can be editors, reviewers, or readers. As "professionals," we can regulate ourselves. A multiplicity of opportunities for identification mark the Manual, setting each and all in networks of criticism and identification.

The reading of the Manual, in some measure, involves a step into the complex of institutionalized relations within APA around the production of discourse. Various parts of the Manual become like a tour of an imaginary white-collar factory. One can see the bureaucratic context in which discourse is produced. For Jean-Paul Sartre (1976), a development like the one just described is the very substance of bureaucracy:

It is in this triple relation--other-direction of the inferior multiplicity; mistrust and serializing (and serialized) terror at the level of peers; and the annihilation of organisms in obedience to the superior organism--which constitutes what people call bureaucracy. (p. 658)

The dependent, other-direction of each character occurs in a milieu of peers who can double as editors, critics, writers, the typist, etc.--all in relative subordination to APA as a superior organism.

The interchangeability of roles leaves one ever on guard in one's style and threatens to rid it of any true originality. As Sartre (1976) has observed,

"the institutional moment, in the group, corresponds to what might be called the systematic self-domestication of man by man" (p. 606).

Still, this self and other domestication is not everywhere manifest in the group portrayed to the reader in the Manual. For if group membership is also a function of the display of a scientific semiotics in one's manuscript, and if this manuscript displays a commitment to science, then it may also become a pledge of one's willingness to enter the group's network of relations. Joining this group is thus not simply a way of nesting oneself in an institutional hall of mirrors--reflecting often conflicting images, as in when one is both typist and author or one's own "colleague" and editor--but akin to achieving membership in a fraternity.

The objection that writing is an individual affair, that it is a private, mediated relation of self and work, would thus be supportable only insofar as the internalization of all of the others which occurs in a reading of the Manual is either forgotten or becomes coextensive with prior writing and thinking selves. To the extent that readers of the Manual internalize and superimpose the "others" in their writing they remain supervised and edited, even in the apparent isolation of writing. The image of individual writer/owners "putting their thoughts on

paper" (p. 35) creates both a sense of isolated individuals and a sense of this isolation as a group isolation. The viewpoint of the Manual narrator is as if in the room with this individual author, whereas a view "from above" and with some spatial distance would show many authors doing the same thing, as would the view of group or social psychology. This would make W. R. Bion's (1959) statement, that "no individual, however isolated in time and space, should be regarded as outside a group or lacking in active manifestations of group psychology" (p. 153), important for an understanding of a Manual reader's attempt to write. It is an unseen group, whose member roles may blend or be exchanged, which takes residence in the writer well in advance of putting pen to paper.

The Author

The would-be author-reader of the Manual remains the focus of these multiple role possibilities. It is primarily (though not entirely) the shoulders of the author, for example, on which the major burden of product responsibility is placed. The author must not only follow the rules, internalize editors and reviewers, and be thoughtful and considerate of readers, but must assume the major responsibility for his or her product. Compare the following quotes:

Authors are responsible for the statistical method selected and for all supporting data. Access to computer analyses of data does not relieve the author of responsibility for selecting the appropriate statistic. To permit interested readers to challenge the statistical analysis, an author should retain the raw data after publication of the research. The usual practice is to keep the data for at least 5 years. (APA, 1983, p. 80)

Authors are responsible for all information in a reference. Accurately prepared references help establish your credibility as a careful researcher. An inaccurate or incomplete reference 'will stand in print as an annoyance to future investigators and a monument to the writer's carelessness' (Bruner, 1942, p. 68). (APA, 1983, p. 112)

The author is responsible for the quality of presentation of all aspects of the paper: correct spelling and punctuation, accurate quotations with page numbers, complete and accurate references, relevant content, coherent organization, legible appearance, and so forth. (APA, 1983, p. 136)

In turn, there is a self-absolution of APA and its editors of any responsibility for this product.

The Association and the editors of its journals assume no responsibility for the statements and opinions advanced by contributors to APA journals. (APA, 1983, pp, 20-21)

This is presented in the context of having accessed principle 7f. from the "Ethical Principles of Psychologists" (APA, 1981) to assist in the formal characterization of authorship. Insisting that the dependent author follow the Manual, and investing him or her with ethical responsibility, juxtaposed with the APA corporation as a non-responsible, super-ethical entity, reveals a contradictory state

of affairs worked out over the figure of the author. How is APA like a cable-tv company which broadcasts pornography and claims no responsibility for it? And unlike magazines, for instance, in which such a claim would be absurd? It is as if at the moment of publication, the formative and controlling interest of "The Association and the editors" is concealed behind a display of author originality and responsibility.

The work of French philosopher and historian, Michel Foucault, entitled "What is an Author?" provides a context for considering how this authorial responsibility makes sense. Foucault (1977) recalls that,

In our culture... discourse was not originally a thing, a product, or a possession, but an action situated in a bi-polar field of sacred and profane, lawful and unlawful, religious and blasphemous. It was a gesture charged with risks long before it became a possession caught in a circuit of property values. (p. 124)

This expands the perspective introduced earlier in regard to "excesses" and the need to respect and follow Manual readers and authors, respectively. In the context of an author's responsibility, APA emerges as analogous to a church in the establishment of a "bipolar field," not in the blatant terminology of sacred and profane, but in a terminology of appropriate/inappropriate, acceptable/unacceptable, biased/unbiased, clear/unclear, correct/incorrect,

and so on. The section on "Grammar" in Chapter 2 is one example of a series of rule-making with exemplars of correct and incorrect applications (pp. 36-43).

The characterization of authorship is permeated with responsibility. In some respects, the very definition of an author in the group, his or her very principle of identity, is that of the one invested with responsibility. As suggested in the last chapter, one is led to believe that authors are at the root of what is wrong in the writing community; where there is trouble in writing, it is authors who are responsible.

Identification of the responsible author is an important concern in the Manual. In this regard, Foucault (1977) makes a pertinent point:

Speeches and books were assigned real authors, other than mythical or important religious figures, only when the author became subject to punishment and to the extent that his discourse was considered transgressive. (p. 124)

The pains Manual authors take to identify this agent are great. They are focused around the constitution of by-lines. A typology of "major" or "substantial" versus "minor" or "lesser" contributions is elaborated, as is the nature of authorial responsibility for determining who will be given by-line status, in the context of Ethical Principle 7f. Moreover, a great care is given to the form the author's name and affiliation take:

The preferred form of an author's name is first name, middle initial, and last name. This designation reduces the likelihood of mistaken identity. Use the same by-line designation on all manuscripts; that is, do not use initials on one manuscript and the full name on a later one. Omit all titles... (APA, 1983, p. 23)

The affiliation identifies where the author or authors conducted the investigation and is usually an institution. Include a dual affiliation only if two institutions contributed substantial financial support to the study. Add the author's department in the by-line only if it is other than a department of psychology. When an author has no institutional affiliation, list the city and state of residence below the author's name. If the institutional affiliation has changed since the work was completed, give the current affiliation in the author identification notes. (APA, 1983, p. 23)

The situation of a responsible author in relation to a spatio-temporal, usually institutional, nexus is critical. The locatability of an author seems to entail two different implications. First, it is as if it must be possible to "ID" and locate a responsible party--while minimizing the possibility for "mistaken identity"--as if a crime were about to occur. Establishing "intent," that is, good intentions, would, of course, be involved. But the better metaphor might be that one could know where to send both congratulations and the bill (as in the case, e.g., of "author's alterations"). For "authorship is reserved for persons who receive primary credit and hold primary responsibility for a published work" (APA, 1983, p. 20). Authorship becomes a manifestation of "APA accreditation," analogous to

the accountability taken on by a doctoral program or an internship site, which itself requires submission, for example, of a voluminous "self-study" to APA and contains systems of "peer review." The author becomes a possible (credit?) "reference" to others via systems of citation, or alternatively, a credit to a profession whose scientific credibility is at stake. In any case, Foucault's (1977) reminder of the transgressive character of discourse links concepts of authorial responsibility with problems of excesses and perhaps the need to control reading itself which attends the fear of misreadings of psychologists' intentions.

Bodies

If transgression is possible and localizable in the author, questions as to the symbolic nature of specific offenses remain.

The multiple use of "body" and bodily terminologies in the Manual creates a subtle imagery which may help to unravel the nature of transgression in psychological discourse.

Certain parts of the text are referred to as "body." For example,

Do not include in an abstract information that does not appear in the body of the paper. (APA, 1983, p. 23)

The body of a paper opens with an introduction

that presents the specific problem under study and describes the research strategy. (APA, 1983, p. 24)

Tables 12, 13, and 14 are examples of different kinds of tables as they would appear in a manuscript, that is, as prepared on a typewriter. These tables show the proper form and arrangement of titles, headings, data in the body of the table, footnotes, and rules. (APA, 1983, p. 84)

The body of the table contains the data. (APA, 1983, p. 90)

There are bodies of text and bodies containing data. And an upright spatialization of the body gives the reader "headings" on top--as in, "The headings just above the body of the table ... identify the entries in the vertical columns in the body of the table" (p. 88)--and, of course, "footnotes" at the bottom or end. Then there is the "appendix," as well as a whole inherited philology of "manuscripts" (manuscriptum), "capitalization" (capitalis), "articles" (articulus), etc. which historically and sometimes currently contain bodily derivatives (cf. also McLuhan, 1964). Like an actual human appendix, "an appendix, although seldom used, is helpful if the detailed description of certain material is distracting in, or inappropriate to, the body of the paper" (p. 28).

The use of a terminology of bodies may also relate to the use of growth and maturation terminologies in regard to language. For example,

This third edition of the Manual continues to reflect the maturing of the language of

psychology and incorporates current national and international standards of scientific communication. (APA, 1983, p. 10)

The "maturation of language" no longer seems absurd if it is linked with the growth and development of bodies of, for example, literature, text, and tables.

But the circulation of a terminology of bodies is thus not confined to text. APA as a "corporation" (from corporis = body) claims for itself the same ontologico-legal status as an individual body and as it exists in the context of other corporations. It is an organization, that is, a body with organs incorporated just prior to the emergence of the first Manual prototype in 1929. But what kind of body is it?

The American Psychological Association, founded in 1892 and incorporated in 1925, is the major organization of psychologists in the United States. More than 54,000 psychologists are members. The purpose of the APA is to advance psychology as a science, as a profession, and as a means of promoting human welfare. One way the APA accomplishes this purpose is by disseminating psychological information through its publication program, of which scholarly journals are a major component. (APA, 1983, p. 165).

It is thus a moral and preservative grouping of psychologists as well as a lawfully organized body (a corporation). A fantastical reciprocity of benefit and sustenance is possible around its literary disseminations, because "just as each investigator benefits from the publication process, so the body of

scientific literature depends for its vitality on the active participation of individual investigators" (p. 17).

APA is capable of producing, in addition to bodies of text, bodies of individuals, themselves invested with value and relations to other organs or bodies. For example, "A parent body precedes a subdivision (e.g., University of Michigan, Department of Psychology)" (p. 116) or,

As the principal advisory body, the APA Council of Editors reviewed the changes of policy appearing in the third edition. At its meeting in June 1982, the Publications and Communications Board enthusiastically endorsed the third edition as a means of improving the quality of communication in psychology. (APA, 1983, p. 10)

From this last perspective, transgression as a possibility in the production of discourse is part of an imagery of bodily transgression present in the Manual. Bodily terminologies are employed in subtle, multi-tiered domains of (APA) organization and text.

With membership in the corporis at stake, the multiple possibilities for transgression are focalized in the would-be author-reader. Being incorporated by a more or less devouring reader, striving toward slippery ideals of expression, displaying commitment to a formulaic archivalization of text, and obeying the Manual from a position of need all combine to make scientific writing a highly

overdetermined practice with ubiquitous possibilities of transgression. This is reinforced with the invocation of parental-like authority in references to the body, as in, "The policies and practices of the APA journals are based on formal actions of APA's governing bodies and on informal consensus and tradition" (p. 166) and "The rules provided in the Publication Manual are drawn from an extensive body of psychological literature..." (p. 11). Writing psychologists are apparently not in a position to dispute the APA's authority on these matters, having consensus, tradition, and an extensive literature behind them.

The Shame of Authors

The would-be author-reader in the Manual becomes the site not only of credit and responsibility, but of a whole set of conflicts and contradictions. The body imagery provides a sublime texture of taboo and transgression around which a number of processes are mobilized. Various group formations are activated. Bodies exist within bodies. Identifications are multiple. Readers are capable of trading places with anyone in the APA corporis and at the same time vulnerable to dis-memberment as the result, for example, of wordiness, abruptness, bias, or ambiguity. The narrator addresses "you, the author"

in some places and simply "the author" in others.⁸ As a reader, I am drawn in and out, accredited or rejected, along with the flow of bodies of text which I may identify ("legally") as "mine" or as APA's. Sometimes I am scolded and told to respect my elders, or I am taken in and warned of the process ahead. I am in addition allowed a limited freedom, as long as "the use of rules [is] balanced with good judgement" (APA, 1983, p. 32)

The would-be author should exhibit something new and original in his or her work. In each author resides the possibility of offering up the next "idea" around which members could coalesce:

The writing process initially requires a thorough review and evaluation of previous work in the literature, which helps acquaint one with the field as a whole and establishes whether one's idea is truly new and significant. (APA, 1983, p. 17).

Ironically, inherent in conformity to Manual ideals exists the possibility of asserting one's individuality:

Thoughtful concern for the language can yield clear and orderly writing that sharpens and strengthens your personal style and allows for individuality of expression and purpose. Clear communication, which is the prime objective of scientific reporting, may be achieved by presenting ideas in an orderly manner and by expressing oneself smoothly and precisely. (APA, 1983, p. 31)

The author is further an owner of his product, according to law and the Manual, until, of course,

the transfer of copyright. The author can own "manuscripts" the way he might own a TV or a car; until signed over to APA and published (publicized), they remain "private property."

Authors are protected by federal statutes against unauthorized use of their unpublished manuscripts... Until the author formally transfers copyright..., the author owns the copyright on an unpublished manuscript and all exclusive rights due the owner of the copyright of a published work are also due the author of an unpublished work.

The quality of one's private product and its "value" to the group is a matter of uncertainty while the writer is still an owner. The writer-reader is not yet, in Foucault's (1977) terms, "consecrated" as an author. Before giving one's manuscript over to APA, one must carefully assess its value:

Before committing a report to manuscript form, you as a would-be author should critically review the quality of the research and ask if the research is sufficiently important and free from flaws to justify publication. (APA, 1983, p. 19)

This problem of the value of one's private body of text is transformed if one becomes an author. An author is one who has traversed the moment in which he or she was an owner of a product of questionable value to a moment in which ownership is surrendered and supplanted by credit and responsibility. One's name is by-lined and becomes a mechanism, an "author-function," for distinguishing the identity of a particular tract of discourse. In this respect,

Foucault (1977) asserts that,

unlike a proper name, which moves from the interior of discourse to the real person outside who produced it, the name of the author remains at the contours of texts--separating one from the other, defining their form, and characterizing their mode of existence. (p. 123)

One or more individuals give their names to a body of text, thus distinguishing it from others, individualizing it, and contradicting the conformity which conditioned its acceptability. Readers may be reassured that it was not, for example, simply machine-generated. And everyone must give a name, and give it in a special way: "Every manuscript has a by-line consisting of two parts: the name of the author and the institution where the investigation was conducted" (APA, 1983, p. 23).

The establishment of the identity of the author becomes, in another respect, a symbolic event. In one sense, an identification with the author-character in the Manual is achieved. One no longer owns a manuscript but becomes an author. A trade occurs between writer and publisher: the writer exchanges the concrete manuscript for the symbolic status of "authorship."

A psychoanalytic reading of this can be interwoven with its politico-legal understanding along the axis of private and public property. Recalling some key points suggests a number of

interpretive possibilities concerning Manual readers' psychological dilemmas. First, the author must write like "we do," which entails a particular organization of reporting and a suppression of those events not expressible through the experimental formula. Secondly, with this in view, Manual authors can be seen as reacting to flows of discourse in regard to how--full of excesses, quantitative and otherwise--it floods the publishing infrastructure. Part of the organized response to the fluxes set in motion by this flow is to attempt to control meaning, which means controlling not only the production of signifiers, but control over the processes of signification and thus, over readers. Third, the maintenance of the status quo in this process is in part accounted for where, in comingling, triangulation, and cross-identifications of characters, one can observe a variety of representations of readers dependent on Manual direction. Readers are not fully adult and thus, to some extent, not fully trained. Fourth, the employment of body imagery and the concomitant transgressive possibilities of discourse are prone to mobilize a number of primitive fantasies and practices which find a kind of focal scapegoat in the would-be-author-becoming-Author in the text. Adding to this the symbolic ascension or not of an author's

work to print may lead the would-be author-reader of the Manual to feel like his or her private products are vulnerable to being seen as public manifestations of being out of control with oneself.

Lack of control, expression which is not smooth, textual irritations, wordiness, disorderly writing, unkempt manuscripts, irregular syntax, offended readers, surplus meaning, etc.--all of this adds up to an intensification of control and supervisory functions the author must contend with in being accountable to the APA. Through control and conformity one becomes author-ized. The flows of discourse are privatized through the Manual, recalling how "the written language of psychology changes more slowly than psychology itself" (p. 10). This is coextensive with a civilization of discourse and an incorporation of new members. Taboo and transgression thus become related to bodily violations as they are mapped both onto oneself, one's writing and research, and onto colleagues, APA, and various APA bodies and organs. Rejection of manuscripts becomes not an embarrassment but a shame, since a kind of control is lost in the body, leaving undisciplined or unscientific psychologists publicly ashamed of their private, soiled productions. This shame may be felt in relation to images of the Public, the Scientific Community, Readers, or other

powerful audiences woven into the writer's consciousness. In turn, readers, reviewers, and editors, as characterized by Manual authors, become prone to oscillate between what might look from the viewpoint of psychoanalysis like obsessional and sadistic formations. The reader of the Manual, in attempts to control himself may, in a manner of speaking, identify with either the aggressor or the obsessor, incorporating these others with the hope of achieving authorship and an adult identity.

The representation of conflicted writing subjects is further accomplished by the introjection not of father but editor, not of brother but colleague. It is ironic that Freud (1965), in the Interpretation of Dreams, calls the repressive mechanisms associated with such processes in the individual the "agencies of censorship." Censorship here preserves governing bodies, allowing them to mature, and enables a deployment of moral individuals whose reports of events can be everywhere be trusted to have been written in a way that would not shame anyone in the community.

CHAPTER V

THE PRODUCTION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL DISCOURSE

I consider in this chapter Manual representations of the production of psychological discourse from the standpoint of what it is, how it is produced, and who is involved and affected. In the case of what it is, I will focus on the way printed journal psychology is characterized as a "thing." In the case of examining how psychological discourse is produced, I will draw attention to how the "discourse--thing" changes, and how this is in part a function of the many changes texts undergo in the processes of production. Finally, these production processes are described in the context of the relationships many people in the process have to the product and to each other. The Manual portrays an involved and specialized work force whose interests must be managed and aligned with those of the APA.

An examination of the what, how, and who of psychological discourse in the Manual brings into focus a number of contradictions which will in turn reframe issues raised in Chapters III and IV, among them censorship, dependency, and repression. In

addition, this reading yields an opportunity to assess the political valences informing these processes and relations.

The analyses and interpretations of this chapter should be understood in the context of publishing practices in Western society. Much of what is discussed is not unique to the Manual or the APA. Publication and copyright practices have a long and complex history. The attempt here is to examine some of the specific impacts these practices have in this situation, that is, the situation of publication in psychology.

The Discourse Thing:
Its Production, Conveyance, and Consumption

Like a wall that is built one brick at a time, the peer-reviewed literature in a field is built by single contributions that together represent the accumulated knowledge of a field. Each contribution must fill a place that before was empty, and each contribution must be sturdy enough to bear the weight of contributions to come. (APA, 1983, p. 167)

The possibility of the above statement, in which the literature is "like a wall" with single contributions as its "bricks," exists as a statement of the thingness of printed discourse. Print knowledge "fills a place" and "bears weight." It is a thing among things, a visible, palpable presence. In the Manual, "editorial style," as different from "writing style," is concerned with the presentation

of this thing, the printed word. The two styles are considered different. In the Manual's terms,

When editors or printers refer to style, they usually do not mean writing style; they mean editorial style, the rules or guidelines a publisher observes to ensure clear, consistent presentation of the printed word. (APA, 1983, p. 51)

Yet clarity and consistency are values sought not only in writing style, but in the transformation of writing into print. Print becomes a visualization of words, and the way words look is important. Anticipating this, authors of the Manual produce a sample manuscript whose looks serve as a model. "The sample paper and paper outlines at the end of this chapter. [4] show how a properly typed manuscript should look" (APA, 1983, p. 135).

