They Say... I Say: The Moves That Matter in Academic Writing

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We once had a student named Bill, whose characteristic sentence pattern went something like this.

Spot is a good dog. He has fleas.

“Connect your sentences,” we urged in the margins of Bill’s papers. “What does Spot being good have to do with his fleas? These two statements seem unrelated. Can you connect them in some logical way?” When such comments yielded no results, we tried inking in suggested connections for him.

Spot is a good dog, but he has fleas.
Spot is a good dog, even though he has fleas.

But our message failed to get across, and Bill’s disconnected sentence pattern persisted to the end of the semester.

And yet, Bill did focus well on his subjects. When he mentioned Spot the dog in one sentence, we could count on Spot the dog being the topic of the following sentence as well. This was not the case with some of Bill’s classmates, who sometimes...
changed topic from sentence to sentence or even from clause to clause within a single sentence. But because Bill neglected to mark his connections, his writing was as frustrating to read as theirs. In all these cases, we had to struggle to figure out on our own how the sentences and paragraphs connected or failed to connect with each other.

What makes such writers so hard to read, in other words, is that they never gesture back to what they have just said or forward to what they plan to say. "Never look back" might be their motto, almost as if they see writing as a process of thinking of something to say about a topic and writing it down, then thinking of something else to say about the topic and writing that down too, and on and on until they've filled the assigned number of pages and can hand the paper in. Each sentence basically starts a new thought, rather than growing out of or extending the thought of the previous sentence.

When Bill talked about his writing habits, he acknowledged that he never went back and read what he had written. Indeed, he told us that, other than using his computer software to check for spelling errors and make sure that his tenses were all aligned, he never actually reread what he wrote before turning it in. Writing for Bill was just that: something he did while sitting at a computer, and reading, including rereading, was a separate activity generally reserved for an easy chair, book in hand. It had never occurred to Bill that to write a good sentence he had to think about how it connected to those that came before and after it; that he had to think hard about the relationship among the sentences he wrote. Each sentence for Bill existed in a sort of tunnel isolated from every other sentence on the page. He never bothered to fit all the parts of his essay together because he apparently thought of writing as a matter of piling up information or insights rather than build-

ing an argument. What we suggest in this chapter, then, is that you converse not only with others in your writing, but with yourself: that you establish clear relations between one statement and the next by connecting those statements together.

This chapter addresses the issue of how to connect all the parts of your writing. The best compositions establish a sense of momentum and direction by making explicit connections among their different parts, so that what is said in one sentence (or paragraph) not only sets up what is to come but is clearly informed by what has already been said. When you write a sentence, you create an expectation in the reader's mind that the next sentence will in some way echo and be an extension of the first, even if—especially if—the second one takes your argument in a new direction.

It may help to think of each sentence you write as having arms that reach backward and forward, as Figure 6 suggests. When your sentences reach outward like this, they establish connections that help your writing flow smoothly in a way readers appreciate. Conversely, when writing lacks such connections and moves in fits and starts, readers repeatedly have to go back over the sentences and guess at the connections on their own. To prevent such disconnection and make your writing flow, we advise following a "do it yourself" principle, which means that it is your

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job as a writer to do the hard work of making the connections rather than, as Bill did, leaving this work to your readers.

This chapter offers several moves you can make to put this principle into action: (1) using transition terms (like "therefore" and "yet"); (2) adding pointing words (like "this" or "such"); (3) using certain key terms and phrases throughout your entire text; and (4) repeating yourself, but with a difference—a move that involves repeating elements in your previous sentence, but with enough variation to move the text forward and without being redundant. All these moves require that you always look back and, in crafting any one sentence, think hard about those that precede it.

Notice how we ourselves have used such connecting devices thus far in this chapter. The second paragraph of this chapter, for example, opens with the transitional "And yet," signaling a change in direction, while the third includes the phrase "in other words," telling you to expect a restatement of a point we've just made. If you look through this book, you should be able to find many sentences that contain some word or phrase that explicitly hooks them back to something said earlier, to something about to be said, or both. And many sentences in this chapter repeat key terms related to the idea of connection: "connect," "disconnect," "link," "relate," "forward," and "backward."

