'KNOWING HOW TO GO ON'
– GENRE ANALYSIS AND CROSS-CULTURAL RHETORIC*

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1. *Introduction*

In France they are either *avocats* or *notaires*, in England and Wales (but not Scotland) *barristers* or *solicitors*. Although there is great overlap in their functions, they are not synonymous: translation is hazardous. In France, the judge has a more pervasive role in court proceedings than in England and Wales. A judge (*juge d'instruction*) can question witnesses, at a pre-trial, and decide whether criminal cases should proceed to trial. In England and Wales, the judge does not interrogate witnesses: that function is for prosecuting and defence counsels. If the *juge d'instruction* does send the case to trial, it will be heard before a bench of judges. In an English or Welsh court there will be only one. In the English system great stress is laid upon the precise meaning of words. In the French system, less importance is given to the meanings of terms, more to the 'ratio legis': the legal principle at issue, it might be said. (Lawson et al. 1963). The English legal system, as is well known, is based on common law, with a concomitant reliance upon precedent and history. The French system is based on a *code*, in which the rationale of the law is the paramount consideration. As is also well-known, the French system is 'inquisitorial': essentially, it is the judge's task to get at evidence. The English system, on the other hand, is 'accusatorial': that is, at its heart is a contest between prosecution and defence. The essence of the English system is cross-examination of witnesses, a feature absent from French criminal legal proceedings (Bloch, pers. comm.) This is, of course, only a scratch at the surface of a complex set of differences and similarities between two mature and still developing systems. But I hope it illustrates the following two points. First, that both systems are driven by the same concern, the dispensation of justice. This is a socio-cultural concern. Second, that there is more than one route to the same goal, and that the differences

are culturally, and historically conditioned. Litigation, in short, is a generic cultural activity that takes different shapes in different societies. In court proceedings, there are different emphases, different roles and different procedures, but a more or less common 'exigence'. (Miller 1984). (I shall define this term later.)

A very different example of a generic activity practised in different ways in different countries is football. Within the Wittgensteinian 'form of life' that we can call 'sport', football would be a 'genre'. Football is a process that is simultaneously rule-governed, and procedural: that is, it achieves its purpose (scoring goals and winning games) by means of an internally generated (and unpredictable) set of moves – which, note, involve collaboration (with one's fellow team members) and competition (against the other team's members) within an externally imposed frame. In terms of moves, there are passes and shots (internally generated process) and penalties, free-kicks, corners and throw-ins, which are triggered by infractions of the rules in some way. This combination of regulation and process is typical of genres as 'forms of social life', within the realm of discourse. Although the purpose of football is always and everywhere the same, and the rules by which it is played, there is great variety in its processes. Think of the 'Brazilian game', the Italian way of playing football, and the German style.

These two examples introduce the main purposes of this paper, which are to examine the concept of genre and to see how it applies in the analysis of cross-cultural communication. Within contrastive rhetoric this is a burgeoning field, and at the same time one in which a great deal still needs to be done. A further purpose in writing this paper is to show that the effort would be worth while, and thus to encourage others to enter the field.

2. *Genre*

So, what are 'genres'? I will break up my definition of 'genre' into italicised sections, with a brief explanatory expansion between each section.

(i) *Genres are the discursive forms that embody and fulfil a given society's rhetorical needs and purposes. As such, they are socially situated and constructed, historically conditioned, and action oriented.*

Genre study is a part of rhetoric, defined for the moment as the use of language, and the emphasis is upon discourse as social action.

(ii) *Because they are defined essentially by the members of a society in response to changing needs, genres are inherently flexible and dynamic.*

Genres, as discoursal means to social ends, are therefore constructions not only by producers but by receivers, too. The following excerpt will help to demonstrate this.

At the beginning of her short book on 'genre' as a concept in literary studies, Heather Dubrow sets out the following text, and invites the reader to read it in two ways. We are told to assume that it is the opening paragraph of a novel entitled *Murder at Marplethorpe* (Dubrow 1982:1)

(1)   "The clock on the mantelpiece said ten thirty, but someone had suggested recently that the clock was wrong As the figure of the dead woman lay on the bed in the front room, a no less silent figure glided rapidly from the house. The only sounds to be heard were the ticking of that clock and the loud wailing of an infant."