Words are things in other respects also, as in "Do not break words at the end of a line" (APA, 1983, p. 13). Words exhibit here a kind of brittle materiality. The Manual uses the terminology of "your material" or "the material" consistently, yielding sentences like: "The appendix describes material other than journal articles: theses, dissertations, student papers, material for oral presentation, and brief reports" (APA, 1983, p. 12).

This material may take many forms and be distinguishable by, for instance, its "devices," as in the following:

Scientific prose serves a different purpose than creative writing does. Devices that are often found in creative writing... can confuse or disturb readers of scientific prose. Therefore, these devices should be avoided in writing that aims for clear and logical communication. (APA, 1983, p. 32)

These devices have value in relationship to a purpose, while appearing to remain inert as things. Devices, for instance, can serve as "links" for complex textual phenomena. For example: "Other transition devices [than pronoun transitions] are time links..., cause-effect links..., addition links..., or contrast links" (APA, 1983, p. 32). Devices and links speak of words as metallic or machine-like material that bears the mark of a human manufacturing, a designing of material in the service of some end.

The stillness of print appears to make possible and credible statements like the following: "In that sense, it [the Manual] is a transitional document: Its style requirements are based on the existing scientific literature rather than imposed on the literature" (APA, 1983, p. 10). It is customary in the Manual to discuss "the literature" as if it were singularly and spatially finite. The literature exists like the science or the profession. The Manual is simply "based on" it.

The spatialization of words surfaces as an important topic in the editorial chapter (Chapter 3) of the Manual. It is here that words are given

extension in two-dimensional space. In this longest chapter are many passages in which an effort to spatialize words constitutes the main action.

Consider the detail devoted to the "width" of tables:

Count characters in the widest entry in each column... and allow 3 characters for spaces between columns. If the count exceeds 50, the table will not fit across the width of most APA journal columns. If the count exceeds 100, the table will not fit across the width of most APA journal pages. To determine exact fit, count the characters in the journal for which you are writing and adjust your table if necessary. (APA, 1983, p. 93)

Great care is taken in this matter, which makes sense, given that "all published figures must fit the dimensions of a journal page" (p. 98)

Length is another dimension to consider in the spatialization of words. Issues of length are worked and reworked throughout the text. Compare the following segments:

A good title easily compresses to the short title used for editorial purposes and to the running head used with the published article. (APA, 1983, p. 22)

If a paper is too long, shorten it by stating points clearly and directly, confining the discussion to the specific problem under investigation, deleting or combining tabular material, eliminating repetition, and writing in the active voice. (APA, 1983, p. 22)

Short words and short sentences are easier to comprehend than long ones. A long technical term, however, may be more precise than several short words, and technical terms are inseparable from scientific reporting. (APA, 1983, p. 33)

Length and width together provide a geometry of print with various meanings. Short and long here refer to a valuation of space: a good title can be made shorter; a long paper can be shortened by stating points clearly and directly, yielding better comprehension; long terms, inseparable from scientific reporting, may be more precise, etc. As in the following, even "white space" is important:

Printing requirements restrict the use of rules in a table. Limit the rules to those that are necessary for clarity, and use horizontal rather than vertical rules. (Vertical rules are almost never used in APA journals.) Appropriately positioned white space can be an effective substitute for rules. (APA, 1983, p. 93)

Space on a page is portrayed as valuable in relationship to time and money. A saving of space may, as in the case of "figures," for example, involve a savings of time and money. "Combining like figures (e.g., two line graphs with identical axes) saves preparation time, production expense, and journal space" (APA, 1983, p. 98). A consideration of length similarly figures into the cost of reprints, since "reprint rates vary according to the length of the article and the number of copies ordered" (p. 163). And in the following quote, limits on length, translated spatially as a limit on "page allocations," are figured into a calculus of loss in which number of submissions, rejections, and other outlets for manuscripts are the variables. But

another, more subtle relationship is made between length of space (number of pages) and length of time (publication lag). Less pages equals less lag:

Each year the Publications and Communications Board provides an allotment of printed pages for each of the journals. In making such allocations, the Board considers the number of manuscripts submitted to a journal, the journal's acceptance rate and publication lag, the availability of other publication outlets, and the potential loss to psychology from delays in publication or from rejection of manuscripts caused by restrictions on the journal's page allocation. The Board requires each editor to adhere to the journal's page allocation and to keep publication lag from being unduly long. (APA, 1983, p. 166)

The spatialization of knowledge in two (or three) dimensions furthermore may give a sense of finality and completion in print. As the Manual claims, "research is complete only when the results are shared with the scientific community" (APA, 1983, p. 17). In this sense, publication punctuates research and formalizes a moment in research history. And as time and money can be saved (with, e.g., figures) or lost (e.g., in long publication lags), so too is the scientific journal a way of saving, a repository for the accumulation of knowledge:

The scientific journal is the repository of the accumulated knowledge of a field. In the literature are distilled the successes and the failures, the information, and the perspectives contributed by many investigators over many years. (APA, 1983, p. 17)

Knowledge, like capital, becomes a thing to be saved and accumulated. The "list of journals has

grown" (p. 179) over time and growth itself has acquired value. "Just as a disciplined scientific investigation contributes to the growth of a field, so does carefully crafted writing contribute to the value of scientific literature" (p. 31).

Importantly, this growth cannot be unrestrained. Writing must be carefully crafted. If articles are comparable to "bricks," still they must be high quality bricks. Articles are primary publications and must be unique. They must be alike, but not exactly. If the literature is like a wall, it must be more like a Mayan or Egyptian wall, with subtle differences carved out within a mass style. "Duplicate publication," in fact, violates the canons of primary publication as do "multiple submissions." In the first case, "substantial overlap in material submitted to the same or to different journals may render a manuscript unacceptable" (p. 168). In the second, "an author must not submit the same manuscript for concurrent consideration by two or more journals" (p. 167). The apparent possibilities of duplication or repeatability must be guarded against, which also renders the author responsible for managing manuscripts in an asymmetrical relationship to publishers. An author selects a single, "unique" tract of text and submits it

sequentially, while publishers and editors consider many manuscripts simultaneously.

Review by specialists constitutes a form of quality control over the product. "To ensure the quality of each contribution--that the work is original, valid, and significant--authorities in the subspecialties of a field carefully review submitted manuscripts" (APA, 1983, p. 167). However, the assessment of quality via the internalization of editorial functions and the identification with Manual ideals is a process already begun. One should already have assessed the "worth" of one's contribution, as in the following, where "... answers to questions about the quality of the research will determine whether the study is worth writing or is publishable" (APA, 1983, p. 18). Using an article by Bartol (1981), the Manual authors facilitate an author-reader's ability to establish this worth or merit: "The following checklist (based on Bartol, 1981) may also help in assessing the quality of content and in deciding whether the research is likely to merit publication" (p. 19). This checklist contains questions about a study's significance, originality, importance, reliability, validity, and design. One's writing must also be assessed according to its use-value, a concept itself related to the value of space (e.g., length). In titles, for

instance, one should "avoid words that serve no useful purpose; they increase length and can mislead indexers" (p. 23). The Manual itself is of value in these terms. Its originality is partly a function of its increased use-value, its difference from earlier editions, and its presentation of new material:

The third edition aims to be an even more useful guide for authors, editors, students, typists, and publishers. It amplifies and refines some parts of the second edition, reorganizes other parts, and presents new material. (APA, 1983, p. 11)

As noted above, primary journals must become repositories of new and original information. However, as in the manufacture of bricks, a certain conformity to a mass style is necessary. A "qualification" of new and original material is made such that appropriateness, brevity, clarity, and support of APA style is achieved. One can only be original within limits:

The goal of the APA primary journals is to publish information that is "new, true, important, and comprehensible" (DeBakey, 1976, p. 30). For this reason, editors and reviewers look for a manuscript that makes an original, valid, and significant contribution to an area of psychology appropriate to the journal to which it is submitted; conveys its message clearly and as briefly as its content permits; and is in a form that maintains the integrity of the style described in the Publication Manual. (APA, 1983, pp. 172-173)

Message, content, and information are to be conveyed as if on a conveyor belt, while remaining original and significant. This is partly a function

of the premium on conveyor space, as in the following:

Use no more words than are necessary to convey the meaning. (APA, 1983, p. 34)

A good figure conveys only essential facts. (p. 95)

Drawings should be prepared by a professional artist and should use the least amount of detail necessary to convey the point. (p. 98)

The "minimalist aesthetics" (from Katz, 1988, personal communication) of figures and drawings is developed coextensively with the activity of "conveyance," which itself has industrial or factory connotations associated with it. Interruptions in the conveyance of information have in CHAPTER III been seen as excesses and in CHAPTER IV as productive of waste material. Disorder, abruptness, uneconomical expression are, in the "industrial" sense, like raw material rejected as assembly-line trash and consigned to the slag heap of value-less discourse. Alternatively, the notions of order, continuity, and economy (of expression) make sense when the efficient conveyance of mass-produced, yet high quality discourse is the agenda.

In these terms, the notion of continuity takes on new meanings. Compare the following quotes:

Demonstrate the logical continuity between previous and present work. (APA, 1983, p. 25)

Thought units... must be orderly. So that readers will understand what you are presenting,

you must aim for continuity in words, concepts, and thematic development from the opening statement to the conclusion. (p. 32)

Punctuation marks contribute to continuity by showing relationships between ideas. (p. 32)

Continuity should be established between previous and present work, between ideas, and from opening statement to conclusion. A continuous flow of material is treated as both possible and desirable. And every conceptual "component" should march in line: "When involved concepts do require long sentences, the components should march along like people in a parade, not dodge about like broken-field runners" (APA, 1983, p. 34).

The reader marches with this flow of material as well. Continuity is sought in the reader's thought, which should itself parallel the flow of word-things. Writing should facilitate this. Devices, such as transition words, for example, "help maintain the flow of thought, especially when the material is complex or abstract" (APA, 1983, p. 32). Since the reader is only human, however, a loss of continuity is possible. The reader needs time to assimilate information.

Paragraphs that are too long, a more typical fault in manuscripts, are likely to lose the reader's attention. New paragraphs provide a pause for the reader--a chance to store one step in the conceptual development before beginning another. (APA, 1983, p. 34)

The reader, perhaps somewhat like a computer after all, needs a chance to "store" information in steps. Overload is possible. The reader may also need breaks from the potential monotony of scientific writing. "The discrete use of pronouns can often relieve the monotonous repetition of a term without introducing ambiguity" (p. 33).

This discourse is prone to be repetitive in several ways. Repetition in discourse threatens to overtake its originality and significance, be it in repetition of terms, tables which repeat text, or in the dual possibilities of duplicate publication and multiple submission. Compare the following on this:

Unlike most tables, which present quantitative data, some tables consist mainly of words.... Word tables illustrate the discussion in the text; they should not repeat the discussion. (APA, 1983, p. 90)

An author must not submit to an APA primary journal a manuscript that has been published in whole or in substantial part in another journal or in any readily available work, in English or in another language....The policy does exclude articles that have appeared in a publication that has been offered for public sale. (p. 167)

Problems of duplicate publication may arise when material is published simultaneously in a popular journal or magazine and in a scientific journal or when publication in a popular form precedes publication in a journal. (p. 168).

The individual investigator may at times fall subject to the repetitive aspect of psychological discourse on the productive side. The author avoids needless repetition in the process of becoming

familiar with the literature, and becoming meticulous in the "building" activity.

Familiarity with the literature allows an individual investigator to avoid needlessly repeating work that has been done before, to build on existing work, and in turn to contribute something new. A literature built of meticulously prepared, carefully reviewed contributions thus fosters the growth of a field. (APA, 1983, p. 17)

Redundancy is a problem, and "replication" studies are rarely acceptable. Although the process of conveying ideas becomes mechanical in the Manual, repetition, redundancy, and replication are taboo as are multiple submissions and duplicate publications.

The demands of "type," however, lead to the production of "typical" things. In the Manual, one way an author derives a practical organization of his or her writing activity is through attention given to a typical sample manuscript. "The sample one-experiment paper shows how a typical manuscript looks as prepared on a typewriter" (APA, 1983, p. 15), and "the sample paper and outlines also serve as models of the typical structure of manuscripts" (p. 135). The sample paper and sample outlines "are not actual manuscripts, and they have not been reviewed for content" (p. 147); rather, they function as "proto-typed" manuscripts or outlines for which content is apparently beside the point.

The typewriter itself is preserved as a machine to which others are subordinated. In fact, new technologies are evaluated in relationship to how they enhance or ease the production of typed form.

Users of equipment more sophisticated than an electronic typewriter are likely to find that the typing specifications described in this chapter are adaptable to individual systems; indeed; the new technology makes it easier than ever to produce a manuscript in the form specified in this chapter. (APA, 1983, p. 135)

Systems serve not only the productive but the consumptive side of discourse. Systems enable the easy location of material, as exemplified in the following statement:

Consistency of presentation and format within and across journal articles is an aspect of the scientific publishing tradition that enables authors to present material systematically and enables readers to locate material easily. (APA, 1983, p. 18)

A systematic presentation of material streamlines productive and consumptive processes. The Manual portrays an ideal system--represented in Figure 12 on page 171 by a flow-chart--which both highlights its vision of the systematic nature of the production process and is designed to ease assimilation of the Manual. The Manual itself has supposedly become easier to use: "A more thorough index and more examples have been added to help the user more easily find and apply style and policy rules" (p. 11). And the value of the products it administers becomes in

part a function of the ease with which this product is consumed. For example, "a good figure... is easy to read--its elements (type, lines, labels, etc.) are large enough to read with ease in the printed form" (p. 95).

Comfort, ease, and efficiency are built into and used to rationalize the production process.

Rules for the preparation of manuscripts should contribute to clear communication. Take, for example, the rule that some editors consider the most important: Double-space everything. A double-spaced manuscript allows each person in the publication process to function comfortably and efficiently: Authors and editors have space for handwritten notes; typists and printers can easily read all marks. Such mechanical rules, and most style rules, are usually the result of a confluence of established authorities and common usage. (APA, 1983, p. 11)

The organization of space entailed by double-spacing is directly conceived of as mechanical. These "mechanical rules" are further held to be "the result of a confluence of established authorities and common usage." Thus, at a confluence of established authorities and common usage exists a mechanization of writing which is rationalized in comfort and efficiency terms. Printed text becomes the palpable synthesis of language, machine, and authority.

Time and Money

In CHAPTER III, a consideration of time in the Manual was focused on sequencing. The reader is told

when to do what: all chapters of the Manual are to be read before writing; writing mimics the stages in which the research itself was conducted (introduction, methods, results, discussion); research is to be evaluated before committed to paper--and so on. This sequencing orients the reader to research and writing conventions and supports a developmental acquisition of internalized editorial functions.

Another aspect of time in the text, though, concerns the speed with which different activities are executed. For example, the Manual's design is held to accelerate a reader's assimilation of its material. It has done this, for example, via what are called "format aids." Included among them are the following:

A detailed table of contents, which lists the sections for each chapter, helps you locate categories of information quickly. (APA, 1983, p. 14)

Each page of the table of reference examples carries a tab so that you can immediately open the Manual to the reference examples without first going to the table of contents or the index. (p. 14)

The comprehensive index helps you locate page numbers for specific topics quickly. (p. 15)

The quickness and immediacy of apprehension is a value in the case of reading the Manual. The index, however, cannot be "comprehensive" without duplicating the text, so it should be added that the

Manual is to be quickly understood in the way its authors and publishers wish it to be understood.

There are other instances where quickness is a value, as in the speed with which an accepted manuscript must be processed. For example:

It is important to return the copy-edited manuscript to the APA journal office within 48 hours so that the manuscript can be sent to the printer on schedule. Delays in returning the manuscript can result in delayed publication. (APA, 1983, p. 161)

Similarly, "if you do not return proofs promptly, publication may be delayed" (p. 163). Delays in publication caused by authors of accepted manuscripts are frowned upon, as are lengthy publication lags. Some control over this is taken up in the figure of the editor, who can exercise some discretion about advancing or delaying publication:

Most APA editors publish articles in the order of their receipt. However, editors may (a) advance or delay publication of an article for the purpose of assembling issues on related topics or (b) advance publication of an article for reasons such as timeliness (e.g., brief articles of comment and rejoinder) or importance of material. (APA, 1983, p. 170)

Time is slowed down, however, in the preparation of manuscripts by authors. Careful, meticulous planning is required for each manuscript. The sheer number of manuscripts speeding toward editors no doubt informs this agenda. The more time an author invests in a manuscript, the more likely, it would seem, that self-selection and self-censorship would

slow and limit the flow of manuscripts. Those few getting through would in turn meet APA requirements, thus speeding the process at the other end. For the author, Manual writing strategies, however quickly apprehended, will only slow his or her pace. "These strategies [to improve writing style]... may require you to invest more time in a manuscript than you had anticipated" (APA, 1983, p. 35). Yet increasing an author's involvement by slowing him or her down is not without negative implications, for "because you have spent so much time close to your material and have thus lost some objectivity, you may not immediately see certain problems, especially inferred contradictions" (p. 32). It is by introducing still another step that this loss of objectivity can be regained, since "a reading by a colleague may uncover such problems" (pp. 32-33). Or, "you can usually catch omissions, irrelevancies, and abruptness by putting the manuscript aside and rereading it later" (p. 33). More steps can be introduced (see p. 33) to the extent that an author becomes aligned with the ideals of writing upheld in the Manual and will continue to, in a word, "obsess" over a manuscript.

One could from here articulate a two-phase process of production, each operating according to a different temporality. There is the author phase in which activity is to be slowed; what follows is the

APA phase in which activity is to be accelerated. Use of time in the author phase both qualifies the product and socializes the author (cf. CHAPTER III). In the APA phase, "without APA style conventions, the time and effort to review and edit manuscripts would prohibit timely and cost-effective publication and would make clear communication harder to achieve" (APA, 1983, p. 10). In the APA phase, as Benjamin Franklin said, time is money.

In the APA production phase, a variety of time and money connections occur. In the passage on "author's alterations" is established one form of this relation: Time well used in the author phase can spare an author some expense.

Take the time to review the edited manuscript carefully. The printer will typeset the manuscript as edited. All changes made later to the typeset proof for a reason other than making the proof agree with the edited manuscript are charged to you as author's alterations. (APA, 1983, p. 161)

Limit changes on these printed proofs to corrections of printer's errors and to updates of reference citations or addresses. This is not the time to rewrite the text. Changes that reflect preferences in wording should have been made at the time the edited manuscript was reviewed. (p. 161)

Numerous author's alterations not only are costly but also can cause delays in publication and often lead to new errors. You can easily avoid alteration charges if you carefully review the edited manuscript before it is typeset. (pp. 162-163)

From another standpoint, referred to earlier in terms of the premium on space, the product itself achieves value in money terms. The transfer of copyright from author to APA renders APA owner of material which gets a per-page rate when copied.

APA owns the copyright on material published in its journals.... APA normally grants permission [to copy or reproduce articles] contingent upon permission by the author, inclusion of the APA copyright notice on the first page of reproduced material, and payment of a per-page fee. (APA, 1983, p. 169)

Libraries are permitted to photocopy beyond the limits of U.S. copyright law provided that the per-copy fee is paid through the Copyright Clearance Center, 21 Congress Street, Salem, Massachusetts 01970. (p. 169)

But this gets a bit ahead of the issue, for there is a way in which the two-phase structure--in which the agendas of quality and socialization are replaced by money--cannot account for the pervasiveness of time and money preoccupations in the Manual. Efficiency and economy reach back to the very preparation of a manuscript, as in the following:

A properly prepared manuscript, once accepted for publication, facilitates the work of the copy editor and the typesetter (hereinafter called printer), minimizes the possibility of errors, and is more accurate and more economical to publish. (APA, 1983, p. 135).

Furthermore, the author is told a good deal about the cost of tables and different kinds of figures, from early in Chapter 1 into the dense editorial interior.

To report the data, choose the medium that presents them clearly and economically. Tables provide exact values and can efficiently illustrate main effects; they are less expensive than figures to reproduce. Figures of professional quality attract the readers eye and best illustrate interactions and general comparisons, but they are imprecise and are expensive to reproduce. (APA, 1983, p. 27)

Tables are complicated to set in type and, therefore, are more expensive to publish than text. For this reason, they are best reserved for important data directly related to the content. However, a well-constructed table can be economical in that the author, by isolating the data from the text, enables the reader to quickly see patterns and relationships of the data not readily discernable in text. (p. 83)

Keep in mind that pen-and-ink figures, which can almost always be reproduced as line art, will often be less expensive to prepare and reproduce than, for example, halftone pencil drawings. (p. 100)

Thus, time and money become nested with one another and inscribed in the reader's consciousness from the beginning. From the earliest moments of manuscript production--since the author ideally has read all chapters before beginning--APA's time and money agendas are to be taken up by the author.