**USE TRANSITIONS**

For readers to follow your train of thought, you need not only to connect your sentences and paragraphs to each other, but also to mark the kind of connection you are making. One of the easiest ways to make this move is to use transitions (from the Latin root tran, "to cross over"), which help you to cross from one point to another in your text. Transitions are usually placed at or near the start of sentences so they can signal to readers where your text is going: in the same direction it has been moving, or in a new direction. More specifically, transitions tell readers whether your text is echoing a previous sentence or paragraph ("in other words"), adding something to it ("in addition"), offering an example of it ("for example"), generalizing from it ("as a result"), or modifying it ("and yet").

The following is a list of commonly used transition terms, categorized according to their different functions.

- **ADDITION** also, and, besides, furthermore, in addition, indeed, in fact, moreover, so too
- **EXAMPLE** after all, as an illustration, for example, for instance, specifically, to take a case in point
- **ELABORATION** actually, by extension, in short, that is, in other words, to put it another way, to put it bluntly, to put it succinctly, ultimately
- **COMPARISON** along the same lines, in the same way, likewise, similarly
- **CONTRAST** although, but, by contrast, conversely, despite the fact that, even though, however, in contrast, nevertheless, nonetheless, on the contrary, on the other hand, regardless, whereas, while yet
- **CAUSE AND EFFECT** accordingly, as a result, consequently, hence, since, so, then, therefore, thus
- **CONCESSION** admittedly, although it is true, granted, naturally, of course, to be sure
- **CONCLUSION** as a result, consequently, hence, in conclusion, in short, in sum, therefore, thus, to sum up, to summarize

Ideally, transitions should operate so unobtrusively in a piece of writing that they recede into the background and readers do
not even notice that they are there. It's a bit like what happens when drivers use their turn signals before turning right or left: just as other drivers recognize such signals almost unconsciously, readers should process transition terms with a minimum of thought. But even though such terms should function unobtrusively in your writing, they can be among the most powerful tools in your vocabulary. Think how your heart sinks when someone, immediately after praising you, begins a sentence with "but" or "however." No matter what follows, you know it won't be good.

Notice that some transitions can help you not only to move from one sentence to another, but to combine two or more sentences into one. Combining sentences in this way helps prevent the choppy, staccato effect that arises when too many short sentences are strung together, one after the other. For instance, to combine Bill's two choppy sentences ("Spot is a good dog. He has fleas.") into one, better-flowing sentence, we suggested that he rewrite them as: "Spot is a good dog, even though he has fleas."

Transitions like these not only guide readers through the twists and turns of your argument, but also help ensure that you have an argument in the first place. In fact, we think of words like "but," "yet," "nevertheless," "besides," and others as argument words, since it's hard to use them without making some kind of argument. The word "therefore," for instance, commits you to making sure that the claims leading up to it lead logically to the conclusion that it introduces. "For example" also assumes an argument, since it requires that the material you are introducing stand as an instance or a proof of some preceding generalization. As a result, the more you use transitions, the more you'll be able not only to connect the parts of your text but also to construct a strong argument in the first place.

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While you don't need to memorize these transitions, we do suggest that you draw on them so frequently that using them eventually becomes second nature. To be sure, it is possible to overuse these terms, so take time to read over your drafts carefully and eliminate any transitions that are unnecessary. But following the maxim that one needs to learn the basic moves of argument before one can deliberately depart from them, we advise you not to forgo explicit transition terms until you've first mastered their use. In all our years of teaching, we've read countless essays that suffered from having few or no transitions, but we have yet to receive one in which the transitions were overdone. Seasoned writers often do without explicit transitions, but only because they rely heavily on the other types of connecting devices that we turn to in the rest of this chapter.