As an example of a detective novel, how do we interpret the ticking clock, the 'dead woman' and the 'silent figure'? The first as some sort of clue, the second as the victim, and the third as the murderer, perhaps. Dubrow then asks us to read the paragraph again, this time as the opening to a novel entitled *The Personal History of David Marplethorpe*. How do we interpret the clock, woman and figure now? It is most unlikely that we would or could do so in the same way.

The point is that any interpretation we might make is conditioned by what genre we would place the extract in. The titles indicate in each case a different genre, and according to this classification or assignment, we interpret the various features of the text in different ways. A key point, however, is the active role of the reader in deciding which genre is being activated. The interactive and social nature of 'genre' enables genres to change with time and need. Evidence of this is all around us, and is often associated with technological change. The evolution of letter-forms via fax and e-mail are obvious examples. Meriel Bloor (1994) has recently described features of what she calls an 'emerging genre', computer users' 'newsgroup', which word combines, most interestingly, the notions of membership and message. A further example of genre development is in the various forms of promotional literature and images in which end-of-century capitalist cultures are marinated. I have done a study of charity appeals letters, in which one of the features is the 'personalization' of mass-produced letters to unknown addresses, who are addressed as 'Dear supporter', or 'Dear friend' (and sometimes, if the data-base is sophisticated enough, by their own names, even though by a total stranger).

(iii) *As socio-rhetorical forms, genres act as ideological carriers.*

An important function of 'genre', as a form of social action, is to act as a vehicle for ideology. The claim is two-fold. First, that there is an ideological dimension to all discourse, and, second, that genres are constructed in order to accommodate and embody the ideologies that a culture requires at a given period in its history.

I should say here that I am not using the term 'ideology' in a narrow, political sense, but more in the sense of thinkers like Mannheim and Bakhtin, and perhaps Barthes, who see all systems of ideas and beliefs as ideology. In this sense, I going back to the original, pre-Marxist, sense of the term as developed by the *idéologues* of the French Revolution. Ideology is as much an epistemological as a political concept. In saying this, I have in mind Mannheim's sense of the "total conception of ideology", in which all thinking is historically and socially conditioned. I shall return to this notion of ideology below.

(iv) *From the discourse producer's and receivers' points of view genres act as a* key *and a* container *for the processes of making and taking meanings.*

That is, genre is simultaneously an enabling and constraining reality for both speakers/writers and listeners/readers. Without a sense of genre, we would not know what communicative events we were in, and we would not know how to behave or participate in the events we found ourselves in. We would not know, that is, 'how to go on'.

After such a lengthy and densely-packed definition, let me try to put it another way, rather more impressionistically.

Genres are the shapes that discourse takes. Just as in nature, a river takes a course in conjunction with the terrain that it passes through, and in accordance with its own volume and force, thus genres are social constructions, in accordance with social needs and individual aspirations and capacities. Genres, then, form the superordinate category in and for the analysis of discourse. That is their theoretical significance, which in turn suggests their practical importance.

Genres have, of course, been an object of study in rhetoric and in poetics since the earliest times. Both Plato's and Aristotle's considerations of voice and narration and the division of narration into lyric, epic and dramatic modes have been and remain influential. Today, however, interest in 'genre' is not limited to literary studies. It has become a major feature in a number of linguistic fields, notably ethnography of communication (Hymes 1986; Saville-Troike 1989), critical linguistics (e.g. Fowler et al. 1979; Hodge & Kress 1993), critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1989, 1992) and, last but not least, applied linguistics, particularly in the area of English for Specific Purposes (Swales 1990; Bhatia 1993). Alongside these perspectives, and influencing many of them, has been the interest of systemic linguists, notably M.A.K Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan (see Halliday & Hasan 1989) in genre, as an organizing principle of discourse.

In an important contribution to genre theory, Carolyn Miller firmly places the emphasis on genre as social action (Miller 1984). A "rhetorically sound definition of genre", she says, "must be centred not on the substance or form of discourse but on the action that it is used to accomplish." (Miller 1984:151) Genres are "typified rhetorical actions based in recurrent situations" (Miller 1984:159), which involve a fusion of form and substance. The recurrent nature of generic situations is what allows conventions of form and substance to develop, and allows participants to recognise what type of event they are in.

Substance, form and situation/action give us, respectively, semantic, syntactic and pragmatic dimensions to genre, and for Miller the last-mentioned is the most important. The pragmatic dimension consists of two elements, the "recurrent situation" and 'exigence'. By 'exigence' Miller means *'conventionalized social motive'*, which is not to be equated with an individual language user's *intention*. The latter is a private matter, whereas the former is public. By way of illustration, think again of a court case, in which the actors may have a variety of personal motives.