One might object that this is so only in relation to marginal material: for example, tables and figures. Yet a far more subtle inscription occurs at the level of text in reference to "economy of expression," as in CHAPTER III. Economy of expression becomes the very embodiment of a conversion of time into money. This is a complex process whereby length of time in print becomes length in space and vice

versa. Long words, sentences, and manuscripts take longer to produce (on APA's end) and are difficult to consume. Moreover, time spatialized in words can be wasted. One should "say only what needs to be said" (p. 33). And "the author who is frugal with words not only writes a more readable manuscript but also increases the chances that the manuscript will be accepted" (p. 33). An author-reader must "use no more words than are necessary to convey the meaning" (p. 34), and is asked in this sense to be time and cost conscious.

The Expression of Ideas (Chapter 2) must be orderly, smooth, economical, and clear so as to speed not only production but consumption. Delays in publication, a subversion of timeliness, can create lengthy publication lags. Authors delay submission with a variety of activities which themselves are oriented toward the acceleration of production at the other end. Once the publication apparatus appropriates material, time is of the essence. Because quality has now been subordinated to efficiency, from this moment forward, a change of mind is costly.

From the industrial point of view, this makes the Manual analogous to the report of a great "time and motion" study (cf. Taylor, 1947). Each role in the process has been analyzed and sequenced. Agendas

of economy and efficiency give to "communication" business connotations, making the communication of "carefully crafted" ideas comparable to the way Montgomery Ward connected telegraph and train for the "communication" of consumer goods. As yet, however, the print medium remains a clumsy, problem-riddled, multimeaningful formalization of ideas such that "devices that attract attention to words, sounds, or other embellishments instead of to ideas are inappropriate in scientific writing" (p. 43). Certain devices upset the flow of ideas. Time, that is to say, the author's time, must be taken to rid print of as many of its inefficiencies as possible. However, this is overlaid with an ethics and aesthetics of writing in which words are to become flash-frozen and deployed in a manner that reveals a desire for ideas to remain formless and be conveyed at virtually electronic, that is to say, timeless speeds. Given the empirico-scientific tradition in which the Manual exists, its assumptions about the possibility of separating "ideas" from their formalization seems remarkably Platonic. The demands of print appear to subvert the clean conveyance of pure ideas and are part of form and content contradictions, to which I will now turn.

Form and Content

To some extent, the Manual articulates a distinction between content or ideas and the form they take. At various points in the text, content becomes something an author provides, while the form it will take is the province of the Manual. For example, "writers who conscientiously use the Manual will express their ideas in a form and a style both accepted by and familiar to a broad, established readership in psychology" (APA, 1983, p. 11). It is "their" individual ideas which require formalization. Form may also be background for and subordinate to content. Form should recede behind its impeccable content, allowing readers an undistracted encounter with ideas.

These rules [of style] introduce the uniformity necessary to convert manuscripts written in many styles to printed pages edited in one consistent style. They spare readers from a distracting variety of forms throughout a work and permit readers to give full attention to content. (APA, 1983, p. 11)

Questions of content may precede those of form, as in the following:

A section on evaluating content (section 1.02) lists questions you can use--before you begin writing--to decide whether the research is likely to merit publication. (APA, 1983, p. 15)

Similarly, form may be addressed apart from content, for "both journal editors and copy editors introduce changes in manuscripts to correct errors of form, to

achieve consistency with APA style, or to clarify expression" (APA, 1983, p. 159). The way Chapter 3 on editorial style is introduced lays no claim on content, but instead "defines the forms that over the years have been accepted in APA journals and that now are described as APA style" (p. 12).

When printed form is addressed, the stark visibility of the word-thing, the signifier, may be seen as a thing-in-itself, devoid of signification from the vantage point of a printer or copy editor. For example,

In general, remember that the copy editor and the printer, who will convert the manuscript into a printed version, usually do not have mathematical backgrounds and will reproduce what they see, not what a mathematician knows. (APA, 1983, p. 82)

From another standpoint, the formalization of the word becomes significant, as the "United States Code" instates copyright ownership from the moment a work is made tangible:

Under the Copyright Act of 1976 (Title 17 of the United States Code), an unpublished work is copyrighted from the moment it is fixed in tangible form, for example, typed on a page. (APA, 1983, p. 168)

Ideas without form are not copyrighted. Thus, form or style and content or ideas exist in discrete registers in the Manual, at least in these moments. Form becomes merely a limit to or a prop of content.

In the Manual, issues of form appear superficially to dominate questions of content. Only a little more than a page is directly given over to content in the first chapter, entitled "Content and Organization of a Manuscript." As mentioned above, content or ideas for an investigation are implied to preexist the form they will take. The successive chapters of the Manual thus enable a stepwise formalization of one's original ideas.

Chapters in the Manual provide substantively different kinds of information and are arranged in the sequence in which one considers the elements of manuscript preparation, from initial concept through publication. (APA, 1983, p. 14)

Because content is given so little explicit attention, and the chapters develop the way they do, a reader is primed to accept a simple form/content dichotomy.

While the individual author-reader is portrayed as having an original idea which the Manual will help express in acceptable form, an illusion is cast that the Manual is concerned merely with form. The discussion of the proper "expression of ideas" follows the establishment of "content and organization" in the sequence of chapters, implying that one organizes the writing before expressing ideas. Yet organization is still at stake in this second chapter, since "Chapter 2, Expression of Ideas", emphasizes the importance of organizing one's

thinking and writing and of making every word contribute to clear and concise communication" (APA, 1983, pp. 11-12). This quote, it could be argued, can still be read as not saying which words to use. Within certain constraints, there remains a free play of ideas or content. Once organized, ideas can be expressed "within the manuscript:"

Although each chapter is autonomous, each chapter also develops from the preceding chapter. For example, chapter 1 explains how to organize the parts of a manuscript, and chapter 2 describes how to express specific ideas within the manuscript. (APA, 1983, p. 14)

It is thus "how," not "what," that the Manual addresses. A "within" is posited over which the Manual claims no jurisdiction.

This occurs in the early part of the Manual and is thus, in its terms, about the early moments of writing. This early division gives way, however, as the text proceeds. It not only gives way in the Manual but in the changes in form that an actual work goes through. First of all, "you will not type your manuscript until you have organized and written it" (APA, 1983, p. 14). Once it has been typed, as mentioned earlier, it circulates in the field of state copyright codes. After acceptance it becomes a "'copy' manuscript (which will become a typeset article)" (p. 189). Before becoming an article, however, a work passes through two intermediate steps

where an accepted manuscript is transformed such that content and form become indistinguishable. First the manuscript becomes a "copy-edited" manuscript, and subsequently, a "proof." These steps occur only once copyright transfer has occurred, since "an article will not be published until the editor receives the signed copyright transfer form" (p. 159).

A copy-edited manuscript is "marked" by the symbolic presence of a copy editor who anonymously uses proofreader marks. What is key is that with the transfer of copyright ownership, the "substance" of the manuscript can no longer be changed without approval. "Substantive changes [in copy-edited manuscripts] must be approved by the journal editor" (APA, 1983, p. 159). Along with this, the author-reader's writing on this product is put under censure. They are told, for instance: "Do not erase the copy editor's marks because such changes often result in typesetting errors" (p. 161).

The stakes increase when manuscripts have been typeset, that is, when copy manuscripts are themselves "no longer usable" (APA, 1983, p. 189). "If you make extensive additions or deletions on the proof, the journal editor must approve the changes" (p. 162). At this point a change of either form or content (since they now appear indistinguishable) introduces a number of serious problems, for

All changes at the proof stage that result from your own error, omission, or failure to review the edited manuscript are charged to you as author's alterations; such charges include changing the edited version at the proofreading stage to reinstate the wording before editing (APA, 1983, p. 161)

Time, space, money, form, and content take residence in the printed word in a way that a change in one yields a change in the others.

The cost of author's alterations is computed according to the number of printed lines and pages affected by a change, and such alterations are costly.... When a change on the proofs is essential, you should plan the alteration to minimize cost and confusion. (APA, 1983, pp. 161-162)

The confusion set in motion seems a function of an upset of time and money conventions which attends a change of substance (form/content) at this time. A change of mind, initially perhaps a good thing, subsequently becomes costly. As in the case of a figure, for example,

any change... means that you need to arrange to have the figure redrawn and to submit a new glossy print of the figure. Because the printer must remake the negative of the figure, correction to figures are especially costly. (APA, 1983, p. 162)

The confusion associated with such changes appears associated with a blockage of the production line and the subsequent increase in expense and time delay. The responsible party, the author, bears the blame and the cost.

This is played out one step further, since "from time to time, errors occur in published journal articles" (APA, 1983, p. 163). And it is here that the early distinguishability of form/content/time/money gives way and is incorporated into the very preparation of manuscripts:

Because it is not the purpose of corrections to place blame for mistakes, correction notices do not identify the source of the error. the cost of typesetting a notice to correct your own error is charged to you as an author's alteration. Such a notice can be expensive..... You are more likely to avoid the kinds of errors requiring a correction notice if you carefully prepare the manuscript, and carefully review the article proofs. (APA, 1983, p. 164)

It is perhaps obvious to say that from the beginning a manuscript must appear assimilable by the production line. Thus,

The physical appearance of a manuscript can enhance the manuscript's impact or detract from it. On one hand, a well-prepared manuscript looks professional to editors and reviewers and may influence their decisions in a positive manner. On the other hand, mechanical flaws can sometimes lead reviewers to misinterpret content. (APA, 1983, p. 135)

"Mechanical flaws" are held to affect content and content is addressed in the guise of an address of form. In fact, the third edition has moved even more in this direction, since "part of the second edition's chapter 1 material on quality of content is now part of the discussion on review procedures and the editorial process in chapter 6" (APA, 1983, p. 11). This arrangement again supports the belief that

the Manual is about form. Yet on the other hand, it is often difficult to differentiate what is form from what is content. Consider the following:

By writing in the active voice, you can avoid dangling modifiers.

Incorrect: After separating the subjects into groups, Group A was tested.

Correct: After separating the subjects into groups, I tested Group A. (I, not Group A, separated subjects into groups.). (APA, 1983, p. 40)

A change of form introduces a change of content, in part with the addition of the "I" of the researcher. In another example, a change of form or "organization" is a change of content as well.

In the section on organization, an author-reader is told, in regard to "developing the background," to "discuss the literature but do not include an exhaustive historical review" (p. 25). This directive affects both form and content. This is so not only in terms of the length of the background section, but in regard to the content of a longer, deeper history. This longer history for most of the "content" of psychology may further change the very method of investigation, as in the case of experimental psychology, where in the late 19th century there was no difference between experimenter and subject. Ebbinghaus, Wundt, and other "fathers" of experimental psychology were themselves often the subjects. Likewise with Freud. That the experimental

report is the form a manuscript takes means that its content will, for example, sacrifice historical depth in favor of the content of hypotheses, control groups, subjects, procedures, statistics, and so on.

Alternatively, this suggests that in fact the manuscripts themselves become pure form, formality, since the formula of the experimental report, not exist as a principle of unification in a community fractured along the dimensions of research and practice.

Research writing itself can be seen as being formulaic and general, and rarely idiographic, even in N=1 studies in APA journals (cf. Budge, 1984).

This leads to a series of implications which attend the enablement of the psychological production apparatus. They are related to and interact with transformations in form which constitute product and producer, governing their sensual and intellectual relations with discourse.

Labor, Class, Silence

To explore this requires a return to the physicality of the product as established earlier in this chapter. As a thing with mass and volume, a manuscript is "handled" by human agents throughout its many transformations. This is mentioned several times in the Manual:

Chapter 5, Submitting the Manuscript and Proofreading, provides instructions to authors on procedures for submitting the manuscript and for handling the manuscripts and proofs of articles accepted for publication. (APA, 1983, p. 12)

Do not use onionskin or erasable paper because these papers do not withstand handling. (p. 136)

The efficient handling of a manuscript is a responsibility that the author, editor, printer, and publisher share. (p. 157)

To protect the manuscript from rough handling in the mail, use a strong envelop stiffened with cardboard or corrugated filler. (p. 158)

Editorial review of a manuscript requires that the editors and reviewers circulate and discuss the manuscript. When submitting a manuscript to an APA journal, an author implicitly consents to the handling necessary for the review of the manuscript. (p. 168)

Themes in these quotes underscore the value of the product and the physicality of its being. In another sense, however, "consent" to "handle" "bodies" of manu- scripts ("hand" written) recalls the humanity of the thing and its production as involving physical, bodily gestures. "Good writing," as the Manual says, "is an art and a craft" (p. 31) and writing, the production of a "work" in psychology, is thus an activity recalled to its significance as a form of Manual labor.

The dependent quality of this manu-factory labor has been elaborated in CHAPTER IV of this study. In this milieu, a contradictory valorization and effacement of the author occurs. The author is

needed, but only insofar as the interests of psychological community are assimilated and served. Thus, "although writing for publication is sometimes tedious, the rewards of publication are many for the writer, the reader, and the science" (APA, 1983, p. 17). Every interest involved is served, and rewards given, when material is communicated clearly and concisely.

Just as each investigator benefits from the publication process, so the body of scientific literature depends for its vitality on the active participation of individual investigators. And individual scientific articles contribute most to the literature when they communicate material clearly and concisely. (APA, 1983, p. 17)

The author is not, of course, paid for scientific articles but given a kind of honor and status, which may affect tenure or employment prospects.

Further, an author must display involvement (cf. CHAPTER III) and aim for an interesting manner. "In describing your research, present the ideas and findings directly but aim for an interesting and compelling manner that reflects your involvement with the problem" (APA, 1983, p. 22). One should show involvement, yet not lose objectivity, write primary publications, yet retain a single style. From a Marxist point of view (esp. in the Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts (1975)), this labor would be considered a deeply alienated intellectual labor

of body and mind, of hands and things invested with value: some one else has seized ownership of the means, in this case, the very "hands," of production. Even as it is conceived and written, a manuscript is prepared to be turned over to someone else and "disowned" in exchange for the abstract value of authorship. A writer is estranged from his or her products; the very "hands" of production are the hands of a more powerful other.

This condition of alienation is both revealed and concealed by the contradictory characterization of authors.

Like being told to reflect "involvement," an author is told not to disavow his or her study by objectifying his or her presence:

Inappropriately or illogically attributing action in the name of objectivity can be misleading. For example, writing "The experimenter instructed the subjects" when "the experimenter" refers to yourself is at best ambiguous and may even give the impression that you disavow your own study. (APA, 1983, p. 35)

Of course, the study is not the author's own, and he or she is, in fact, asked to be objective along a number of dimensions, such as those entailed by reliability and validity demands.

The first gesture of acceptance of a manuscript is punctuated by a signature of copyright transfer. From now on, even "reproduction of your own articles for other than personal use requires written

permission from APA" (APA, 1983, p. 163). Even at the copy-editing stage, one is told that they can no longer mark the text, except in specific ways: "Do not mark the manuscript text in response to a query and do not erase the copy editor's marks because such changes often result in typesetting errors" (p. 159, 161).

That one's product is no longer one's own at the stage of copyright transfer becomes an inscription of this alienation in the network of state controls. It mostly eventualizes an already occurring process. This is so, if the interpretations of chapters III and IV make sense, to the extent that the conduct of a certain kind of research was an effect of adjustments made in the service of Manual ideals and the internalized interests of psychologists from the very beginning.

In fact, the interests of psychologists are many, and lead to many political struggles (cf. Howard, Pion, Gottfredson, Flattau, Oskamp, et al. 1986). The stated interests of the APA in the Manual, however, are broadly to "advance psychology as a science, as a profession, and as a means of promoting human welfare" (APA, 1983, p. 165). It is evident that the order of these themselves become pure form, formality, since the formula of the experimental report, not exist as a principle of unification in a

community fractured along the dimensions of research and practice.

Research writing itself can be seen as being pushed towards "professionalization." For example, a manuscript requires professionals or special services to meet "professional quality" standards. Compare the following:

Usually professional drafting services are used to produce a finished figure because most authors do not have the technical skill to produce a figure that meets printing requirements. (APA, 1983, p. 100)

Nonprofessional-freehand or typewritten lettering is not acceptable. (p. 101)

Photographs must be of professional quality and on black-and-white film. (p. 102)

In another related aspect, the Manual is a product of the APA organization, and as in many organizations, support staff are distinguished from professionals by virtue of their contributions. Professionals are situated in an organizational context where divisions of labor and activity are carefully spelled out. Most visible are corporate and production relations; marketing, sales, and promotion remain subtly tied to the advancement and credibility of science. In any case, divisions of people are divisions of labor situated in relation to the knowledge product.

Some of these divisions are held to flow from the APA corporation; when defined by the "Ethical

Principles of Psychologists" these divisions are invested with an ethical as well as a managerial dimension, as in the following:

Major contributions of a professional character made by several persons to a common project are recognized by joint authorship, with the individual who made the principal contribution listed first. Minor contributions of a professional character and extensive clerical or similar nonprofessional assistance may be acknowledged in footnotes. (From the "Ethical Principles of Psychologists;" cited in APA, 1983, p. 20)

Apparently, only author-professionals are given voice in this organization. As has been shown, this voice is an alienated, proofed, edited, and revised voice. It is in fact spoken from a position already reserved in advance, since "authorship is reserved for persons who receive primary credit and hold primary responsibility for a published work" (APA, 1983, p. 20). It is also reserved for those "who have made substantial scientific contributions to a study" (p. 20), although what these contributions are must be carefully spelled out.

Substantial professional contributions may include formulating the problem or hypothesis, structuring the experimental design, organizing and conducting the statistical analysis, interpreting the results, or writing a major portion of the paper. Those who so contribute are listed in the by-line. Lesser contributions, which do not constitute authorship, may be acknowledged in a note... These contributions may include such supportive functions as designing or building the apparatus, suggesting or advising about the statistical analysis, collecting the data, modifying or structuring a

computer program, and arranging for research subjects. (APA, 1983, p. 20)

Thus, a whole support personnel is part of the production team, but may not be authors. They remain names, at best. Identity is a labor identity based on function, premised on support, and invested with an ethic, a work ethic, from APA.

Of the support personnel in whom appear the most potential for authorship or editorship are those most consigned to their APA vocation, namely, typists. The typist, addressed by an entire Manual chapter, is one intimately and manually involved in the production process. Yet the typist gets no credit, not even a footnote. As shown in APPENDIX E, the typist must be both protected from the abuse of the psychologist and rendered utterly obedient.

The typist should not be expected to edit. The author should not hand the typist the Manual and expect the typist to transform a poorly prepared draft into a manuscript prepared according to APA style. For example, the author must prepare a running head of no more than 50 characters and not leave the selection of a running head to the typist. (APA, 1983, p. 136)

The typist is responsible only for accurate transcription of the manuscript. Before typing, the typist should review the manuscript in order to prepare for unusual terms and treatments and should resolve any problems with the author. The typist should not be expected to edit but should type only what appears in the author's draft except for minor technical errors, such as an occasional misspelled word. (p. 136)

In regard to math copy, the typist is twice told to "follow the author's copy exactly" (p. 141 & 142). Or

the typist may not understand the Manual's language and need to be taught that "the instruction 'type in uppercase and lowercase letters' means to capitalize initial letters of important words" (p. 139).

Meanwhile, the text in quotes is given no referent and it is unclear even where it came from. The typist remains one of many key but anonymous personages who must know who they are and silently keep to their place.

The hierarchical character of organizational roles, however, appears to interact and coexist with hierarchizing regularities in the "organization" of a manuscript. "In manuscripts submitted to APA journals, headings function as an outline to reveal a manuscript's organization" (APA, 1983, pp. 65-66). This organization has no division or department heads, but headings, which "indicate the organization of a manuscript and establish the importance of each topic" (p. 65). Under each major heading may be subsections. "It is both conventional and expedient to divide the Method section into labeled subsections" (p. 25). And within sentences themselves exist forms of subordination around which care must be taken not to reverse roles:

Relative pronouns... and subordinate conjunctions... introduce an element that is subordinate to the main clause of the sentence and reflect the relationship of the subordinate element to the main clause. Therefore, select

these pronouns with care; do not interchange them. (APA, 1983, p. 40)

The structure of writing corresponds, as discussed in Chapter III, to the structure of the research as well. "You should evaluate the content and organization of the manuscript just as you evaluated the investigation itself" (APA, 1983, p. 29). The outline, as an intermediate structure between event and report, preserves these relations, where main ideas, subordinate ideas, discipline, continuity, pacing, etc. are kept in proper relation to one another and to the task:

Writing from an outline helps preserve the logic of the research itself. It identifies main ideas, defines subordinate ideas, disciplines your writing, maintains the continuity and pacing, discourages tangential excursions, and points out omissions. (APA, 1983, p. 35)

In the textual organization, the bottom level of support is data, as in, "Authors are responsible... for all supporting data" (APA, 1983, p. 80). Yet similarly, in the experiment the researcher is responsible for subjects, those who will individually give data of themselves. As with support staff, such as typists, these characters must be protected from exploitation by psychologists and contribute to research only through the vehicle of "data" which is of interest to the researcher. Also, exploitation may involve human or animal participants, requiring an honor system among researchers: "when you submit your

manuscript, indicate to the journal editor that the treatment of participants (human or animal) was in accordance with the ethical standards of the APA" (p. 26). Returning to the pronoun problem above finds a hierarchization of human and animal as well, as in the way that one must "use who for human beings; use that or which for nonhuman animals and for things" (p. 38).