Before doing so, however, let us warn you about inserting transitions without really thinking through their meanings—using "therefore," say, when your text's logic actually requires "nevertheless" or "however." So beware. Choosing transition terms should involve a bit of mental sweat, since the whole point of using them is to make your writing more reader-friendly, not less. The only thing more frustrating than reading Bill-style passages like "Spot is a good dog. He has fleas." is reading misconnected sentences like "Spot is a good dog. For example, he has fleas."

Use Pointing Words

Another move you can make to connect the parts of your argument is to use pointing words—which, as their name implies, point or refer backward to some concept in the previous sentence. The most common of these pointing words include "this,"
"these," "chat," "those," "their," and "such" (as in "these pointing words" near the start of this sentence) and simple pronouns like "his," "he," "her," "she," "it," and "their." Such terms help you create the flow we spoke of earlier that enables readers to move effortlessly through your text. In a sense, these terms are like an invisible hand reaching out of your sentence, grabbing what's needed in the previous sentences and pulling it along.

Like transitions, however, pointing words need to be used carefully. It's dangerously easy to insert pointing words into your text that don't refer to a clearly defined object, thinking that because the object you have in mind is clear to you it will also be clear to your readers. For example, consider the use of "this" in the following passage:

Alexis de Tocqueville was highly critical of democratic societies, which he saw as tending toward mob rule. At the same time, he accorded democratic societies grudging respect. This is seen in Tocqueville's statement that . . .

When "this" is used in such a way it becomes an ambiguous or free-floating pointer, since readers can't tell if it refers to Tocqueville's critical attitude toward democratic societies, his grudging respect for them, or some combination of both. "This what?" readers mutter as they go back over such passages and try to figure them out.

You can fix such problems caused by a free-floating pointer by making sure there is one and only one possible object in the vicinity that the pointer could be referring to. It also often helps to name the object the pointer is referring to at the same time that you point to it, replacing a bald "this," for instance, with a more precise phrase like "this ambivalence toward democratic societies" or "this grudging respect."

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Repeat Key Terms and Phrases

A third move you can make to connect the parts of your argument is to develop a constellation of key terms and phrases, including their synonyms and antonyms, that you repeat throughout your text. Used well, key terms even provide readers with some sense of your topic. Playing with key terms also is a good way to develop a title and appropriate section headings for your text.

For an example of a move that effectively incorporates key terms, notice how often Martin Luther King Jr. uses the key words "criticism(s)" and "statement" in the opening paragraph to his famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail."

Dear Fellow Clergymen:

While confined here in the Birmingham city jail, I came across your recent statement calling my present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all the criticisms that cross my desk, my secretaries would have little time for anything other than such correspondence in the course of the day, and I would have no time for constructive work. But since I feel that you are men of genuine good will and that your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I want to try to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

Martin Luther King Jr., "Letter from Birmingham Jail"

Even though King uses the term "criticism(s)" three times and "statement" twice, the effect is not overly repetitive. In fact, these key terms help bind the paragraph together. And though King does not explicitly use those terms in the remainder of his letter, he keeps the concepts in play by elab-
EIGHT  "AS A RESULT"

orately summarizing each of the specific criticisms laid out against him in the statement he has received and then answering them.

For another example of the effective use of key terms, consider the following passage from Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media, in which the feminist historian Susan Douglas develops a constellation of sharply contrasting key terms around the concept of cultural schizophrenia: women like herself who, Douglas claims, have mixed feelings about the images of ideal femininity with which they are constantly bombarded by the media.

In a variety of ways, the mass media helped make us the critical schizophrenics we are today, women who rebel against yet submit to prevailing images about what a desirable, worthwhile woman should be...[T]he mass media has engendered in many women a kind of cultural identity crisis. We are ambivalent toward femininity on the one hand and feminism on the other. Pulled in opposite directions—told we were equal, yet told we were subordinate; told we could change history but told we were trapped by history—we get the bends at an early age, and we've never gotten rid of them.