The prosecuting counsel wants a conviction, the police want to see a criminal 'put away', the accused wants to get off, and so on. The judge, perhaps, wants to get through the schedule of cases for the sessions as speedily as he feels is expedient with the dispensation of justice. With that last phrase another dimension is introduced. Over and above the divergent range of motives both within and among the individuals involved, we may suppose that there is a motive or reason for the whole event, that binds its participants into the situation and influences and holds in check the divergence of their individual motivations. The desire to see justice done, or law and order maintained, transcends individual motivations, and is an example of 'exigence'. Exigence is a motivation that is conventionally, institutionally, historically grounded, in short, derived from the culture. To that extent, exigence is a feature of genre.

"To comprehend an exigence is to have a motive. Except in a primitive sense, our motives are not private or idiosyncratic; they are the products of our socialization..." (Miller 1984:158)

Miller places genre within a hierarchical view of meaning between 'form of life' and 'episode'. I shall explain these terms with reference to a similar hierarchical model of meaning, that of Frentz & Farrell (1976).
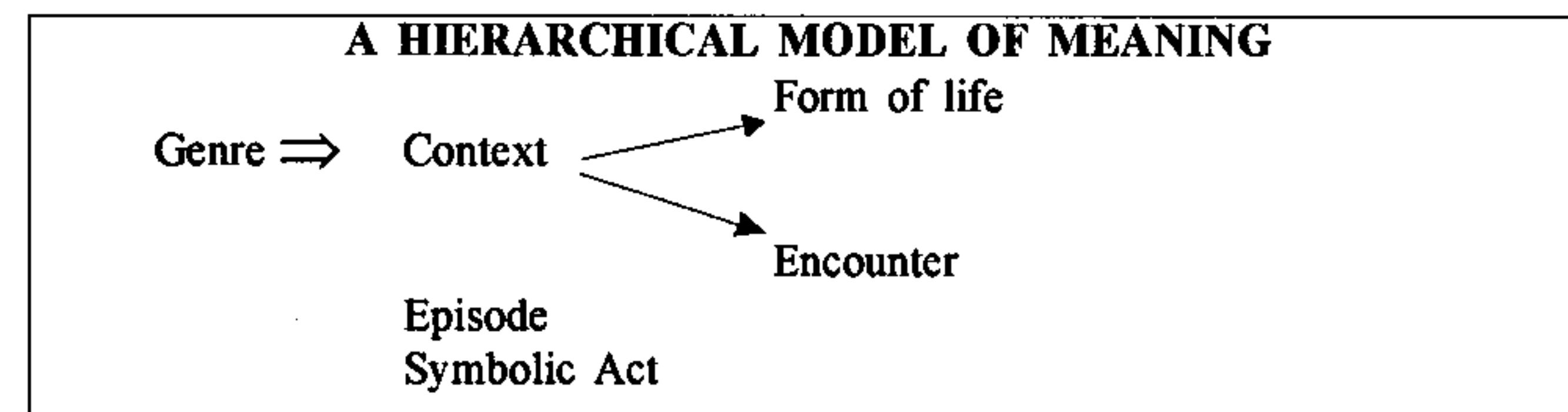

A HIERARCHICAL MODEL OF MEANING

Genre ⟹ Context → Form of life
                  → Encounter
Episode
Symbolic Act

Figure 1: Miller's and Frentz & Farrell's Hierarchies of Meaning

The Frentz & Farrell framework consists of three levels, *context, episode* and *symbolic act*. Genre fits in at the top level of *context*, which is subdivided into *'form of life'* (a Wittgensteinian concept) and *'encounter'*. 'Form of life' refers to cultural patterns, both linguistic and non-linguistic, which make actions meaningful. 'Encounters' are the concrete locations in which the form of life is realized, such as "classrooms, bus depots, theaters, football stadiums, churches, restaurants, bars – any concrete location where actors converge." (Frentz & Farrell 1976:335). At the next level, the *'episode'* is seen as the pivotal concept for understanding communication and is defined as

"a rule-conforming sequence of symbolic acts generated by two or more actors who are collectively oriented toward emergent goals." (idem. p. 336)

Finally, at the lowest level are the *'symbolic acts'*, which are essentially the same as Searlian speech acts.