In any case, the implication of this is that, just as the organization of an experiment is a staged interaction of subjects, materials, instructions, and rewards, so too is writing organized in a way reflective of the APA organization. As discussed in CHAPTER III, writing is to reflect the research, but the hierarchies of the experiment are not only reproduced in writing but appear coextensive with the APA's own organizational hierarchy. Subjects must be selected, instructed and paid, but like typists (and other employees) are relegated to anonymity and distorted through their representation as data or as support, respectively. The sentence, "When humans are the participants, report the procedures for selecting and assigning subjects and the agreements and payments made" (p. 26) could have been formed in any department of human resources in any Western corporation. One could easily substitute "employees" or "typists" for "participants" ("subjects") in this

sentence without seriously distorting the Manual's (and APA's ?) repetition of all-too-typical organizational relations.

A complex of human labor supports research, the production of discourse, and the APA organization as it is manifest in various levels of text and practice. And it is here that certain Manual contradictions surface. For example, what can it mean to refer to typists, subjects, or printers, for example, in the terms they are, if "when you refer to a person or persons, choose words that are accurate, clear, and free from bias" (APA, 1983, p. 44)? What does it mean for a person to find themselves "subjects," whose participation in a study is as "scores" or "data?" What can it mean that "because APA as an organization is committed both to science and the fair treatment of individuals and groups..., authors of journal articles are required to avoid writing in a manner that reinforces questionable attitudes and assumptions about people" (p. 43), when typists are referred to the way they are in the Manual? In regard to manuscript or article readers, the author is asked to "help the reader focus on the content of your paper by avoiding language that may cause irritation, flights of thought, or even momentary interruptions. Such distractions include linguistic devices... that imply sexual, ethnic, or

other kinds of bias" (p. 43). At this point, one may seriously wonder what reader must be helped.

This at first recalls the discussion of readers in CHAPTER IV, while adding another dimension to who they are. An apparently harmless instruction, as in, for example, the following, points to an issue important to the determination of Manual interests by pointing to whom they want to appease. The reader is told to "avoid... words with surplus or unintended meaning (e.g., cop for police officer), which may distract if not actually mislead" (APA, 1983, p. 43). The implication here is that "cop" would not be the word meant in a psychologist's writing. Yet "police officer" remains a neutral term, it would seem, only for someone who, for instance, never made police payoffs to keep a business running or who was never the recipient of police harassment or brutality. Without even bothering to assess how a statement like the Manual's would be heard in Santiago or Port-au-Prince, one can infer that the reader of scientific psychology would not ideally be a criminal, or worse, an outlaw. "Police officer" thus contains a bias, the bias of a state's agents of force manifest in its "dominant significations" (from Guattari, 1984). Psychologists, in this reading, are law-abiding citizens for whom the polite terminology of "police officer" is "free from bias."

The method for avoiding bias in the Manual is to substitute one's own group for the group about which statements are made in order to assess their offensive value:

The majority of instances of implied irrelevant evaluation seem to occur when the writer uses one group (usually the writer's own group) as the standard against which others are assessed.... As a test of implied evaluation, substitute another group (e.g., your own) for the group being discussed. If you are offended by the revised statement, there is probably bias in the original statement. (APA, 1983, pp. 44-45)

Applying this test to Manual passages focuses the contradictory quality of its discourse on this point. There are several ways, perhaps, to do this, each producing an absurd effect. Consider the following:

A Board of Typists regularly assesses trends in the major areas of psychology and in specific journals and recommends the establishment, modification, or discontinuation of journals. (cf. p. 166)

The psychologist should not be expected to edit but should type only what appears in the subject's draft except for minor technical errors, such as an occasional misspelled word. (cf. p. 136)

Such a collage of text and roles verges on the unthinkable in the Manual. Moreover, "the writer's own group" is decidedly "the standard against which others are assessed," the "one culture... against which others are judged," since, above all, they are the only ones heard from at all.

APA style is posited as an equal opportunity style in the way it claims to rid its territory of discriminatory devices. Even though its success in this regard around sexism and ethnocentrism remains, in my mind, highly debatable, there is--as in equal opportunity declarations throughout the U.S.--no mention whatsoever of social class as a possible basis of distortion, discrimination, and abuse. In this sense, the Manual can be regarded as promoting a denial of issues of class, while at the same time reproducing their typical configurations in organizations of text and activity. The unselfconscious reproduction in the Manual of authoritarian hierarchies in APA, its publishing infrastructure, and in writing itself reproduces familiar dependencies, alienation, and bias.

Even though "APA as a publisher accepts journal authors' word choices unless those choices are inaccurate, unclear, or ungrammatical" (APA, 1983, p. 43), what is left uncertain is the question of unclear or ungrammatical for whom. If neither cops themselves call each other police officers, nor do the people they've just arrested or beaten, whose language is the language of "police officer?" Or, if clarity is at stake in scientific writing, why is Black English not used, since even a number of white linguists have shown certain dialects of inner-city,

Black English to be far more clear, less qualified, contradictory, and circumlocutious than Standard English (cf. Bernstein, 1972; Labov, 1972). As linguists show further, grammar itself is highly relative, even from dialect to dialect (cf. discussions by Sampson, 1983).

Untouched also is the problem of speaking only English in the multilingual American context, never mind the various steps of ruling out dialectal variations, literary elegance, humor, poetic language, and the language of subjects, typists, convicts, factory workers, aristocrats, militants, idiots, and perverts. Attempting to rid its provincial discourse of sexism and ethnocentrism pales before its advancement of layer upon layer of classism and logocentrism. This is done in the Manual by what it does not say as much as by what it says. That this silence between the lines pervades a science claiming to study human behavior must remain as one of the Manual's great ironies.

Manual Labor, Dreamwork

The Manual's politics also appears to suggest associated psychological epiphenomena, about which psychoanalysis has much to contribute. The kind of psychological processes attending Manual labor have parallels in psychoanalytic notions of repression and

dreamwork, which will be explored in this final section.

Journal discourse is represented as a thing in which form, content, value, relations of production, organization, politics, dependence, and time are suffused. In saying "only what needs to be said" (p. 33), however, scientific discourse says only what it believes a reader wants to hear. Order, clarity, continuity and economy of ideas are achieved only after revision upon revision of a psychologist's experience, even though this experience may be one of multiple identifications in which the author may also be the typist, editor, colleague, or even a subject at one time or another.

The editor may accept a manuscript on the condition that the author make satisfactory revisions. Such conditional acceptances may involve, for example, reanalysis, reinterpretation, or correction of flaws of presentation and organization. (APA, 1983, p. 172)

Most manuscripts need to be revised, and some manuscripts need to be revised more than once. Initial revisions of a manuscript may reveal to the author or to the editor and reviewers deficiencies that were not apparent in the original manuscript... (p. 173)

Manual history itself is a revision: "This [1952] revision, which was the first to carry the title Publication Manual, marked the beginning of a recognized APA journal style. Two revisions followed as separate publications" (p. 9). Or, "the section

[in chapter 3] on references has been substantially revised" (p. 12). The importance of revisions is such that the date of an acceptable revision is publicly recorded and memorialized.

The date that an accepted manuscript is originally received in the editor's office appears with the printed article. Most articles now carry a second date (i.e., the "revision received" date), the date on which an acceptable revision of the manuscript is received. (p. 170)

In addition, text is "condensed," since, for instance, "discursive writing often obscures an author's main points, and long manuscripts are frequently improved by condensation" (p. 22), and "authors are expected to follow editors' detailed recommendations for revision, condensation, or correction and retyping in order to conform with the style specified by the Manual (p. 173). Text is similarly "displaced" in time and space from the historical scene of research. It exists as an after-word whose organization preceded and transcended the event. The internalization of editors and the assumption of group ideals removes the professional author-spectator from the scene, while the text itself is sent away to "another scene," to the "APA journal office for copy editing and production" (p. 159).

Thus, a manuscript is the product of a series of "secondary revisions," of "condensations,"

"displacements," and "distortions" which appear repressive of some other primary experiences (cf. Freud, 1965). The clear and distinct idea is conveyed such that no memory of its production is shared with the consumer.

In a direct sense, this is the consequence of any printing process. In its extreme forms in the Manual, there appears a deliberate attempt to purge the product of all "overdeterminations," while the "agencies of censorship" revise and revise until "composite" figures or images acceptable to the reader are excised of any emotional valences. The reader-writer--prone to various forms of repetition--must be put to sleep before becoming excited, upset, or mobilized. The work of the production team is thus, beginning to end, like die Traumdeutung, dreamwork, in which many of the conditions of its production are consigned to oblivion at the very moment it arrives in its ideal state. These conditions are masked behind apparently repetitive stories with the same plot, from opening scene to denouement. Just as "the verbal malformations in dreams greatly resemble those which are familiar in paranoia but which are also present in hysteria and the obsession" (Freud, 1965, p. 338), so too is there a verbal malformation around which is formed a picture of an irritable, sadistic, or

obsessional reader who must be sedated by what is read. Meanwhile the presses keep moving as thousands of dreamworkers each strive to "make certain that every word means exactly what [the author] intend[s] it to mean" (p. 34)

How ironic it is that Freud compared the psychical agencies concerned with secondary revision to the processes of literary censorship "down to their smallest details" (1965, p. 177), and that one can find many direct analogies in psychological writing itself on such a scale. "A writer must beware of the censorship, and on its account he must soften and distort the expression of his opinion" (pp. 175-176). Yet in this case it remains questionable whether or not a writer is aware of the censor, which is where Freud's analogy breaks down; instead, there is reason to presume that readers are not aware of the implications of condensation, displacement, and distortion any more than is the dreamer. The Manual's characters are mostly portrayed as compliant and occasionally as even childlike.

Being asked to remember in a certain way, to align with group ideals, to internalize editors, colleagues and prohibitions, and to shut out or subordinate any other "voices"--all from a dependent position--makes ideal author-readers of the Manual appear as dreamers regressed around infantile demands

that writing, the experiment, and the organization, like a dream, "shall have a rational and intelligible exterior" (Freud, 1965, p. 572). Yet this exterior remains rational and intelligible to only a few. What cannot be assessed in the revisions supervised by the Manual are the primary writing and speaking systems operative in research contexts. By the time secondary processes of revision present the reader with a product, it has been so rid of offense, imagination, class-struggle, and creativities of many kinds that the reader, startled by the slightest noise in discourse, is lulled back to sleep on the conditions under which meaning is made in psychology.

CHAPTER VI

EPILOGUE

The implications of this study would be limited to those characteristic of a "formalist" approach were it to conclude by making statements only about the Manual, as if it were simply a container whose interior could be opened, perused, and shut off from the world with the close of its cover. Rather, it must be acknowledged that many of the Manual's conventions are not its own and refer out to the situations and people which produced and use it. The long list of conventions to which it conforms includes, for example, acceptance of the dictionary for definitions, copyright laws, the role of research subjects, of science as a way of knowing, and the grammar of Standard English. Such conventions were not created by the Manual, but were borrowed, consciously or not, from already-existing discursive practices. As a result, any conclusions drawn must be tentative, since it is true that the "world" which produced the Manual and which is itself altered as a result, remains only partially sampled and scrutinized. By "recontextualizing" the Manual I hope

to state a few implications and number of associated questions as well as to suggest further lines of inquiry.

A first point to be made concerns this study as a small gesture in the service of bringing psychology, as a meaning-making enterprise, under critical evaluation. As a result, some of what is understood of meaning-making in the Manual is that 1) discourse appears powerfully influenced by the conventions of publication and the demands of print; 2) a specific commitment to science or a scientific semiotics is encouraged and rewarded over other ways of knowing (epistemology gives way to the philosophy of science, as in the terms of Habermas, 1971); 3) control of meaning is a major priority which is exercised via a) strong central control, b) peer control, and c) self-control; 4) esoteric psychological knowledge carries with it an unexamined moral, ethical and disciplinary subtext; 5) the human relations required for production are represented as impoverished, estranged and alienated; 6) the publication process is de-politicized and rendered purely functional and pragmatic; and 7) the Manual's rhetorical functions are masked by this pragmatism and by a "windowpane" conception of language (from Gusfield, 1981).

The Manual was chosen for study because of its important role in the production and control of journal psychology. With all of the above findings in mind, the study of journal articles themselves, and their relationship to the Manual remains a compelling possibility. Even though the Manual is held to be "based on" existing literature, there are many lines of divergence between what the Manual promotes and what ends up in journal articles. For instance, the instruction to "avoid" polemics" is not uniformly upheld in journals like the American Psychologist or the Counseling Psychologist. Examining the conditions under which rules about polemical writing, as well as many other Manual rules, are suspended would further illustrate the nature of power and authority in the community of writing psychologists. At least the question of who writes "above the law" would be more carefully addressed.

Similarly, the quality of the Manual's moral dimensions suggests an examination of its relationship to the "Ethical Principles of Psychologists" (APA, 1981). The character of authors--here valorized, there infantilized, and everywhere responsible--is portrayed within a moral and ethical network laced with the values of science, professionalism, efficiency, and economy. Authors and their support staff are addressed in the Manual using

the Ethical Principles, a gesture revealing divisions of function and labor nested within a larger ethical framework. The moral valuation of such labor, intermixed as it is with capitalist values of efficiency, economy, utility, organization, and growth, makes compelling a reexamination of the work of Max Weber (1958) on the "Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism." Manual psychology appears to take this spirit to its conclusion. The individual author is like Weber's isolated modern soul, everywhere unable to free him (or her) self of continuous labor in a vocation criss-crossed by the demands of time and money and endlessly suffused with uncertain outcomes (if not in the terms of "salvation," then those of "success" or "status"). Manual man exists in an austere world scraped clean of literary or poetic impurities and dominated by "methodism." This is underwritten by a code of ethics whose analysis may enrich an understanding of the Manual and vice versa. Such an analysis would grow directly out of Max Weber's work.

It should be remembered that these ethics are professional ethics, just as text, tables, and figures must look professional. But the professional practice of psychology is widely associated with treating mental illness, as well as with scientific endeavors. The ethics of psychologists overlap a

morality of writing and could be said to entail their opposite, that is, some unspoken text of how psychologists should not behave and not write or speak. The question is: is there also a literary representation of unethical behaving, speaking, or writing, in short, a semiotics of immorality, which operates on the level of manual discourse and relates to the mental health practice of psychology? What, in other words, is the relation of the Ethical Principles and the Manual to another manual which is familiar to and profoundly affects many applied psychologists, namely, the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders of the American Psychiatric Association (3rd ed.; APA, 1982) (DSM-III). Although not addressing disordered writing per se, the DSM-III has been seen as having moral and political dimensions (cf. Schacht, 1985; Spitzer, 1985) which may bear examination in relation to the Manual and the Ethical Principles. For example, is disorder in writing related to disordered speech, thought disorders, or a psychologist's ethics around "public statements" (Principle 4)? Are subjects and typists like patients? Is talking schizophrenic like talking without an editor? Is depression a slowdown of the economics of expression? Or wordiness like a disorder of impulse control? Are polemics, speculation, and literary elegance isomorphic with

antisocial personality or conduct disorders? Is a neutered discourse a form of gender identity disorder? The questions could go on. The point is that the study of the Manual alone represents an extrication of it from some of its other fields of operation and intelligibility. Just as a manual of writing relies on a manual of ethics, so does disordered writing suggest a relationship of both of these to a manual of mental disorder. Overall, the everyday dialectics of order and disorder, continuity and discontinuity, or even health and illness, for psychologists, might better be explored in the convergences and divergences of this group of "vademecum" texts.

This argument extends to other texts as well, including test manuals, licensure laws, accreditation applications, office procedures, minutes of meetings, patient records, textbooks, pop books, technical books, radio shows, reviews, films, Psychology Today, the APA Monitor, etc. In short, textual and imaginal psychology claim a vast media territory, both esoteric and exoteric, of which the Manual is only a part. On such a scale, no less than the place of psychology in Western cultures, is a question for study. This century has witnessed the phenomenal development of psychology, while the principles of its success remain uncertain and the Manual makes no

room for forms of historical and anthropological reporting which would venture into this region of historical consciousness.

A point related to this is how the Manual, as complex a text as it may be, is unlike many other of the texts just mentioned in that it has been exempt from critical scrutiny of the kind initiated in this study. Though something more of this is known--for instance, regarding authors' dependency on it to publish, its reliance on other unquestioned texts, such as dictionaries, and its employment of abstractions and ideals likely to have common currency with psychologists--it remains a puzzle why this text is not the subject of major critical activity. It is now more evident to me than ever that this critical vacuum will be better understood through examinations of texts and practices which participate in its creation. Isolating the Manual from its context for study has in many ways made this task both more feasible and pressing. One can speculate that the consciousness and activity set in motion by the Manual is so nested within the "texts" which produce and are reproduced by psychologists as to make its positions--on language, world, authors, typists, epistemology--cease even to be perceived as positions. Perhaps it is incorrect to say "the consciousness and activity set in motion," since it

remains to be seen what, if anything, is mobilized in different readers versus what is stimulated in the majority who turn completely away from journal writing and the Manual. This points to the possibility of fieldwork which would inquire of psychologists how they understand the Manual and situate it in relation to other texts, their training, and to their practices, research or otherwise. The point is, I believe psychologists could be asked directly about the Manual, and that this could be done in non-leading ways which would avoid organizations of responses according to the limitations of questionnaires, like the one "distributed in 1979" (p. 9). A number of sweeping generalizations and biases appear to be outcomes of this approach. Why these generalizations and biases remain afloat may be understood by an analysis of texts and practices which support its operation and possibly in turn assist in maintaining a wall of silence around the Manual.

In characterizing finished articles, the Manual represents the writing it supervises as empty of history and context. Language becomes merely a tool of communication, a conveyor of ideas, with strict relations of signifier and signified. The Manual perpetuates the notion that it is possible to create a language free of bias, and its authors set out to

supervise this production. Yet the Manual is marked by conflict, whether it takes the form of a double standard in discourse ("Do what I say, not what I do") or attempts to rid discourse of bias (which it fails to do). The polished product becomes hypnotic because although it refers outside itself to events, those events, controlled as they are, become pregnant with what is unspoken. Manual discourse is problematic in that it asks of its readers that they remember and forget selectively. What they should forget: group dynamics, relations of dependency and authority, basic social psychology, and much else that psychologists are otherwise trained to consider about the world. It is like what happens when a judge selects a jury in a civil suit between an individual and a company. The judge in all seriousness asks the prospective juror whether he or she can treat the individual and the corporation absolutely equally and apply the law as the judge explains it even if they disagree with the law. What does it take to make people capable of saying "yes" to these questions time and again? The question here is: what makes authors use the Manual uncritically in spite of their training? (This, of course, presumes they do use it--which is not established by any means and is worthy of research in itself.)

It may not be possible to understand this without a look at where and under what conditions psychologists learn to write. My interpretation of the Manual suggests the Manual authors perceive inadequacies in writing skill in roughly four principle directions: psychologist-authors are: (1) too little trained in the grammar of Standard English, (2) too jargony, (3) too literary, and (4) too ignorant generally of the writing practices of psychologists and the demands of printed publication. To my knowledge, there is no training in writing in psychology. Yet if writing in this field is as bad as the Manual implies, and there is no training for correct writing, it would seem that such writing is not sought across the board in psychology. Instead, a relatively small writing elite is produced, thus giving voice to only a few unrepresentative psychologists. The Manual portrays the journals as overrun with submissions and is only minimally solicitous of writing in a very few sentences throughout. The picture emerges of a community of writers enclosed upon themselves and at some distance from many forms of psychological practice. This distance is often dramatic between, for example, clinicians and clinical researchers, which recalls the fact that the former are emersed in oral/aural situations while the latter make translations of

these situations along the contours of the experiment and the visuals of print. I believe the Manual has developed along with and reproduces this distance. There is little room in the Manual, for instance, for a self-critical ethnographic style of writing which would at least address some of the problems between event and text, an issue now actively debated in anthropology (cf. Clifford & Marcus, 1986).

If attention is addressed to writing in the training of an applied psychologist, it seems to occur incidentally around two basic genres: that of the research paper and that of the test report. The former prefigures the dissertation and writing for publication. It contains references and argumentation and requires a familiarity with journal literature. It is perhaps a first response to this literature. The latter style is apodictic, requiring no references and constituting a form of authorship based on expert power. Statements in test reports imply a firm ground of expertise and perception in their author. The two genres rely on different forms of credibility and employ different rhetorical strategies.