When I open Vogue, for example, I am simultaneously infuriated and seduced...I adore the materialism; I despise the materialism...I want to look beautiful; I think wanting to look beautiful is about the most dumb-ass goal you could have. The magazine stokes my desire; the magazine triggers my bile. And this doesn't only happen when I'm reading Vogue; it happens all the time...On the one hand, on the other hand—that's not just me—that's what it means to be a woman in America.

To explain this schizophrenia...

SUSAN DOUGLAS, WHERE THE GIRLS ARE: GROWING UP FEMALE WITH THE MASS MEDIA

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In this passage, Douglas establishes "schizophrenia" as a key concept and then echoes it through synonyms like "identity crisis," "ambivalent," "the bends"—and even demonstrates it through a series of contrasting words and phrases:

- rebel against / submit
- told we were equal / told we were subordinate
- told we could change history / told we were trapped by history
- infuriated / seduced
- I adore / I despise
- I want / I think wanting...is about the most dumb-ass goal
- stokes my desire / triggers my bile
- on the one hand / on the other hand

These contrasting phrases help explain Douglas's claim that women are being pulled in two directions at once. In so doing, they bind the passage together into a unified whole that, despite its complexity and sophistication, stays focused over its entire length.

REPEAT YOURSELF—BUT WITH A DIFFERENCE

The last move we offer for connecting the parts of your text involves repeating yourself, but with a difference—which basically means saying the same thing you've just said, but in a slightly different way that avoids sounding monotonous. To effectively connect the parts of your argument and keep it moving forward, be careful not to leap from one idea to a different idea or introduce new ideas cold. Instead, try to build bridges between your ideas by echoing what you've just said while simultaneously moving your text into new territory.

EIGHT “As a Result”

Several of the connecting devices discussed in this chapter are ways of repeating yourself in this special way. Key terms, pointing terms, and even many transitions can be used in a way that not only brings something forward from the previous sentence, but in some way alters it. When Douglas, for instance, uses the key term “ambivalent” to echo her earlier reference to schizophrenia, she is repeating herself with a difference—repeating the same concept, but with a different word that adds new associations. When she uses a pointing term in “this schizophrenia,” she is also repeating herself with a difference by explicitly naming the conflicting psychological and emotional responses she had earlier outlined but had not labeled.

In addition, when you use transition phrases like “in other words” and “to put it another way,” you repeat yourself with a difference, since these phrases help you restate earlier claims but in a different register. When you open a sentence with “in other words,” you are basically telling your readers that in case they didn’t fully understand what you meant in the last sentence, you are now coming at it again from a slightly different angle; or that since you’re presenting a very important idea, you’re not going to skip over it quickly but will explore it further to make sure your readers grasp all its aspects.

We would even go so far as to suggest that after your first sentence, almost every sentence you write should include some form of repetition, but with a difference. Whether you are writing a “furthermore” comment that adds to what you have just said or a “for example” statement that illustrates it, each sentence should echo at least one element of the previous sentence in some discernible way. Even when your text changes direction and requires transitions like “in contrast,” “however,” or “but,” you still need to mark that shift by link-

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ing the sentence to the one just before it, as in the following example.

The girl loved basketball. Nevertheless, she feared her height would put her at a disadvantage.

These sentences work because even though the second sentence changes course and qualifies the first, it still echoes key concepts from the first. Not only does “she” echo “the girl,” since both refer to the same person, but “feared” echoes “loved” by establishing the contrast mandated by the term “nevertheless.” “Nevertheless,” then, is not an excuse for changing subjects radically. It too requires a little repetition to help readers shift gears with you and follow your train of thought.

Repetition, in short, is the central means by which you can move from point A to point B in a text. To introduce one last analogy, think of the way experienced rock climbers move up a steep slope. Instead of jumping or lurching from one handhold to the next, good climbers get a secure handhold on the position they have established before reaching for the next ledge. The same thing applies to writing. To move smoothly from point to point in your argument, you need to firmly ground what you say in what you’ve already said. In this way, your writing remains focused while simultaneously moving forward.

Exercises

1. Read the following passage from the conclusion to a PhD dissertation focusing on the rags-to-riches stories of the American Industrial Revolution. Underline all the con-