However, Miller 's hierarchical model allows for genre to be placed at different levels of abstraction within the hierarchy, according to "our sense of recurrence of rhetorical situations [which] will vary from culture to culture, according to the typifications available." (Miller 1984:162)

> "Thus, the term 'genre' might under differing circumstances be applied to the class of all public addresses in a society, to the class of all inaugural speeches, or to the class of all American presidential inaugurals." (Miller 1984:163)

Miller here introduces the notion of cross-cultural variation, which is of obvious significance to the theme of the present paper. I began by illustrating variation in one form of social action, namely legal proceedings, which occur in all cultures, but not in the same way, nor with the same set of underlying ideological beliefs. Before turning to look at the cross-cultural dimension, I should like to illustrate my arguments so far with a short but complete discourse.

3. An example of a genre

Here is the text (the product of a discourse).

(2)   Inland Revenue: Collector of Taxes

> (a) Although you have been asked for payment the amount shown opposite is unpaid.
> (b) Unless you have dealt with the matter within the last few days please make payment WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY.
> (c) You will find information on how to pay on the back of the payslip below.
> (d) You are reminded that interest is chargeable on amounts paid late.

Those of us who have received something like this through the post have no doubt felt a sense, however slight, of annoyed unease. We can recognise it, as part of our cultural communicative competence, our generic competence, as 'a letter of demand'. Leaving aside its characteristic heavy-handed tone, how would we analyse it? As a start we could break it into constituent speech acts. (a) is an assertion, (b) is an order; (c) and (d) are special forms of assertion in that they mix this function with another: in the case of (c) advice, and of (d) warning. (I ask you to overlook the fact that what I am calling 'special ' is in fact very common with assertions.) This is not the only way to interpret this discourse in speech act terms, and it can anyway be criticised for focusing on the writer's intentions at the expense of the reader's uptake of the message. Speech act theories that emphasise illocutionary force and underplay perlocutionary effect inevitably fall into this problem.

This, however, raises an important and still problematic issue in genre analysis. What units of analysis are there, and at what scale? An analysis into constituent speech acts is possible but clearly inadequate, although it does account for the lowest level of the Frentz & Farrell hierarchy. It fails, however, to capture the overall intention *and* effect of the discourse, at its individual and institutional levels.

What is the motive and exigence of this discourse? If Searlian speech act analysis fails to capture its generic nature, can we talk of some overarching macro-speech act? Might a Hoey-like analysis into discourse moves help? At least he was looking at information structures. Does this fit into, for instance, his *problem-solution* model? Yes, and no: (a) Problem – (b) Demand – (c) Guidance (?) – (d) Threat. But have we really advanced beyond speech act strings? And, anyway, Hoey's seems a better model for narrative than for this kind of discourse, with its predication of future action. 'This kind of discourse': but what kind? We are going in circles.

A return to the generic label that was bestowed out of a member's generic 'common sense' gives us a clue. This is, I said, a 'letter of demand', and in such a label we can see an overall purpose. This is a form of persuasive discourse, from someone (anonymous) who feels in a position, that is authorised, to send it out. It is formal or, better, distant in tone (note the frequency of passive voice), but not exactly impersonal: the second person pronoun appears too often for that. Furthermore, it appears in the significant position of sentence grammatical subject in (c) and (d) and as the grammatical subject of the embedded clauses in (a) and (b) and arguably as the deleted main clause subject in (b). Is this the velvet glove over the iron fist, perhaps? At any rate, an attempt to mollify the power relation while maintaining distance.

Another, intuitively attractive, approach is Halliday's, with his division of the clause into *ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions*, which relate to the *field, tenor and mode* of discourse. The ideational and interpersonal content in (b) is easily paraphrased: "You must pay at once what you owe the Inland Revenue, or you will have to pay interest on your debt." At the same time, the discourse is 'doing' two things: issuing an order with one hand (*pay WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY*) and offering advice with the other. Issuing an order – or a threat? It depends on your point of view, regardless of what discourse role you are in, as producer or as receiver. And this, of course, introduces the third dimension of discourse, which is to do with *the uptake* as opposed to *the intention* of a message.