In any case, what would be important to determine here would be if or how the Manual is implicated in the quiet, apparently peaceful retreat from writing which has accompanied the evolution of

the Manual but may involve many factors (cf. Boice & Jones, 1984, Cofer, 1985). What has happened in the training of most psychologists that they turn away from writing journal psychology? This also raises the question about how representative the Manual is of psychologists' world views, including those who do not write.

The Manual has one other important function in its social context. This is as a form of literary criticism. In saying in CHAPTER III that the Manual is metalinguistic, I had only begun to more carefully sense the nature of the kind of criticism the Manual represents. Though I couldn't have given it a name earlier, it now occurs to me that the Manual speaks very much from the presumptions of American New Criticism and some of those of formalism. This is so along several lines.

The relation it establishes with its "objects," manuscripts, is that these texts correspond more or less to a specific prototypical mode of expression. This makes one text correct and another text incorrect in reference to a relatively strictly adhered to model. The object of criticism is to improve writing, not to explore what is being said "between the lines." It is to correct error rather than examine the many valuations in a text, including but not restricted to those of truth and error. At

bottom, as with New Criticism, there is an unspoken presumption of what counts as "literature" and what is worth reading at all.

Related to this is the presumption that a certain reading of a text is itself correct or not, making battles between "experts" over the truth of a text a regular possibility. Readings are treated as absolutistic, not relativistic (cf. Hirsch, 1976) or dictated by an interaction between text and reader. None of this is simply academic, either; whether the Bible is read as allegory or as divine revelations makes a difference, and how the U.S. Constitution is read makes a difference, including the extent to which one opts to read the "spirit" or the "letter" of its law. In its more modest domain, the Manual takes a critical position which may have very real implications for the very range of debates taken up in journals. Just as New Criticism would not teach Melville, women authors, or the slave narrative, among many other "illegitimate" literary forms (Eagleton, 1983, Franklin, 1978; Gates, 1984), so the Manual as criticism restricts potentially important forms of writing which would enrich psychology and its social contribution.

In the tradition of New Criticism, a text is a closed and finite object, a container of the ideas of its author which one can fix and understand. It is a

thing among things, but like other things in its world, they can be seen as separate, positive entities closed in upon themselves with a jealous guard over meaning. Its familiar parts can be dissected and appreciated again and again: its elegant PATH analyses, its introductions, methods, results, and discussions, its characters, its references, its forms of reliability and validity.

One result of such a belief is a kind of ontological reassurance made possible by the kinds of safety offered to readers via the Manual. The slightest possibility of upset in routine signification processes is carefully monitored by the wary Manual narrator or equally anonymous reviewers positioned to represent authority figures in one's training as a psychologist or even one's earlier writing or speaking past. On a different scale, just as a misreading of a "Stop" sign has major consequences for auto traffic, so deviations in psychological writing would seem to threaten the whole psychological enterprise as it is pictured in the Manual. It is as if the Manual stands vigil, ready to assist in returning the writer to the fold should he or she be caught reeling with vertigo at a turn of phrase which disassembles routine signification. Readers and writers are portrayed as lost and libidinous infants requiring continuous

supervision, and whose autonomy and expressions of originality must be carefully managed and sequenced.

Partly because of this, the stresses placed on an aspiring author-reader of the Manual seem enormous. The attention to detail required in preparing a manuscript is compounded by the internalization of readers, editors, colleagues, and others with powerful demands, however real or imaginary. Writing would seem to become a major endeavor requiring more labor and financial support than ever. The brunt of this is placed on the author, who in turn requires a cooperative support personnel of subjects, typists, graphic artists, research assistants, lab technicians and others willing to remain nameless. In a manner of speaking, without all of those who may at best appear in footnotes, a writer doesn't appear to have a leg to stand on.

Moreover, a psychologist is asked in the act of writing to stop doing research. By this is meant that the production of discourse implies a normalization of human relations along the unquestioned dimensions of structure and function: typists type, copy-editors edit, subjects produce data, and no one violates the hierarchy. As the Manual portrays it, as soon as writing begins the researcher ceases to look around at the many processes in motion or to wonder about subjects or typists, demand characteristics, the

other-directedness of writing, the relationship of writing to research or to ideology and rhetoric, or the complicated relations of time and money. Psychologists are asked in important moments to stop thinking, to in some way stop being psychologists. When pen meets paper, the questions are over. There is no question as to how to represent the concrete events of this research; rather one must write according to a formula which would allow someone to repeat the study, even though replications rarely get published. Along with negative results, material not representable by the formula is rendered irrelevant. The formula is transcendental. Outside of the formula, history does not exist, except perhaps as forms of "unwanted variance."

The irony here is that in the Manual there is no room for the unconscious. The (imaginary) end result of a published article emerges only at the expense of a great forgetting of the conditions of its production. A simple statement in the Manual, however, that an author may not be aware of the multiple determinants of acceptable speech and writing, or that a reader may react to writing on the basis of a history mostly unavailable to consciousness, would seem to threaten the whole publication apparatus. Everyone would not so neatly fall into role or, when introjecting multiple Manual

roles, so unselfconsciously adopt APA editorializations and indeed may problematize the whole political epistemology of the experiment. In a scenario which acknowledged unconscious processes in scientific writing, every word might mean other than what it is "intended" to mean since intention in writing would be seen as accounting only for the tip of the iceberg, never mind the multiplicity of uncontrolled significations of readers generated by their varied pasts and interests. Meaning would no longer appear colonized by intention, but relativized, dispersed, and up for grabs by any possible reader. Texts would frustrate "correct" readings and writers could only produce fictions. The distinction of fact and fiction might itself no longer persist; constructs like "data" could be read as micro-rhetorical particles which helped a given set of researchers stage an intellectual coup. The production of a text like the Manual would lend itself to analysis as a symptom (not of an individual but of a group), or as an elegant arrangement of defense mechanisms designed to buttress and privilege ego and superego functions, or to stimulate a particular kind of transference to the Manual and the APA.

Because unconscious processes are not dealt with by the Manual, and because of the ideals it

activates, one may be led to believe in the rationality of the Manual and publication practices in general. There is something compelling about the Manual's useful and practical dimensions; it is so useful, so rational, so quintessentially pragmatic as to find itself in the hands of far more than psychology publishers. Yet its rationality belongs to the austere ideology of a science in which control of knower and known are common epistemological fixtures. As yet there is no acknowledgment of the many Manual irrationalities cloaked as they are by its authors in such a way as to skirt questions of power and knowledge, publication and censorship, or authorship and silence. In the end, its practical, rational, even helpful veneer may obscure and reproduce difficulties associated with the inability of, for example, academics and practitioners to converse in any other than exceptional situations. The gains of this study in setting some criticism of this text in motion now need to be taken out and explored in the complex textual terrain of psychology. It is time to speak and write directly to speaking and writing in psychology, and to raise questions precisely where there is believed a terra firma of discourse.

NOTES

CHAPTER III

1. See APPENDIX G (Sample 7), where this "repository" is further characterized as being "like a wall that is built one brick at a time..."

2. Formal evaluation procedures are discussed on pages 172-173. Also, editors find the following kinds of defects in design in manuscripts:

piecemeal publication...; the reporting of only a single correlation...; the reporting of negative results...; failure to build in needed controls...; exhaustion of a problem. (APA, 1983, p. 19)

The point being made here, however, relates more to the pervasive acceptable/unacceptable polarity throughout the text.

3. Cf. also the following:

"Thus the content and the organization of a scientific manuscript reflect the logical thinking in scientific investigation, and the preparation of a manuscript for journal publication is an integral part of the individual research effort. (APA, 1983, p. 17)

4. The author is told the following in this same light: "You will not type your manuscript until you have organized and written it" (APA, 1983, p. 14). Regardless of whether this chronology is likely in the age of wordprocessors, it is one more organization of time implying a simple linear development of writing activity.

5. The "clearer" one can get, the better, even if one can get clearer than the Manual:

The style requirements in the Publication Manual are intended to facilitate clear communication.

The requirements are explicit, but alternatives to prescribed forms are permissible if they ensure clearer communication. (APA, 1983, p. 32)

6. Scientific reporting requires an ambivalent approach to technical words, a hallmark of scientific discourse, which may push writing over the edge of comprehension, even among the psychological intelligentsia:

Short words and short sentences are easier to comprehend than long ones. A long technical term, however, may be more precise than several short words, and technical terms are inseparable from scientific reporting. Yet the technical terminology in a paper should be understood by psychologists throughout the discipline. (APA, 1983, p. 33)

7. This tradition is set within the larger community of scientists in which membership is possible:

Members of the scientific community generally agree that the characteristics of primary, or original, publication are (a) that articles represent research not previously published (i.e., first disclosure); (b) that articles are reviewed by peers before being accepted or rejected by a journal; and (c) that articles are archival (i.e., retrievable for future reference). (APA, 1983, p. 167)

Also see the analysis of this text in APPENDIX G.

8. These forms are given different names, as well:

The author of a thesis, dissertation, or student paper produces a 'final' manuscript; the author of a journal article produces a 'copy' manuscript (which will become a typeset article). (APA, 1983, p. 189).

9. This last sentence is a repetition of another, earlier sentence: "Avoid language that can be construed as sexist" (APA, 1983, p. 13).
10. When I totaled the number of ideals in each cell of Figure 1 (see page 69), I found some support for this idea that the Manual is geared toward cultivating a writing consciousness over other possibilities. The percentages of each kind of ideal found in the random samples is given below:

An Ideals Matrix describing domains of Process and Content in Manual statements.

Ideals Matrix

PROCESS

	Activity		Consciousness		
I		I		I	
I		I		I	
I	18%	I	52%	I	Writing
I		I		I	
I		I		I	
I		I		I	
I	13%	I	17%	I	Relation-T
I		I		I	ships
I		I		I	

-
11. This is what Habermas (1971) has said in regard to experimentally produced phenomenon, as in, "Experimentally produced phenomena are based on the suppression of all aspects of life experience in favor of a general effect, i.e., one that can be randomly repeated" (p. 162)
 12. There are other examples, like "... since is often used when because is meant" (APA, 1983, p. 34).
 13. As Habermas (1971) reminds, "positivism first appears in the form of a new philosophy of history" (p. 1).
 14. Cf. also Psalms 69.28, in regard to sin and text: "Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous."

CHAPTER IV

1. "Jargon is the continuous use of a technical vocabulary even in places where that vocabulary is not relevant" (APA, 1983, p. 33).
2. Other instances of this would include the following:

The APA uses the metric system in its journals.... The metric system outlined in this section is based, with some exceptions, on the International System of Units (SI), an extension and refinement of the traditional metric system, which is supported by the national standardizing bodies in many countries, including the United States. (APA, 1983, p. 75)

For reference list entries APA has adopted the two-letter U.S. Postal Service abbreviations for states. (APA, 1983, p. 65)

3. It remains unclear what exactly the gender(s) of the Manual writer (or writers) is (are). Was it "Earl A Alluisi"? Was it a group project? Ethically, that is from the "Ethical Principles of Psychologists," as cited by the Manual, it goes like this:

Psychologists who compile and edit material of others for publication publish the material in the name of the originating group, if appropriate, with their own name appearing as the chairperson or editor. All contributions are to be acknowledged and named. (APA, 1981, p. 637; cited in (APA, 1983, p. 20).

4. Consider also the caveats around "authors alterations," charges incurred as a result of changes an author makes subsequent to the typesetting of a manuscript:

The cost of author's alterations is computed according to the number of printed lines and pages affected by a change, and such alterations are costly.... When a change on the proofs is essential, you should plan the alteration to minimize cost and confusion. (APA, 1983, pp. 161-162)

5. This is repeated later, as well: "Authors should choose references judiciously" (APA, 1983, p. 111).
6. Other help can be found in the following:

The following checklist (based on Bartol, 1981) may also help in assessing the quality of content and in deciding whether the research is likely to merit publication.

* Is the research question significant, and is

the work original and important?

- * Have the instruments been demonstrated to have satisfactory reliability and validity?
- * Are the outcome measures clearly related to the variables with which the investigation is concerned?
- * Does the research design fully and unambiguously test the hypothesis?
- * Are the subjects representative of the population to which generalizations are made?
- * Did the researcher observe ethical standards in the treatment of subjects--for example, if deception was used for human subjects?
- * Is the research at an advanced enough stage to make the publication of results meaningful? (APA, 1983, pp. 19-20)

7. This the reference at the level of method: "If observers were used to assess variables, is the interobserver reliability reported?" (APA, 1983, p. 10).
8. Compare the two narrative styles referred to:

Reader as "You"

Carefully consider your material and the sequence and levels of importance of the ideas you wish to present. (APA, 1983, p. 22)

Reader as "The Author"

Authors are also responsible for the factual accuracy of their contributions. (p. 20)

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APPENDIX A
SAMPLE 1

Introduction

Sample 1 is taken from page 12 in the Manual. It is part of the "Introduction" and contains summaries of the contents of each chapter. The sample begins slightly further than midway into the summary of Chapter 3. It ends by running briefly into the next section, "Specific Style Changes in the Third Edition," in which a list of instructions embodying this edition's changes is presented. A final section not sampled explains "How to Use the Manual," including the use of "format" and "organization" aids. (At the end of each numbered sentence--except for those phrases or sentences not rated, such as those which are headings--a notation of Ideals ("I") and Statement Categories ("SC") is presented. Ideals values are numbered 1 through 4 (see Figure 1). Statement Category values are "F" for Fact, "V" for Value, and "P" for Policy.)

Sample 1

1.1. The Manual now provides more kinds of reference examples, including legal references, and all examples of references are incorporated into the section on references. (I=2, SC=F)

1.2. This chapter is intended not to determine all points of style but rather to resolve the questions that occur most frequently in manuscripts written for psychological journals. (I=2, SC=F)

1.3. It defines the forms that over the years have been accepted in APA journals and that now are described as APA style. (I=2, SC=Fv)

1.4. Chapter 4, Typing Instructions and Sample Paper, provides instructions to typists on preparing the final manuscript. (I=3, SC=F)

1.5. In addition to a complete one-experiment sample paper, it now includes outlines for a two-experiment paper and a theoretical or review paper. (I=2, SC=F)

1.6. The sample paper and outlines illustrate the format and application of APA style. (I=2, SC=F@)

1.7. Chapter 5, Submitting the Manuscript and Proofreading, provides instructions to authors on procedures for submitting the manuscript and for handling the manuscripts and proofs of articles

accepted for publication. (I=4, SC=F)

1.8. Chapter 6, Journal Program of the American Psychological Association, discusses the general policies that govern all APA journals and describes the management of manuscripts by APA journal editors and by APA's journal office. (I=4, SC=F)

1.9. In addition, it describes the Association's journals and related publications and their fields of coverage. (I=2, SC=F)

1.10. Chapter 7, the Bibliography, lists works on the history of the Manual, references cited in the Manual, and annotated, selected references for reading on subjects discussed in the Manual. (I=2, SC=F)

1.11. The appendix describes material other than journal articles: theses, dissertations, student papers, material for oral presentation, and brief reports. (I=2, SC=F)

1.12. The index has been expanded, and topics are now indexed by page number rather than by section number. (I=2, SC=F)

1.13. Specific Style Changes in the Third Edition

1.14. Readers who are familiar with the second edition of the Manual will find, besides the revisions and additions outlined above, the following specific changes in style requirements introduced with the third edition. (I=4, SC=F)

Characters and Relationships

Sample one begins with the implicit characters of author and reader. In the first paragraph, the author(s) personify the Manual text itself. The text is principle agent. (The "Manual ... provides," a "Chapter...resolves" or "defines the forms ...". The authors are in this paragraph subordinate to the text as agents. The authors are impersonal.

Readers are similarly impersonal. Their aggregate questions about publication are intended to be resolved (1.2) in the Manual. In Chapter 3, Manual authors will assert the definitive APA format and style. There is a simple exchange: readers are promised a presentation of APA-acceptable form and style, a form and style superior to and more sophisticated than that of the previous Manual.

"APA" is the first explicit character. This corporate character is used adjectivally to indicate possession, as in "APA journals" and "APA style." Manual authors in 1.3 are reporters of APA's style. As a corporate character, APA is highly abstract.

Yet, abstract as it is, it is characterized as having the qualities of an "agency." It can engage in certain forms of passive activity, such as possession or ownership.

In 1.4, "typists," though only briefly mentioned, are a character group which awaits an entire chapter. They are situated as receptors of instructions in regard to the final manuscript. Unlike "APA," "typist" connotes concrete persons, that is real living persons working at the end (presumably) of manuscript production.

Typists are introduced as potentially implied characters. They constitute at least one category of reader important enough to be addressed separately. Typists do not appear to be construed as readers of this passage, though.

A triangulation of characters emerges and fades from 1.4 to 1.5. Authors talk to readers about typists. In 1.5, typists drop out topically as authors explain to readers that a complete, "one-experiment" sample and outlines of other types of papers are presented in this chapter as well. In 1.7, however, authors are similarly triangulated between Manual authors and Manual readers in the announcement of the contents of Chapter 5.

APA is presented again in 1.8 in regard to its journal program. "APA journal editors" are also

presented along with "APA's journal office." APA is presented as employing editors, owning journals (1.9), and occupying a journal office as an agency having a journal program. Editors, in contrast to typists and authors, are presented explicitly as employees of the agency.

Sentence 1.11 mentions "students" in order to identify three forms of writing marginally related to journal articles: theses, dissertations, and student papers. The journal article is the central focus of the Manual. The "student" character is not otherwise elaborated.

In 1.14, the "reader" is addressed directly by the Manual authors in a shift toward narrational familiarity. That is, certain readers are identified who, like the authors of the Manual, are familiar with the Manual's predecessor. These readers are construed as familiar enough to notice revisions, additions, and other specific changes in this edition. These specific changes are listed for the reader, though the reason for this is not stated.

Assumptions

1.1. The Manual provides more kinds of references than it once did. These are incorporated into the section on references. 1.2. This chapter

could intend two things: to determine all points of style or to resolve questions. It does not intend the former but the latter. The questions it resolves occur most frequently. They occur in manuscripts written for psychological journals. 1.3. This chapter can and does define stylistic forms. These forms have been accepted over several (?) years. Forms acceptable over the years can now be described as APA style. Forms can be described as style. APA has journals and a style.

1.4. Typists prepare final manuscripts. Chapter 4 instructs them in how to do this. 1.5. Chapter 4 gives a complete sample of a one-experiment paper. Two-experiment, theoretical and review papers are only outlined. 1.6. Both sample and outlines illustrate APA style. APA style can be illustrated by both samples and outlines.

1.7. Authors submit and handle manuscripts and proofs accepted for publication. Chapter 5 instructs them about this.

1.8. Certain policies govern all APA journals. They are discussed in Chapter 6. APA journal editors and APA's journal office manage manuscripts. Chapter 6 describes this. 1.9. The Association has journals and related publications. They cover certain fields. This is described in Chapter 6.

1.10. The "Bibliography" chapter (7) lists works

and references. Works are on the history of the Manual. References are citations in the Manual and are for reading on subjects discussed in the Manual.

1.11. Theses, dissertations, student papers, material for oral presentation, and brief reports are other materials described in the "appendix."

1.12. The index is larger than before. Topics are indexed by page rather than section.

1.13. There are specific style changes in this edition. 1.14. Some readers are familiar with the prior edition. They will find revisions and additions. They are outlined above. These are different from the following specific changes. Changes will either be as above or following. Style changes which follow are required. They are introduced in the Manual.

Commentary

Situated in the Introduction, this passage is marked by devices used to point the reader to the rest of the text. It is a promotional segment in which brief paragraphs announce, summarize and praise individual chapters, the appendix, and even the bibliography and index. Periodic use the the word "now" serves to set this edition off from the Second Edition and to authorize the style it advocates as

APA's.

In 1.1 is found the narrational device that persists, with a couple of brief exceptions, throughout the sample. The narrative is impersonal and journalistic. "The Manual now provides..." instead of, for example, "We now provide;" "This chapter is intended..." instead of "We intend..." and so on (see Characters and Relationships section). The text itself is the objective reference. It "defines" APA style, while individual chapters "resolve," (1.2), "instruct" (1.4, 1.7), and "describe" (1.9, 1.11). The text is the subject or agent, not the authors or readers. In 1.2, the text embodies an intention of the authors that it be read in a specific way. Presuming the possibility that one text could "determine all points of style," the authors release the text from such responsibility while positioning it as a resolver of most questions.

The text does, however, assume a passive existence in regard to APA or APA style. The text becomes a kind of "report" of the forms of style "that over the years have been accepted in APA journals" (1.3). It "discusses" without making "policies that govern all APA journals" (1.8). It "describes" without influencing "the management of manuscripts by APA journal editors" (1.8). The Manual's position here tends toward the journalistic

and neutral. It simply reports "what is."

The text also relies on visual-spatial imagery, which presents the Manual as a container and provider of instruction and example. Its chapters provide, resolve, define, include, describe, all in present tense. It contains not only the living, visible APA style, but also procedures to facilitate the publication process.