I realise that I have given no satisfactory answer to my question about units. Nor do I think that I can do any better than to suggest that a way forward in investigating longer discourses is in terms of generic mode, such as narrative, description, exposition and persuasion, and subject matter. In fact, in cross-cultural rhetoric, such a 'solution' has heuristically and empirically been adopted (see, for instance, papers in Purves (1988)).

What about the ideological meta-message in this example? Perhaps it is too obvious to state. It is essentially the same as the ideational/ interpersonal content given above. It is an expression of authority, and as such is an expression of power. Behind this message, then, lies one of the most undoubted and least liked powers of the modern state: the power to tax, to demand an individual's money for a collective purpose. (I hope I am not being idealist here!). At the same time, behind, or at least alongside, *that* power is the power of an unspoken contract, with its implications of an ultimately moral obligation. That the two forms of power, the

'political' and the 'moral', are linked is acknowledged, but I do not accept that the latter can simply be reduced to the former. The 'contract' concerns debt, and the necessity for it to be discharged: the necessity, that is, for the 'debtor', and the consequent obligation that 'he' (the subject of the message is literally impersonal, remember) is able to put upon the 'creditor'. If ideology is seen as, in John Thompson's formulation "ways in which meaning (signification) serves to sustain relations of domination" (Thompson 1984:130/1) then, in the way that this message invokes legitimation and insinuates a power of sanction, the ideological meta-message here is very powerful indeed. In this instance, I happily subscribe to a 'critical view' of ideology, although I reject its reductionist tendencies.

After this example of a critical genre analysis, I think it is time to turn to the cross-cultural sphere.

4. Cross-cultural rhetoric

To date the study of cross-cultural rhetoric and genre analysis have taken largely parallel rather than convergent paths. The field known as *contrastive rhetoric* (CR) has been practised for nearly thirty years, since Robert Kaplan's seminal paper on cultural differences in 'thought patterns' (Kaplan 1966), and his assignation of linear and spiral information structures to 'English' and 'Oriental' cultures respectively (Kaplan 1972). Although this has since been shown to be far too impressionistic a model to be even descriptively adequate – and, to be fair, Kaplan himself has admitted that he made his original case "too strong" (Kaplan 1987:10) – his work has triggered off enduring research interest, helped undoubtedly by its obvious and urgent educational application in the field of writing and reading in a second language.

Contrastive rhetoric has confined itself largely to analysing written discourse, and in particular academic discourse, in a range from student essays to research articles. An important tenet of CR, indeed, is that writing and speaking are separate modes of discourse, and cannot be reduced one to the other. Milestones in CR publications are the volumes edited by Connor & Kaplan (1987) and Purves (1988), in which a number of important theoretical and methodological advances are made. I will limit myself to mentioning just one of each.

Methodologically, the advance is in the move beyond a speech act analysis of discourse towards the adoption of some form or other of 'schema analysis', as noted by Kaplan (1987) and it is at this point that CR and one form of genre analysis make contact. That form is the GA developed by John Swales in the first instance, and practised by Swales' erstwhile colleagues and students, Tony Dudley-Evans and Vijay Bhatia. Like CR, it has academic discourse as a central concern and its motivation to study this is also to do, at least indirectly, with the needs of L2 learners and users (usually non-native students in higher education).

An example of Swalesian schema analysis at work that has been used by other workers in the field is his analysis of the introductions to research articles in terms of 'moves'. I will give here the earlier version, but note that Swales himself has revised it. (The revised version is to be found in his book *Genre Analysis* (Swales 1990:141). The four moves are:

Move 1:	establishing the field by showing centrality, by stating current knowledge or by ascribing key characteristics;
Move 2:	summarizing the relevant previous research;
Move 3:	preparing for present research by pointing to a gap or unresolved problem in the previous research or by raising a question about it;
Move 4:	introducing the present project by stating its purpose or objectives or by outlining what is to be done. (Swales 1984)

In the next section I shall show one use of this model in and discuss its findings for cross-cultural rhetoric research. Before leaving this topic I should note, as does Swales, that 'schemata', on which schema analysis is ba sed, is a concept taken from psychology and cognitive science, and cannot as such explain the social nature of discourse, which is something that I have all along been stressing as the fundamental facet of genres.

The theoretical advance is with John Hinds' outlining of a new typology of 'reader-responsible' and 'writer-responsible' languages. The distinction refers to who is responsible for ensuring effective communication. Is it the writer (speaker) or the reader (listener)? According to Hinds, English is a 'writer-responsible' language and Japanese is 'reader-responsible'. The main means whereby 'writer-responsibility' is discharged is metadiscourse, described in the following terms by Crismore and Farnsworth.