APPENDIX B
SAMPLE 2

Introduction

Situated toward the end of Chapter 1 on the "Content and Organization of a Manuscript," this sample occurs in a section concerned with writing the "Discussion" section of a manuscript. Other areas dealt with in this chapter include the "Quality of Content," "Characteristics of Authorship and Articles," and the "Parts of a Manuscript."

Sample 2

- 2.1. Avoid polemics, triviality, and weak theoretical comparisons in your discussion. (I=2, SC=Pv)
- 2.2. Speculation is in order only if it is (a) identified as such, (b) related closely and logically to empirical data or theory, and (c) expressed concisely. (I=2, SC=P)
- 2.3. Identifying the practical and theoretical implications of your study, suggesting improvements on your research, or proposing new research may be

appropriate, but keep these comments brief. (I=2, SC=Vp)

2.4. In general, be guided by these questions: (I=2, SC=P)

2.5. What have I contributed here? (I=2, SC=Vf)

2.6. How has my study helped to resolve the original problem? (I=2, SC=Vf)

2.7. What conclusions and theoretical implications can I draw from my study? (I=2, SC=Vf)

2.8. The responses to these questions are the core of your contribution, and readers have a right to clear, unambiguous, and direct answers. (I=4, SC=Fv)

2.9. 1.12 Multiple Experiments

2.10. If you are integrating several experiments in one paper, describe the method and results of each experiment separately. (I=1, SC=P)

2.11. If appropriate, include for each experiment a short discussion of the results or combine the discussion with the description of results (e.g., Results and Discussion). (I=1, SC=Vp)

2.12. Always make the logic and rationale of each new experiment clear to the reader. (I=3, SC=Pv)

2.13. Always include a comprehensive general discussion of all the work after the last experiment. (I=1, SC=P)

- 2.14. The arrangement of sections reflects the structure described above. (I=2, SC=F)
- 2.15. Label the experiments Experiment 1, Experiment 2, and so forth. (I=1, SC=P)
- 2.16. These labels are centered main headings (see section 3.29 on levels of headings). (I=2, SC=F)
- 2.17. They organize the subsections and make referring to a specific experiment convenient for the reader. (I=2, SC=Fv)
- 2.18. The Method and Results sections (and the Discussion section, if a short discussion accompanies each experiment) appear under each experimental heading. (I=2, SC=F)
- 2.19. (Refer to Figure 8 for the form of a multiple-experiment paper.) (I=3, SC=F)
- 2.20. 1.13 References
- 2.21. Just as data in the paper support interpretations and conclusions, so reference citations document statements made about the literature. (I=2, SC=F)
- 2.22. All citations in the manuscript must appear in the reference list, and all references must be cited in text. (I=1, SC=P)

Characters and Relationships

In this sample, the overall tone from narrator

to reader is instructive, with a preponderance of command-form verbs giving weight and authority to instructions. Initially this tone is condescending to a reader who must "avoid polemics, triviality, and weak theoretical comparisons;" one is told to make speculations only under controlled conditions (2.2).

The narrator's character develops into someone who takes a firm stance, for example, about the necessity to avoid polemics. Neither the rationale nor the motivation for this is spelled out. Nor are the narrator's notions of "triviality," "weak theoretical comparisons," or inappropriate "speculation" clear. The narrator insists on "concise" expression without offering it him or herself (sexless?), and presumes the reader's understanding of and/or acceptance of what is meant.

The narrator is revealed in addition as espousing rules which are more or less vague. The command is to write "appropriately" (2.3), yet what this means is not always clear. In 2.2, item (a) (speculation must be "identified as such") seems specific, while (b) and (c) are increasingly vague and abstract as expressed. The sentence, "Speculation is in order only if it is... related closely and logically to empirical data or theory" leaves a reader to guess what is really on the narrator's mind without any real clues.

The relationship of narrator and reader is further complicated by the narrator's admonishment of the reader to question him or herself about the written contribution. It is an admonishment to introspect, to question oneself, with a kind of implied religiosity: "In general," says the narrator, "be guided by these questions." Guidance of a moral and technical kind is fostered by the reader's compliance in interviewing self with questions provided by the narrator.

The reader who complies will personalize the contribution ("What have I contributed here?) and take or reaffirm possession of the study ("How has my study..." and "What ... implications can I draw from my study?"). Having taken up this guidance the reader is triangulated between the narrator and other characters who are readers of the article in print. They are a readership with rights over the Manual reader's responses to self-examination and examination of the study. The narrator insists that responses be brief (2.3), but article readers' rights to "clear, unambiguous, and direct answers" must always be kept in mind. The Manual reader should be guided in a quasi-moral, quasi-legal manner by the counsel of the narrator and the rights of readers. The author examines self, takes ownership of (and responsibility for) the study and briefly articulates

the value of the study in relation to an original problem (2.6.).

Journal article readers are characterized as having reading interests which coalesce into rights, according to Manual authors. These readers want "clear, unambiguous and direct answers" to the guided introspection of authors--or such is the claim of Manual authors. Presumably, writing which is unclear, ambiguous, and indirect disturbs this reader. In 2.12, the Manual reader is counseled to "always make the logic and rationale of each new experiment clear to the reader." The article reader's "convenience" enters as a concern later (2.17), where the author must "make referring to a specific experiment convenient for the reader."

Somewhat in contrast to this is the Manual reader who appears in this sample as a passive agent willing to comply with the rules of the Manual. This reader is not addressed as a reader with "rights," for example, but is merely given instructions and is at the receiving end of a bit of condescension. After telling the reader to avoid triviality and weak theoretical comparisons, there is no mention of how to assess this. Moreover, this reader of the Manual is amenable to "guidance" about content as well. It is not a reader who would challenge, for example, the instruction to "avoid polemics." Were this the case,

some rationale would arise to meet the anticipated objections of this reader. Instead, the Manual reader is presented simply as in need of advice about publication matters. From how to evaluate a study's worth to situating headings, this reader seeks information, accepts Manual advice, and questions self in regard to the research contribution. This reader's difference from an article reader thus appears fairly dramatic.

Assumptions

2.1. It is possible to include "polemics, triviality, and weak theoretical comparisons" in an article's discussion. This can and should be avoided.

2.2 Speculation can easily be out of order in journal writing. It is "in order only when it is identified as such, ... related closely and logically to empirical data or theory, and ... expressed concisely." Speculation can be identified. It can be "related closely and logically to empirical data or theory" and "expressed concisely."

2.3. Identifying implications, suggesting improvements, and proposing new research in relation to a study is sometimes appropriate. These are considered comments. They can and should be kept brief.

2.4. It is possible to be guided by questions.

2.5. The reader-author ("I") can

have contributed something identifiable to him or herself. 2.6. A study ("my study") can help to resolve an "original problem." 2.7. Conclusions and theoretical implications can be drawn from a study. They must be kept brief. 2.8. Responses to guiding questions "are the core of [my] contribution." A contribution has a core. Readers of journal articles "have a right to clear, unambiguous, and direct answers" to guiding questions.

2.9. Multiple experiments can be reported. They can be reported in one paper. 2.10. The method and results of each experiment must be reported separately. 2.11. Under appropriate conditions, one may include a discussion of each experiment or combine the discussion with the results section. This section would be called Results and Discussion. 2.12. It is possible and desirable to "make the logic and rationale of each new experiment clear to the reader." The writer can do this and it is always possible to do this. 2.13. It is always desirable to include a "comprehensive general discussion" of all experiments after the last experiment.

2.14. Sections (of papers?) have been arranged according to a structure described above. 2.15. Experiments can be given labels ("Experiment 1, Experiment 2, and so forth"). 2.16. "These labels are centered main headings." Readers can see section 3.9

on "levels of heading." 2.17. The labels, also known as centered main headings, organize subsections and "make referring to an experiment convenient for the reader." 2.18. It is possible and desirable to make the Methods and Results sections "appear under each experimental heading. 2.19. A multiple-experiment paper has one form. It may be found in Figure 8.

2.20. References are related to headings and labels. 2.21. Data can support interpretations and conclusions. Reference citations document statements made about literature. Supporting interpretations and documenting statements are similar textual events. There is one literature. Reference citations document statements which are "about" this literature. 2.22. The reference list is not part of the text. All references must appear in the reference list and all reference items must be cited in text.

Commentary

This sample begins with a serialization of practices to avoid, or more precisely, a marginalization of three apparently related forms of writing which appear to frequent an editor's desk: polemics, trivialities, and weak theoretical comparisons. As indicated earlier, these ill-defined concepts appear to be well enough understood as to

require no definition. They rely heavily on the imaginal and intellectual background of the reader.

This remains true for "speculation," though an attempt is made to supply more information about the presence and possibility of speculation. Speculation is a practice which, however, is interiorized rather than marginalized, but only under certain controlled circumstances. One presumption is that if the author does not claim he or she is speculating, then speculation is not occurring. Moreover, any speculation should be related closely and logically to data or theory, although "close" and "logical" suggest entirely different relations. The kind of logic required is not spelled out and "closely" connotes a spatial rather than a conceptual or definitional understanding of this relation. "Concisely" is similarly vague. The consequences of unidentified, distant, illogical, and inconcise speculation are not defined for the reader.

Also serialized are "identifying practical and theoretical implications", "suggesting improvements," or "proposing new research." They are listed as if equal before the insistence that they be brief.

Perhaps the most important stylistic process in this sample is the development of visual and spatial imagery. Use of visual and spatial words, sparing at first, leads to a kind of visual crescendo in 2.14.

The "arrangement of sections" is a visible "reflection" of a "structure described above." This reflection is not described "earlier," but "above." The ideal article is formed by what is "included in" textual space (cf. 2.1, 2.2, 2.11, 2.13, etc.). An author can be "guided" by "questions," implying direction-giving by words in print. A contribution has a "core" (2.5-2.8) which must be "clear" (2.8, 2.12). Sections are "separate" (2.10) or "combined" (2.11.) "after" (2.13) and "above" (2.14) one another in spatial displays which are "labeled" (2.15), "leveled" (2.16), and "organized" in a way that its "form" can be seen in figures (2.19). In this vein, there is a concern with what "appears" (2.18, 2.22).

The article is posed as an enclosure, a container. This container has limits and even "the literature" can be talked about as if itself were a finite container (2.21). Bodily terminologies, such as "headings" which "organize," are used as if this container were analogous to the body in some way. If so it is a visible body (of text?) in which an author's observable responses must be clear and unambiguous.

APPENDIX C
SAMPLE 3

Introduction

Sample 3 is taken from the first part of Chapter 2, the "Expression of Ideas." This first part is called "Writing Style" and is followed by sections on "Grammar" and "Consideration of the Reader." Within this last section is a four-page Table on "Guidelines for Nonsexist Language in APA Journals."

Sample 3 begins in the first (Writing Style) section under the subheading of the "Orderly Presentation of Ideas." It extends into a following subsection labelled "Smoothness of Expression" and stops short of a subsection entitled "Economy of Expression."

Sample 3

- 3.1. A pronoun that refers to a noun in the preceding sentence not only serves as a transition but also avoids repetition. (I=2, SC=Fv)
- 3.2. Be sure the referent is obvious. (I=2, SC=Pv)
- 3.3. Other transition devices are time links (then,

next, after, while, since), cause-effect links (therefore, consequently, as a result), addition links (in addition, moreover, furthermore, similarly), or contrast links (however, but, conversely, nevertheless, although, whereas). (I=2, SC=F)

3.4. A few transition words (e.g., while, since) create confusion because they have been adopted in informal writing style and in conversation for transitions other than time links. (I=2, SC=F)

3.5. For example, since is often used when because is meant. (I=2, SC=F)

3.6. Scientific writing, however, must be precise; therefore, only the original meaning of these transition words is acceptable (see section 2.10 for rules and examples). (I=2, SC=Vp)

3.7. 2.02 Smoothness of Expression

3.8. Scientific prose serves a different purpose than creative writing does. (I=2, SC=F)

3.9. Devices that are often found in creative writing, for example, setting up ambiguity, inserting the unexpected, omitting the expected, and suddenly shifting the topic, tense, or person, can confuse or disturb readers of scientific prose. (I=4, SC=F)

3.10. Therefore, these devices should be avoided in writing that aims for clear and logical communication. (I=2/4, SC=Pv)

3.11. Because you have spent so much time close to your material and have thus lost some objectivity, you may not immediately see certain problems, especially inferred contradictions. (I=2, SC=Fv)

3.12. A reading by a colleague may uncover such problems. (I=4, SC=F)

3.13. You can usually catch omissions, irrelevancies, and abruptness by putting the manuscript aside and rereading it later. (I=1, SC=Fv)

3.14. If you also read the paper aloud, you have an even better chance of finding problems of abruptness. (I=1, SC=Fv)

3.15. If, on later reading, you do find that your writing is abrupt, more transition from one topic to another may be needed. (I=2, SC=Fv)

3.16. Possibly you have abandoned an argument or theme prematurely; if so, you need to amplify the discussion. (I=2, SC=Fv)

3.17. Abruptness is often the result of sudden shifts in verb tense and the capricious use of different

tenses within the same paragraph or in adjacent paragraphs. (I=2, SC=Fv)

Characters and Relationships

Sample 3 presents little new information on characters and relationships except for that articulated from 3.9 onward. It is here in 3.9 that more information about "readers of scientific prose" is available. This reader of journals, unlike the reader of "creative writing," should not be confused or disturbed, which can happen when they encounter some of the devices of creative writing. This reader can be confused or disturbed by ambiguity, insertion of the unexpected, and shifts of topic, tense or person. The negative implication is that this reader is free of confusion or disturbance when confronted with devices which create unambiguous, expected and gradually transitional writing.

The Manual reader is coached about this by the narrator. He or she is reminded of the importance of producing "writing that aims for clear and logical communication" (3.10). The reader must not be confused or disturbed, at least by style.

The possibility of producing a "clear and logical communication" is threatened, however, by the

writer who has "spent so much time close to [his or her] material" that he or she has lost some "objectivity." The narrator creates a psychologist writer who is mostly objective, but whose objectivity may be lost somewhat by spending "much time close to his or her[material." This writer may not "see certain problems."

Here the "colleague" is introduced as someone who may see problems and contradictions and restore the reader to objectivity (3.12). The Manual reader may acquire this colleague's ability by "putting the manuscript aside and rereading it later" (3.13). Still another solution to waning objectivity, especially as relates to abruptness, is to "read the paper aloud." Whatever the technique, this reader must guard against contradictions, omissions, irrelevancies, abruptness, and "capricious use of different tenses" (3.17). Sample 2 admonished the Manual reader about avoiding "polemics, triviality, and weak theoretical comparisons," implying that this character, however objective he or she may be under certain circumstances, is nonetheless susceptible to a number of writing (de)vices which threaten this objectivity before an easily confused, disturbed, or inconvenienced reader with rights over what is written. The narrator warns of such problems and

offers benevolent (if condescending) assistance.

Assumptions

3.1. A pronoun may refer to a noun in a preceding sentence. It may serve as a transition and help to avoid repetition. 3.2. The referent may not be obvious. The reader-writer should make sure it is. 3.3. A pronoun can be a transition device. It is like other devices: time links, cause-effect links, addition links, or contrast links. These devices are links.

3.4. A few time links "create confusion because they have been adopted in informal writing style and in conversation" as other transitions. The writing here discussed is neither informal nor conversational. 3.5. "Since is often used when because is meant." This exemplifies confusion caused by the adoption of time-link transition words by informal writing and conversation. Informal writing and conversation adopted and confused this device from scientific writing, not vice versa or from somewhere else. 3.6. Scientific writing can and must be precise. Words have "original meanings." Only such meanings are acceptable in scientific writing.

3.7. Expression may be smooth.

3.8. Scientific prose is different from creative writing. This is true because they serve different purposes. 3.9. Creative writing employs devices. These devices--"setting up ambiguity, inserting the unexpected, omitting the expected, and suddenly shifting the topic, tense, or person"--"can confuse or disturb readers of scientific prose." Scientific prose uses no such devices. 3.10. These devices should be avoided in scientific writing. Scientific writing "aims for clear and logical communication."

3.11. The Manual reader-writer may have lost objectivity in spending a great deal of time close to his or her material. Objectivity is possible. Losing "some objectivity" is not losing all objectivity. Losing some objectivity may prevent a writer from identifying certain problems, especially inferred contradictions. It is possible to "immediately see certain problems [and] inferred contradictions." 3.12. A reading by a colleague--who has spent less time with and is distant from one's material--"may uncover such problems." 3.13. The Manual reader "can usually catch omissions, irrelevancies, and abruptness by putting the manuscript aside and rereading it later." 3.15. The Manual reader can and should read the paper aloud in order to find abruptness.

3.15. If this writing is found abrupt, "more

transition from one topic to another may be needed."

3.16. An argument or theme may be abandoned prematurely. A discussion can be "amplified."

Commentary

Sample 3 continues the practice of using instructive assertions to guide a reader into the correct writing consciousness. In addition, however, are word choices which appear to organize forms of writing around the different devices used. These instructions acknowledge five more or less distinct kinds of writing. They are thus not simply instructions, but carriers of a linguistic topology, however ill-defined.

Scientific writing--writing advocated by the Manual--is held to have "transition devices" (3.1-3.6) and apparently devices which aim "for clear and logical communication" (3.10). It is juxtaposed with several other linguistic or writing practices. Scientific writing is not informal writing or conversation insofar as these practices often confuse, for example, "since" with "because." Moreover, scientific writing "must be precise" and "use the original meaning of these transition words" (3.6).

Another alternative writing form to "scientific prose" is "creative writing." The purposes and devices of each are different. The purpose of creative writing is not mentioned, though the purpose of scientific writing appears to be "clear and logical communication" (3.10). Alternatively, the devices of scientific prose--apart from "transition devices" (3.1-3.3)--are not mentioned, though a relatively long list of creative writing devices is mentioned: setting up ambiguity, omitting the expected, etc. (3.9). The literal implication here would be that creative writing has no purpose and scientific writing has no devices. However, it is the taste of the reader--who may be confused (3.4, 3.9) or disturbed (3.9), or who may uncover problems as a colleague or actually function like this colleague at a "later time"--that judges.

Less distinct than these four categories of linguistic practices (scientific writing, conversation, informal writing, and creative writing) is a form of writing, as yet nameless, which attends more closely the writing style advocated by the Manual. This writing, more precisely, attends the loss of "some objectivity" on the part of the writer. It is writing which is like scientific writing (it may be submitted for publication) but it is not

objective writing. Yet ironically, if logical communication is the purpose of scientific prose, the Manual cannot be considered scientific, because it is not logical to have lost "some objectivity" without losing it all. This is self-contradictory, and is as well ironic because inferred contradictions are precisely at issue: "Because you have spent so much time close to your material and have thus lost some objectivity, you may not immediately see certain problems, especially inferred contradictions" (3.11). Thankfully, "a reading by a colleague may uncover such problems" (3.12).

Alternatively, the implication that it is possible to lose "some objectivity" could mean that objectivity in psychology comes in quantities and is quantifiable.

The loss of some objectivity is occasioned by inferred contradictions, omissions, irrelevancies, and abruptness. (The latter, "abruptness," is the focus of statements 3.14-3.17.) This unnamed prose, which intermixes with scientific prose and compromises its objectivity, can be eradicated by having colleagues read it, rereading it later oneself, using transition devices, elaborating a prematurely abandoned argument or theme, or refining the use of verb tenses. It is thus within reach of bona fide scientific prose.

A final note on the style and logic of this passage concerns the further use of visually dominated language (see SAMPLE 2). This sample includes, in addition, three acoustic references: references to "conversation" (3.4), "reading aloud" (3.14), and "amplify[ing] the discussion" (3.16). These events appear related only by their association with problems: improper time-link usage, abruptness, and prematurely abandoned arguments or themes, respectively. However, this commonality is not simple and is difficult to probe without further examples.

APPENDIX D
SAMPLE 4

Introduction

Sample 4 is taken from Chapter 3 on "APA Editorial Style." In this chapter, topics such as punctuation, spelling, abbreviations, quotations, figures, and references are covered. The sample begins at the end of a section on tables, where the reader is asked a series of questions on the necessity, planning, and creation of tables. It extends into the section on the use of figures and "standards" for figures.

Sample 4

- 4.1. Are all comparable tables in the manuscript consistent in presentation? (I=2, SC=V)
- 4.2. Is the title brief but explanatory? (I=2, SC=V)
- 4.3. Does every column have a column heading? (I=2, SC=F)
- 4.4. Are all abbreviations, underlines, parentheses, and special symbols explained? (I=2, SC=F)
- 4.5. Are all probability level values correctly identified, and are asterisks attached to the appropriate table entries? (I=2/1, SC=Fv)

- 4.6. Are the notes in the following order: general note, specific note, probability note? (I=2, SC=Fv)
- 4.7. Are all vertical rules eliminated? (I=2, SC=F)
- 4.8. Are horizontal rules drawn in pencil only? (I=2, SC=Fv)
- 4.9. Will the table fit across the width of a journal column or page? (I=2, SC=F)
- 4.10. If all or part of a copyrighted table is reproduced, do the table notes give full credit to the copyright owner? (I=2, SC=Fp)
- 4.11. Is a letter of permission included with the submitted manuscript? (I=2, SC=F)
- 4.12. Is the table referred to in text? (I=2, SC=F)
- 4.13. Does the manuscript include an indication for the printer of the approximate placement in text of each table? (I=4, SC=Fp)
- 4.14. Figures
- 4.15. 3.71 Deciding to Use Figures
- 4.16. In APA journals any type of illustration other than a table is called a figure. (I=2, SC=Pf)
- 4.17. (Because tables are typeset rather than photographed from artwork supplied by the author, they are not considered figures.) (I=2, SC=Pf)
- 4.18. A figure may be a chart, graph, photograph, drawing, or other depiction. (I=2, SC=Pf)

4.19. Consider carefully whether to use a figure.

(I=2, SC=P)

4.20. On the one hand, a well-prepared figure can convey the qualitative aspects of data, such as comparisons, relationships, and structural or pictorial concepts, more efficiently than can text or tables. (I=2, SC=Vf)

4.21. On the other hand, a figure is usually more time-consuming and more expensive than text or tables to prepare and reproduce. (I=2, SC=Fv)

4.22. During the process of drafting a manuscript, and before deciding to use a figure, ask yourself these questions: (I=1, SC=P)

4.23. Is the figure necessary? (I=2, SC=V)

4.24. If it duplicates text, it is not necessary. (I=2, SC=V)

4.25. If it compliments text or eliminates lengthy discussion, it may be the most efficient way to present the information. (I=2, SC=V)

4.26. What idea do you need to convey? (I=2, SC=F)

4.27. What type of figure (e.g., graph, chart, diagram, drawing, map, or photograph) is most suited to your purpose? (I=2, SC=V)

4.28. Will a simple, relatively inexpensive figure

convey the point as well as an elaborate, expensive figure? (I=2, SC=V)

4.29. 3.72 Standards for Figures

4.30. The standards for good figures are simplicity, clarity, and continuity. (I=2, SC=Pv)

4.31. A good figure

4.32. augments rather than duplicates the text; (I=2, SC=V)

4.33 conveys only essential facts; (I=2, SC=V)

4.34. omits visually distracting detail; (I=2, SC=V)

4.35. is easy to read--its elements (type, lines, labels, etc.) are large enough to read with ease in the printed form; (I=2, SC=V)

4.36. is easy to understand--its purpose is readily apparent; (I=2, SC=V)

4.37. is consistent with and is prepared in the same style as similar figures in the same article; (I=2, SC=V)

4.38. that is, the lettering is of the same size and typeface, lines are of the same weight, and so forth; (I=2, SC=F)

4.39. is carefully planned and prepared. (I=2, SC=V)

4.40. Types of figures and figure preparation guidelines are described in some detail in sections

3.73-3.30 so that you can select the figure most appropriate to the information being presented and ensure the preparation of a figure of professional quality. (I=2, SC=F)

4.41. If you engage a professional artist, supply the artist with the guidelines in this section so that the artist is aware of the requirements for figures published in APA journals. (I=3, SC=P)

Characters and Relationships

This sample begins with the narrator presenting the reader with a checklist of questions about tables. This is accomplished with extraordinary attention to detail. In 4.10, a new character is introduced: the copyright owner. This figure is someone who must receive full credit for a copied table and must write a letter of permission for the reproduction. Little is said of this character and also the "printer," who is portrayed as one to whom indication of the placement of tables is made (4.13).

APA is mentioned (4.16, 4.41), but only in regard to APA journals. These are policy-like statements about the rules and practices acceptable in APA journals. The "author" (4.7) and "professional artist" (4.41) alike must be made aware of these rules and practices.

To characterize the main relationship activity of the passage, though, would be to discuss the interplay between narrator and reader. The "guidance" relationship (see Sample 2) is apparently well-established. The passage is marked by oscillations between questions to the author, definitions, and policy. The values expressed by the narrator are interwoven throughout and presumed shared by the reader. The values of continuity and consistency (4.1, 4.30, 4.32, 4.37, 4.38), brevity (4.2), completeness (4.3, 4.5, 4.7), responsibility (4.10-4.11), economy (4.21, 4.28), utility (4.19, 4.23), simplicity (4.28, 4.30, 4.33), clarity (4.30, 4.34), and convenience (4.35) are expressed unselfconsciously. No real alternatives are presumed and there is no anticipated challenge from the reader. That is, no real defense of these values grows up around their usage, implying a shared backdrop of values between narrator and reader. Still, this reader may evidence alternative writing values, since the tone of narrator to reader is eductational, bordering on the pedantic. It is as if the narrator's reader has constructed tables and figures aesthetically and axiologically wide of the "standard" or he or she would not need such detailed instructions and reminders.

Assumptions

4.1. Tables can be comparable and consistent in presentation. 4.2. Tables can be brief and explanatory. 4.3. Every column can and should have a heading. 4.4. Special symbols should be explained. 4.5. Probability levels should be correctly identified. Asterisks should be attached to appropriate table entries. 4.6. Notes should be in order. General notes should precede specific notes. Specific notes should precede probability notes. 4.7. Vertical rules should be eliminated. 4.8. Horizontal rules should only be drawn in pencil. 4.9. The table should fit across the width of a journal column or page. 4.10. Table notes should give full credit to copyright owners when reproduced. 4.11. A letter of permission should be included with the submitted manuscript. 4.12. The table should be referred to in the text. 4.13. The manuscript should include an indication of table placement for the printer.

4.14. This section is on "figures." 4.15. Someone (author?) decides to use figures. 4.16. APA journals are different. In them, any "illustration other than a table is called a figure." 4.17. This is because tables are typeset and are not considered

artwork from the author. 4.18. "A figure may be a chart, graph, photograph, drawing, or other depiction." 4.19. The reader-author should carefully consider whether to use a figure. 4.20. "A well-prepared figure can convey the qualitative aspects of data... more efficiently than can text or tables." Qualitative aspects of data can be comparisons, relationships, and structural or pictorial concepts. 4.21. "A figure is usually more time-consuming and more expensive than text or tables to prepare and reproduce."

4.22. Drafting a manuscript is a process. During this process, ask yourself the following questions. Do this before (not after?) deciding to use a figure. 4.23. The figure may not be necessary. 4.24. A figure can duplicate text, but should not do so. 4.25. It can compliment text and eliminate lengthy discussion. When it does this, "it may be the most efficient way to present the information." Figures present information. 4.26. The reader-author has an idea; it can be conveyed. 4.27. The reader-author has a purpose; different figures may suit this purpose. 4.28. Simple, inexpensive figures can sometimes "convey the point" as well as elaborate, expensive figures.

4.29. Figures must meet "standards." 4.30. These

standards are simplicity, clarity, and continuity.

4.31. Figures can be good. They are when they augment rather than duplicate text (4.32) (It is possible for a figure to duplicate text.); convey only essential facts (4.33) (Some facts are inessential.); omits visually distracting detail (4.34) (Some details distract.); is easy to read (4.35) (Small type, lines, labels, etc. are not easy to read in "the printed form."); is easy to understand (4.36) (It must have a purpose which is "readily apparent."); is consistent stylistically with similar figures in the same article (4.37) (This in regard to lettering size, line weights, and so forth.); and is carefully planned and prepared (4.39). (Bad ones are not, and one can tell.)

4.40 Some types of figures are more appropriate for presenting certain information. Figure preparation guidelines, presented in some detail, will "ensure the preparation of a figure of professional quality." 4.41. A "professional artist" must be made aware of "requirements for figures published in APA journals."

Commentary

This sample begins in the midst of a long series

of questions about "tables." The reasons for the use of questions is not clear. That is, why are questions chosen (4.1-4.13) and not statements? For example, "Is the title brief but explanatory" (4.2) could be written as, "The title should be brief, but explanatory." Furthermore, the questions are not contemplative, but "yes" or "no" questions, "yes" being the obviously correct answer. The reader could be made to believe a dialogue, a questioning, exists, where there is none. However, the broader context of this sample shows that prior to this checklist, instructions have been given unequivocally for the above questions. Thus, this subsection appears to have a mnemonic function, quizzing the reader in regard to his or her already-produced table. It is a reminder, a repetition in an interrogative voice.

The elaboration of an austere, utilitarian writing aesthetic occurs throughout this sample. The use and reuse of the terminology of brevity, efficiency, simplicity and clarity combines with almost obsessive attention to detail and a concern with time and money to form a powerful statement of this aesthetic. Moreover, statements of value and practice are interwoven in such a way as to introduce an ethics as well. This is influenced by the repeated call to question oneself about one's thoughts and

products in relation to these values.

If efficiency and brevity concepts are combined with time and cost concepts, the repeated use of "convey" (4.20, 4.26, 4.28, 4.33) finds sense in the production-line like image governing the creation of a figure. Time and motion should not be wasted. For instance, the reader is warned to quiz him or herself about the value of using a figure "before deciding to use it[.]" Ideas (4.26), data (4.20), information (4.25), and facts (4.33) are on the conveyor and must be "presentable" (cf. 4.1, 4.25, 4.40) and "appropriate" (4.5, 4.40) along a number of aesthetic dimensions. Planning and preparation are essential (4.20-4.22, 4.39, 4.40) and recognizable: "A good figure is carefully planned and prepared." Careful planning inheres in a good figure.

The language of production and "reproduction" (4.10, 4.21) thus has a high profile in this passage. Questions are directed by a concern with quality control. If the reader follows the directions, a figure of "professional quality" will result. If not, one's ideas may be good, but not presented in a way as to to be efficiently and appropriately conveyed to one's readers.

Regarding another aspect of this sample, a difference is articulated between types of conveyors,

particularly tables, text, and figures. Like text, tables are typeset. This makes tables unlike figures, which are not typeset (4.16-4.17). Yet, a figure may duplicate or compliment text (4.24-4.25, 4.32). A figure is like text, because it can duplicate it, but is unlike text because of cost, preparation, and typographic technologies.

"Text" is, however on a different plane of abstraction. Only once (4.32) is the expression "the text" used. The expression "in text" or just "text" occurs in three doublets (4.12-4.13, 4.20-4.21, 4.24-4.25), creating a high level of abstractness. It is not "the text" or "a text," but "text," free of definite or indefinite articles. An asymmetry, as yet unexplained, subtly occurs between table or figure and text. "Is the table referred to in text?" A definite reference anchors "table," while "text" is without explicit referent.

APPENDIX E
SAMPLE 5

Introduction

Sample 5 is drawn from the beginning of Chapter 4, "Typing Instructions and Sample Paper." This chapter is explicitly addressed to typists and includes general instructions about paper selection, typeface, pagination, and other areas, as well as detailed instruction about typing the parts of a manuscript. The sample begins in a section in which author and typist responsibilities are spelled out. It passes over into the section on the selection of paper.

Sample 5

- 5.1. If the manuscript is to be blind reviewed, authors are responsible for preparing the manuscript to conceal their identities. (I=4, SC=P)
- 5.2. Therefore, authors must
- 5.3. prepare the material for the typist exactly as it is to be typed. (I=3, SC=P)
- 5.4. The typist should not be expected to edit.
(I=4, SC=P)

5.5. The author should not hand the typist the Manual and expect the typist to transform a poorly prepared draft into a manuscript prepared according to APA style. (I=3, SC=Pv)

5.6. For example, the author must prepare a running head of no more than 50 characters and not leave the selection of a running head to the typist. (I=3, SC=P)

5.7. proofread the manuscript after it is typed, making all corrections and changes before submitting the manuscript for consideration (see sections 4.07 and 5.03). (I=1, SC=P)

5.8. examine the manuscript using the checklist on the inside front and back covers of the Manual to ensure that the manuscript has been prepared according to APA style. (I=1, SC=P)

5.9. prepare a cover letter to accompany the submitted manuscript (see section 5.02). (I=1, SC=P)

5.10. Typist's Responsibilities

5.11. The typist is responsible only for accurate transcription of the manuscript. (I=4, SC=P)

5.12. Before typing, the typist should review the manuscript in order to prepare for unusual terms and treatments and should resolve any problems with the author. (I=3, SC=P)

5.13. The typist should not be expected to edit but should type only what appears in the author's draft except for minor technical errors, such as an occasional misspelled word. (I=4/1, SC=P)

5.14. General Instructions

5.15. 4.01 Paper

5.16. Type the manuscript on one side of standard-sized (8 1/2 x 11 in. (22 x 28 cm)), heavy white bond paper. (I=1, SC=P)

5.17. All pages of one manuscript must be the same size. (I=2, SC=Pv)

5.18. Do not use half sheets or strips of paper glued, taped, or stapled to the pages; these are often torn off or lost in shipment and handling. (I=1/2, SC=Pf)

5.19. Do not use onionskin or erasable paper because these papers do not withstand handling. (I=1/2, SC=Pf)

Characters and Relationships

The principal characters in this section are author and typist, who are in a relationship mediated by the quasi-moral instruction of the narrator. The narrator makes heretofore unprecedented use of a "should/should not" terminology. The passage speaks

directly to the responsibility of author and typist and against mislaid expectations on the part of authors.

Authors are not assumed to be typists in this passage. A division of identity and labor is spelled out. The author must "prepare the material for the typist exactly as it it to be typed." The typist may not edit or decide content (5.4, 5.6), with minor exceptions (5.13). The author is instructed not to abuse the typist by expecting "the typist to transform a poorly prepared draft into a manuscript prepared according to APA style." Yet the typist "is responsible ... for accurate transcription of the manuscript," though this responsibility is an ambiguous one. Is it the author or APA to whom the typist is responsible? The narrator leaves this unclear. In 5.12, the narrator instructs the typist, however, to "resolve any problems with the author" before typing. Again, in 5.13, the typist is not to edit, except when the author "occasionally" misspells a word.

Like all characters so far, neither author nor typist have a sex. It is the division of mental and physical labor which is salient. The character of the author grows up around "preparation" (5.3, 5.6) and "proofreading" (5.7), the typist's around the

processes of "transcription" (5.11).

As an unusual pretext to this, the author is presented, in reference to blind review, as one who may have to conceal his or her identity. The "therefore" in 5.2 which follows the statement of identity concealment suggests that what follows relates to this concealment. The whole passage reads: "If the manuscript is to be blind reviewed, authors are responsible for preparing the manuscript to conceal their identities. Therefore, authors must prepare the material for the typist exactly as it is to be typed," and so on. There is not enough information to clear this up, though it is partly true that what follows this unusual prelude is a discussion concerning the identities, or identifications, of author and typist. Once these characters are clearly differentiated, the stage is set for the narrator to resume a familiar, instructive voice. Once "identities" are clear, instruction proceeds.

Assumptions

5.1. Manuscripts can be blind reviewed. Authors are, in this case, responsible for concealing their identities. 5.3. Authors can and must prepare

material exactly as it is to be typed. This is for the typist. 5.4 The author may expect the typist to edit, but should not do so. 5.5 It is possible that an author would hand a typist the Manual and expect the typist "to transform a poorly prepared draft into a manuscript prepared according to APA style."

Authors may produce poorly prepared drafts.

Manuscripts in APA style are not poorly prepared. 5.6

Authors prepare running heads. They are not to leave this to the typist. 5.7. Authors are to proofread the manuscript after it is typed. They make "all

corrections and changes before submitting the

manuscript." 5.8. Authors are to examine the

manuscript using the checklist on the cover of the

Manual "to ensure that the manuscript has been

prepared according to APA style." 5.9. Authors are to prepare a cover letter.

5.10. Typists have responsibilities. 5.11. These are summarized as "accurate transcription"

responsibilities. 5.12. Typists are to review

manuscripts before typing. There may be "unusual

terms and treatments." The typist "should resolve any problems with the author." The typist may have

problems which he or she should take up with the

author. 5.13. Typists should not edit. Typists are to

type "only what appears in the author's draft."

Authors occasionally misspell words. This is a "minor technical error." Typists may correct minor technical errors.

5.15. Under general instructions for typists, instructions about paper are first. 5.16. Typists are to type manuscripts on one side of standard-sized, heavy white bond paper. 5.17. Pages can and must be the same size. 5.18. Typists must not use "half sheets or strips of paper glued, taped, or stapled to the pages; these are often torn off or lost in shipment and handling." 5.19. Typist are not to use onionskin or erasable papers. These do not withstand handling.

Commentary

The tone of the first parts of this passage (5.1-5.13) is affected by the use of the words "must" and "should." This occurs in the articulation of the responsibilities of authors and typists and can be contrasted with the tone set once these responsibilities are laid out. From "the typist should not be expected to edit," to "do not use half sheets..," that is, from the moral intonation of "shoulds" to the direct command forms of verbs, this shift of tone is dramatic.

The style and effects of this passage are tied up with the relationships among characters (see "Relationships"). For example, the attempt to clarify the "expectations" of author and typist, together with the "musts" and "shoulds" which populate this passage, speaks to an unfamiliarity authors and typists would seem to have for each other and their tasks. Above all, the typist must not assume the duties of the author or editor. Authors could also be typists, but typists cannot be authors as the passage is written. The "selection of a running head must not be left to the typist" (5.6). In fact, only "minor technical errors" should evoke an editorial response in the typist. It is as if the sentence, "The typist is responsible only for accurate transcription of the manuscript," could have been, "The typist should only be allowed to transcribe the manuscript," without a loss of implication. A corrective for a possible abuse serves as well to reaffirm the division of labor between author and typist.

The physicality of the images, together with the ambiguity as to whether an author or typist is the reader addressed (in 5.1-5.13), implies two readers, however discrete their identities, united in the purpose of preparing an APA-styled manuscript. Preparation of material "exactly as it is to be typed

(5.3), the prohibition of "handing" a manuscript for "transformation," the examination of the manuscript after it's typed with the book cover's checklist: it is as if author and typist are presumed reading the Manual together, handling it alternatively in line with each one's responsibilities.

The sequencing of events augments this sense. First, the author prepares the material exactly and not poorly; then the typist reviews the manuscript, prepares him, or most likely herself, for "unusual terms and treatments," and resolves "any problems with the author" before typing; then the typist types, but doesn't edit; the author proofreads the manuscript ("after it is typed"), making corrections "before submitting the manuscript;" the author then examines "the manuscript using the checklist on the inside front and back covers of the Manual to ensure that the manuscript has been prepared according to APA style" (This is so even though the author should have submitted it to the typist exactly as it was to be typed. Something could happen, it seems, to unfavorably alter the manuscript in the meantime.) Less clear in this tight chronology is when the author should conceal his or her identity. Sentences 5.1 and 5.2 could be read as the author needing to conceal his or her identity even from the typist,

though this intention seems hardly plausible.

The steps in the chronology are not presented in the above order in the text itself. In addition, some instructions are not at all sequenced, but are frequently repeated, and presented as ubiquitous rules. The rule against the typist editing is exemplary. This message, in fact, dominates sentences 5.2-5.13, recurring in various terminologies in nearly every sentence. It appears to be the most "general instruction," which contrasts with the quite specific instructions which actually fall under that heading (5.14-5.19). Once author and typist are clear what the typist will not do, the command voice--"type this, do not do that"--is restored. Once order (temporal) and role expectations are articulated the typist can be addressed authoritatively.

A final ambiguity in this passage concerns the word choices of "unusual terms and treatments" in 5.12. "Terms" and "treatments" are serialized and presented as somehow alike. On the one hand, unusual "terms" also implies a difference of vocabulary between author and typist. On the other hand, "treatments," given its use by psychologists, creates a double-take. For a reader in the know, it could mean statistical or methodological treatments which are believed obscure to a typist. To another reader,

"unusual treatments" could suggest fringe clinical practices. Unusual terms and treatments together could mean esoteric diagnostic labels and rare applications in practice. It could also be stretched to imply that the typist should prepare for both unusual terms from a psychologist and for unusual treatment from him or her as well. If the typist has problems, he or she should go to a psychologist, that is, the author.

APPENDIX F
Sample 6

Introduction

Sample 6 is taken from Chapter 5, "Submitting the Manuscript and Proofreading." It is a brief chapter in which sending, reviewing and proofing manuscripts are dealt with. The sample begins in the section, "Reviewing the Copy-Edited Manuscript," and extends into the section entitled "Proofreading."

Sample 6

- 6.1. After copy editing, APA usually sends the manuscript back to you, the author, for a review of the editing. (I=4, SC=P)
- 6.2. You should answer the copy editor's queries or indicate changes to the manuscript neatly in the margins of the manuscript or on the tags attached to the manuscript, using black pencil only; detail long responses or changes in a cover letter. (I=3, SC=P)
- 6.3. Substantive changes must be approved by the journal editor. (I=4, SC=P)
- 6.4. Do not mark the manuscript text in response to a query and do not erase the copy editor's marks because such changes often result in typesetting

errors. (I=3, SC=P)

6.5. Instead, the copy editor will transfer your changes from the margins, tags, or cover letter to the manuscript. (I=1, SC=Pf)

6.6. Take the time to review the edited manuscript carefully. (I=1, SC=P)

6.7. The printer will typeset the manuscript as edited. (I=1, SC=Pf)

6.8. All changes made later to the typeset proof for a reason other than making the proof agree with the edited manuscript are charged to you as author's alterations (see section 5.09). (I=4, SC=Pf)

6.9. It is important to return the copy-edited manuscript to the APA journal office within 48 hours so that the manuscript can be sent to the printer on schedule. (I=3, SC=Pv)

6.10. Delays in returning the manuscript can result in delayed publication. (I=1, SC=F)

6.11. Proofreading

6.12. 5.08 Reading Proofs

6.13. After a manuscript is set in type, the printer sends you the manuscript and two sets of typeset proofs (an original proof to read, correct, and

return to APA and a duplicate for your files). (I=3, SC=Fp)

6.14. First, familiarize yourself with the proofreader's marks in Figure 10 and use them when marking corrections on the page proofs of your article (see Figure 11). (I=1, SC=P)

6.15. Second, give the printed proofs a literal reading to catch typographical errors. (I=1, SC=P)

6.16. Another person (a copyholder) should read the manuscript aloud slowly while you read the proof. (I=3, SC=P)

6.17. The copyholder should spell out complicated terms letter by letter and call out punctuation to catch all deviations from the manuscript. (I=3, SC=P)

Characters and Relationships

In this sample, a relatively large number of characters are present. By this stage of manuscript production, APA, authors, journal editors, copy editors, printers, proofreaders, and copyholders are involved. Each is introduced partially by function, technology, or interest; sometimes all three. The "printer" is presented partially as a human agent, for example, yet partially as a machine, or machinic

function, as in a "computer printer:" "It is important to return the copy-edited manuscript to the APA journal office within 48 hours so that the manuscript can be sent to the printer on schedule."

Similarly, the proofreader is one with proofreader marks. A person is proofreading or a proofreader when using proofreader marks. Authors use them, too. A copyholder reads the manuscript aloud and spells out complicated terms "letter by letter." A copy editor makes queries, and is interested in "neat changes" (6.2) in the margins only.

Although these roles are presented as highly determined technical roles involved with the material and visual realities of the manuscript, the "journal editor" is the one who must approve "substantive changes" (6.3). This appears to presume that editors exercise authority over substance ("content"?) and that "formal" changes, made by technologists, are insubstantial or less real.

The narrator-reader relationship continues to triangulate the various personages introduced, mostly along the lines of having the reader follow the instructions of the other characters. Reader is author in this passage; it is "you, the author," that now reads. This is acknowledged briefly and with some ceremony before returning to the full, instructive

narrational voice (6.1).

Corporate APA is again presented as a human agent: "APA usually sends the manuscript back to you." The narrator says "usually," implying uncertainty surrounding the behavior of this agent. And it is not the journal editor or managing editor who now has possession and sends the manuscript, it is APA. The location and relationship of editors to APA is not specified, though journal editors still retain approval power over substantive changes. Otherwise, the editors job appears finished and the technologies and the occupations they give rise to take over in the "APA journal office."

As yet, the first mention of a possible exchange of money among characters occurs in 6.8. Once typeset, an author may alter the manuscript only for a price. The fixity and inirascibility of print is encountered, as is an economic determinant. There is money involved, but the author need only encounter this now. No change, no charge. The reader is referred to section 5.09 for more information, and there is in this passage no more information about this potential charge.

Assumptions

6.1. APA may or may not send the manuscript back to you after copy-editing. "You" are now an author. The author is to review the manuscript. 6.2. The copy-editor may make queries which the author should respond to neatly. This response should be on margins or tags, using black pencil only. The author may emit long responses. These should go into a cover letter. 6.3. Authors may want to make "substantive changes." The journal editor must approve them. 6.4. Authors may or might have in the past marked manuscript text and erased copy-editor's marks. They should not do this. It can result in typesetting errors. 6.5. "The copy editor will transfer your changes" to the manuscript. 6.6. Authors should take time "to review the edited manuscript carefully." 6.7. "The printer will typeset the manuscript as edited." 6.8. Changes may be made later than the typeset proof which are for reasons other than "making the proof agree with the edited manuscript." The expense of this will be charged to "you, the author," as "author's alterations." More information exists on this in section 5.09.

6.9. Returning "the copy-edited manuscript to the APA journal office within 48 hours" is considered

important. The printer has a schedule related to this 48 hour period. 6.10. "Delays in returning the manuscript can result in delayed publication."

6.11. A section on proofreading follows. 6.12. It begins with a subsection on "reading proofs."

6.13. The printer sends the manuscript and two proofs. This is done after typesetting. One proof is an original to be read, corrected, and returned to APA. The other is for the author's files. The author has files.

6.14. The proofreader has marks. The author must first familiarize him or herself with them. They are to be used by authors for making corrections.

6.15. Printed proofs can be given a literal reading. This is believed to help catch typographical errors. This should happen second. 6.16. Another person, called a copyholder, "should read the manuscript aloud slowly" while the author reads the proofs. 6.17. This person should spell out complicated terms letter by letter and call out punctuation. This will help catch deviations from the manuscript. There may be "complicated terms" in the manuscript.

Commentary

This sample is marked by the presence of a group of people, technicians and otherwise, who will now be involved in the transformation of the manuscript into print. The author is coached as to how to respond to the rules, languages, and schedules of various agents now involved at the APA journal office. Copy editors want "black pencil only," proofreaders can be spoken to with "proofreaders marks," and printers have strict schedules.

The form and content of the manuscript are now no longer a matter of the author's discretion. This occurs as the manuscript becomes a delicate, rarefied thing which must be marked only with the utmost care (6.2, 6.4). The author is now without authority to re-mark this text, except at some uncertain personal cost. Substantive changes are authorized only by the journal editor, whose presence has otherwise faded as well. The production apparatus surfaces, subjecting each to fixed machinic practices. The robotics of publication is presented here, as is a snapshot of the economics of publication. The tone is serious. Lack of timely and acceptable performance by the reader, now author, delays publication and inflates its cost.

Around the proofs themselves emerges a two-step change of involvement by the author (6.14-6.17). In the first movement, the author learns a new semiotics in order to communicate with the proofreader. In the second movement the author is instructed to "give the proofs a literal reading" while another person reads the manuscript "aloud slowly." It is implied here that non-literal readings have occurred or would occur again in which typographical errors or deviations may not be "caught." The reintroduction (Cf. Sample 3) of an aural/oral scene around the manuscript occurs in the service of transforming manuscript to proof. This instruction invokes a transformation of visual manuscript writing into heard speech as the final corrective to deviations between manuscript and proof. "Literal" may thus refer to the process of rendering speech literate. This is not clear. However, the image of one adult reading and spelling while another listens and reads is a striking one. This singular moment of speaking, listening, and reading, is placed in the sequencing of a writing- and reading-dominated process so as to reinvoke speech on the horizon of the transition of manuscript to proof.

APPENDIX G
SAMPLE 7

Introduction

Chapter 6 is devoted to the "Journal Program of the APA." It covers "policies governing the journals" and describes each of the APA journals. Sample 7 is taken from the policies section. It begins in the context of a brief paragraph about "publication lag" and proceeds through a subsection on the nature of "primary publication."

Sample 7

7.1. The publication lag of each of the journals is given in the Summary Report of Journal Operations, which appears each year in the June issue of the American Psychologist. (I=1, SC=F)

7.2. 6.04 Primary Publication

7.3. Members of the scientific community generally agree that the characteristics of primary, or original, publication are (a) that articles represent research not previously published (i.e., first disclosure); (b) that articles are reviewed by peers

before being accepted or rejected by a journal; and
(c) that articles are archival (i.e., retrievable for
future reference). (I=2, SC=Fv)

7.4. (Also see Day, 1980, "Keeping Primary
Publication Primary.") (I=3, SC=F)

7.5. Like a wall that is built one brick at a time,
the peer-reviewed literature in a field is built by
single contributions that together represent the
accumulated knowledge of a field. (I=2, SC=F)

7.6. Each contribution must fill a place that before
was empty, and each contribution must be sturdy
enough to bear the weight of contributions to come.
(I=2, SC=V)

7.7. To ensure the quality of each contribution--that
the work is original, valid, and significant--
authorities in the subspecialties of a field
carefully review submitted manuscripts. (I=3, SC=Vp)

7.8. The peer-reviewed journals in which the
literature is preserved thus serve as "journals of
record, that is, authoritative sources of information
in their field" (Orne, 1981, p. 3). (I=2, SC=Fvp)

7.9. In the APA primary journals, the standard of
primary publication is supported by the peer-review
system and protected by policies that prohibit
multiple submission and duplicate publication. (I=4,

SC=P)

7.10. Multiple submission.

7.11. An author must not submit the same manuscript for concurrent consideration by two or more journals.

(I=1, SC=P)

7.12. If a manuscript is rejected by one journal, an author may then submit it to another. (I=1, SC=P)

7.13. Before resubmitting a rejected manuscript, however, an author is expected to revise it according to the editor's suggestions. (I=3, SC=P)

7.14. Duplicate publication.

7.15. An author must not submit to an APA primary journal a manuscript that has been published in whole or in substantial part in another journal or in any readily available work, in English or in another language. (I=1, SC=P)

Characters and Relationships

Several characters are presented in this sample. They include "members of the scientific community," "peers," the author and the editor. Other specific, "real" characters, Day (7.4) and Orne (7.8), are referenced. APA is also mentioned, albeit adjectivally.

"Members of the scientific community" are presented as a collective among which general agreement can be found as to what constitutes a "primary, or original, publication." Among these members are "peers," who are "authorities in the subspecialities of a field." These authorities are members of the scientific community who "carefully review submitted manuscripts" to "ensure the quality of each contribution." By abiding by the rules of primary or original publication, an author may be admitted to this community.

This scientifically literate community is suffused with democratic policy, at least apparently so. Neither status, fame, nor power plays a part. Any manuscript by any author is peer-reviewed, sometimes blindly. The contribution, not the person, is judged. Any one is free to submit with both the threat and the reassurance that only those "sturdy enough" will make their place in "journals of record," in the "archives" of knowledge.

The power of editors in scientific journals is not unbridled or monarchic, it is judicial and based on authority assumed by virtue of real or imagined involvement in the "scientific community." The scientific community agrees that three conditions define primary publication. Insofar as everyone in

the APA publishing apparatus replicates these conditions, they produce primary publications and become members of the scientific community. Membership in this community is desirable, or even more, a matter of policy. APA has "primary journals" in which "the standard of primary publication is supported."

Authors who engage in multiple submissions or duplicate publications threaten the "primary publication" standard, however, and must be "prohibited" from engaging in such activities. If manuscripts are not "first disclosures," disenfranchisement from the scientific community is imminent.

Assumptions

7.1. Each journal has a publication lag. This is given in the "Summary Report of Journal Operations ... in the June issue of the American Psychologist."

7.2. Information on primary publication follows.

7.3. All members of the scientific community generally agree on the characteristics of "primary, or original, publications." Articles represent research. This research has not previously been published and is considered a "first disclosure."

Primary publication articles are "reviewed by peers before being accepted or rejected by a journal." A journal can reject manuscripts. An article that is "archival" is an article "retrievable for future reference." 7.4. Readers may also see Day, 1980, in regard to this. 7.5. The peer-reviewed literature is like a "wall built one brick at a time." This literature is "built by single contributions." These contributions "represent the accumulated knowledge of a field." Knowledge can be represented and accumulated. 7.6. Places are empty in the field. They are filled by sturdy contributions. Contributions can be sturdy and can bear weight. 7.7. Quality of contribution can be ensured by having authorities in a field "carefully review submitted manuscripts." Quality means "original, valid, and significant." Fields have subspecialties. 7.8. Literature is preserved in peer-reviewed journals. There is one literature in these journals. Peer-reviewed journals serve as "journals of record." Journals of record are "authoritative sources of information in their field." 7.9. APA has "primary journals" which practice "primary publication." Primary publication can be supported by the peer-review system. It can be protected by "policies that prohibit multiple submission and duplicate publication."

7.10. Multiple submission will be discussed.

7.11. An author could submit the same manuscript for "concurrent consideration by two or more journals."

He or she must not do this. 7.12. "If a manuscript is rejected by one journal, an author may then submit it to another." 7.13. "Before resubmitting a rejected manuscript, however, an author is expected to revise it according to the editor's suggestions."

7.14. Duplicate publication will be discussed.

7.15. A manuscript may have been published "in whole or substantial part in another journal." An author cannot submit this to an APA primary journal. An author also cannot submit this manuscript if it is published in a "readily available work," even if it is in another language.

Commentary

In 7.1, the use of the term "Operations" can connote behavior modification, corporate, or even military usages, depending on the reader. Although the balance of the passage fulfills the corporate dimension more fully than the others, the passage as a whole is concerned with the behavior of authors, and policies and prohibitions associated with strategies to remain "scientific."

Statement 7.3 begins by making a strong assertion about what members of the scientific community agree on about primary publication. No evidence for this assertion is provided, yet a related reference is given. Part (a) appears to be a re-statement of exclusive copyright privileges. Part (b) allows that peers will review manuscripts "before" they are accepted or rejected, yet says nothing about the actual influence of this review on acceptance or rejection. And part (c) appears translatable in to the truism that print makes language retrievable. Thus, the strong assertion of agreement turns out to be about agreements of little practical importance. More than just the scientific community could be persuaded to agree with this. Its rhetoric, insecure as it is, serves to both warn and impress the would-be author of the importance and propriety of becoming a scientific author. However low the "standard of primary publication" proves to be, the phraseology of "standards" effects a strategy whereby "peer-reviewed journals" are reinstated as the "authoritative sources of information." The Manual's use of references momentarily transforms these assertions themselves into quasi-scientific assertions, which is a departure from the Manual's typically instructive style. "When talking about

science, talk scientifically," seems the message.

The subtext about copyright privileges appears to gather up around the increasingly "thing-like" character of knowledge. Contributions are like "bricks" (7.5). They "fill a place" and have "weight" (7.6). Contributions to "the literature" can be "accumulated" (7.5) and "preserved" (7.8). Copyrights are like patents. Knowledge is a commodity by the time it is transformed to print.

This knowledge is a thing of quality. Each contribution's ("brick's") quality is assured via careful review by "authorities in the subspecialities of a field." Still, the analogy of the brick implies tremendous conformity from one mass-produced product to the next. Bricks are all the same, and hardly "original, valid, and significant" from one to the next. The analogy is bricks, but the promotion is more like that involving new cars: "It's original, it has quality, and you're special if you have one"--yet one is like another. Thus, a tension is played out in the sample between originality and conformity without resolution. Knowledge is established as a thing with positive reality, yet a thing with contradictions. "Brick" is the analogy of choice, yielding an image consonant with a positivist epistemological vision.

APPENDIX H
Sample 8

Introduction

The Manual "Appendix" is concerned with "Material Other Than Journal Articles." Sample 8 is taken from the first section on "Theses, Dissertations, and Students Papers." It transverses subsections entitled, the "Final Manuscript" and "Content Requirements." Other areas covered in the Appendix are "Material for Oral Presentation" and "Material Published in Abbreviated Form."

Sample 8

8.1. Many psychology departments require that theses and dissertations be prepared according to the Publication Manual. (I=4, SC=F)

8.2. Use of the Manual in the production of these papers is excellent preparation for a research-productive career. (I=1, SC=V)

8.3. However, theses and dissertations are submitted to the student's graduate school, not to a journal. (I=4, SC=F)

8.4. Therefore, they must satisfy the graduate school's specific requirements, even if these requirements depart from the style outlined in the Manual. (I=4, SC=F)

8.5. Graduate schools should provide students (and typists) with written guidelines that explain all modifications to APA style. (I=3, SC=P)

8.6. (Note: A thesis or dissertation in its original form is not acceptable to APA journals.) (I=4, SC=Pvf)

8.7. Many departments have also adopted the Manual for undergraduate senior theses, term papers, laboratory reports, and the like. (I=4, SC=F)

8.8. The Publication Manual is not intended to cover scientific writing at an undergraduate level because preferences for style at that level are diverse. (I=2, SC=Fp)

8.9. Instructions to students to "use the Publication Manual" should be accompanied by specific guidelines for its use. (I=3, SC=P)

8.10. A.02 Content Requirements

8.11. The purpose of theses, dissertations, and student papers and the nature of the reading audience (professor or committee members) may dictate

variations from the requirements for manuscripts submitted for publication. (I=4, SC=F)

8.12. The following discussion describes the sections of a typical thesis, dissertation, or student paper and touches on some of the common variations among psychology departments. (I=2, SC=F)

8.13. Psychology departments should inform students of any special requirements. (I=3, SC=P)

8.14. Preliminary pages.

8.15. Introductory material for a thesis or dissertation usually includes a title page, an approval page, an acknowledgment page, a table of contents, a list of tables and figures, and an abstract. (I=2, SC=F)

8.16. Requirements for these items vary between institutions. (I=4, SC=F)

8.17. Because requirements for the length of abstracts often vary the most, some common guidelines on length are given here. (I=2, SC=F)

8.18. Many institutions require that abstracts be prepared according to the requirements of Dissertation Abstracts International. (I=4, SC=F)

8.19. The maximum length for a dissertation abstract submitted to Dissertation Abstracts International is

600 words, far longer than the maximum of 100-150 words for most abstracts in APA journals. (I=4, SC=Fv)

Characters and Relationships

The readership in Sample 8 includes a wide audience. A number of the characters are groups or institutions: psychology departments, graduate schools, and APA. Other individual characters presented as collective personages include graduate and undergraduate students, professors, committee members, and typists.

Much of the main, initial interaction among characters involves a clarification of whose style will govern the production of a given type of text. The reach of the Manual to graduate (and even undergraduate) papers requires discussion, since even though "many psychology departments require" use of the Manual, "theses and dissertations are submitted to the student's graduate school, not a journal." Stating this presumes the reader wouldn't have known it, which characterizes this reader as an individual nearly completely unfamiliar with graduate education--at the very least. The other implication

(or reminder?) here is that graduate schools retain certain powers over psychology departments, specifically style and editorial power. "Therefore, students[must satisfy the graduate school's specific requirements, even if these requirements depart from the style outlined in the Manual."

But the narrator will not stop here, and goes on to say what graduate schools should do about this, namely, they "should provide students (and typists) with written guidelines that explain all modifications to APA style." And if theses and dissertations "satisfy the graduate school's specific requirements," it should be noted that "a thesis or dissertation in its original form is not acceptable to APA journals." Manual narrators will also instruct psychology departments (8.13) and professors (8.9) in the use of the Manual. The Manual's influence is articulated into diverse groups who will use it in specific ways and, in part, be defined by how they use it. The Manual will be involved with virtually every written product produced in an academic or research context. From 8.10 on, the narrator will go on to articulate content and other requirements for theses, dissertations and student papers.

Students are clearly divided into undergraduate and graduate along dimensions which characterize

their "level" (8.8). At the undergraduate level, "preferences for style . . . are diverse." Characters other than undergraduate students are thus likely to have developed style preferences less diverse.

Assumptions

8.1. Many psychology departments require use of the Manual. 8.2. Use of the Manual is excellent preparation for a "research-productive career." 8.3. Theses and dissertations are submitted to schools, not to journals. 8.4. It follows that students must satisfy the graduate school's requirements. This is so even if these requirements "depart from" Manual style. This style is outlined in the Manual. 8.5. Graduate schools can and ought to provide students and typists with "written guidelines that explain all modifications to APA style." 8.6. A thesis or dissertation has an original form. This form is not acceptable to APA journals.

8.7. Many psychology departments have adopted the Manual for undergraduates. 8.8. The Manual is not intended for undergraduates. Undergraduates are on a different level. Preferences at that level are diverse. 8.9. Professors instructing students to "use the Publication Manual" should give specific

guidelines for its use.

8.10. Narrators will discuss content requirements of theses, student papers, and dissertations. 8.11. The purposes and the readers of these materials are different from journal articles. Professors or committee members may dictate variations in style requirements. 8.12. What follows describes sections used in theses, dissertations, and student papers. It also touches on typical variations in style and content. 8.13. "Psychology departments should inform students of any special requirements."

8.14. There are preliminary pages. 8.15. These usually include a title page, approval page, acknowledgements, a table of contents, a list of tables and figures, and an abstract. 8.16. Institutions may vary these requirements. 8.17. Requirements for abstracts often vary the most. Because of this, some "common guidelines... are given."

8.18. Many institutions require abstract preparation according to the specifications of Dissertation Abstracts International. 8.19. These are longer than APA abstracts.