"Metadiscourse can guide and direct readers through a text by helping them understand the text and the author's perspective... thereby making the text more friendly and considerate." (Crismore & Farnsworth 1990:121)

Metadiscoursal elements include text connectives (*first, next, however, but)*, 'code glosses' (*x means y*), 'illocution markers' such as *to sum up, by way of illustration, for instance,* modal verbs and adverbs (*perhaps, clearly, might)*. A comprehensive classification is given by Van de Kopple (1985).

Hinds illustrates 'reader-responsibility' with an analysis of an expository essay in a Japanese newspaper on the theme of a special sort of throw-away chopsticks called *waribashi*. The essay is built on a rhetorical pattern known as *ki -shoo -ten-ketsu,* which Hinds explains as follows.

"*ki*	First, begin your argument
shoo	Next, develop that.
ten	At the point where this development is finished, turn the idea to a subtheme where there is a connection, but not a directly connected association [to the major theme].
ketsu	Last, bring all of this together and reach a conclusion." (Hinds 1987:150)[1]

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[1] We may compare this pattern with those of English described by Hoey (1983), such as the *situation-problem-solution-evaluation* model, and the *general-specific,* and *preview-detail* patterns.

In the essay, there is a proliferation of *ten* paragraphs, which raise tangentially related sub-topics, with few overt transition markers. In Hinds argument much hinges on the use of two postpositional particles *ga* and *wa*. Simplifying Hinds, we can say that *ga* indicates that the noun phrase subject of a sentence is new unpredictable information, while *wa* indicates that the same noun phrase is given information. Hinds gives the following illustration (Hinds 1987:146f.)

(3)   *Akiko ga Nara e ikimashita.*
       (Akiko went to Nara)

in which the use of *ga* is appropriate in an answer to the question 'Who went to Nara?', whereas in answer to a question like 'What did Akiko do?' the appropriate form would be:

(4)   *Akiko wa Nara e ikimashita.*
       (Akiko went to Nara)

In the essay analysed, the initial noun phrase in each paragraph except the first is marked by *wa*. In the case of the *ten* paragraphs the noun phrases so marked are by definition not given information. The selection of *wa*, according to Hinds, indicates to the reader that the tangential information is, nevertheless, related to the main theme, and that this will become clear. The onus is put on the reader to make and hold these connections. In English, Hinds suggests, the connections would be made much more explicit.: "readers expect, and require, landmarks along the way" (Hinds 1987:146).

Before turning to look at the examples, I wish to comment contrastively on how CR and critical GA conceive rhetoric. The CR view of rhetoric is that it is the "conventions of writing effectively for various purposes" (Kachru 1988:111), and Purves defines it, very broadly as "the choice of linguistic and structural aspects of discourse – chosen to produce an effect on an audience." (Purves 1988:9). Mauranen defines it, straightforwardly as "persuasive discourse" (Mauranen 1993:5), which brings her closer to the GA perspective, which goes back essentially to that of Plato's Gorgias:

"Rhetoric is the art of persuasion in the Courts and other Assemblies, and about the just and unjust." (quoted in Grierson 1945:2/3)

In this definition rhetoric is the essentially practical study of the praxis of language: i.e. pragmatics, and it may be noted that the emphasis is put on spoken language use. This view links up with Miller's view of rhetoric as social action, which I have endorsed above. It also enables one to see how rhetoric serves public ends, and thus how ideology can enter discourse. To that extent GA is critical. The CR view is essentially non-critical. The critical view enables, in fact requires, the analyst (and user and learner) to examine not only what is happening, but why, in order to be in a better position to be in control of discourse (via genres) rather than be controlled by it. In so doing it may enable a given social state of affairs to be changed. As Fairclough points out, 'critical' has a double meaning:

to uncover and make aware of what is hidden, and also to intervene (Fairclough 1992:9).

5. Cross-cultural rhetoric: three examples

5.1. Taylor & Chen (1991)

This study examined research article introductions written in a group of related disciplines, namely geology, metallurgy, materials science and mechanical engineering. The writers were Anglo-Americans, Chinese writing in English and Chinese writing in Chinese, and Taylor & Chen applied Swales' 4-move schema. Among their aims was to test the validity of CR claims that written discourse structure varies according to the cultural and linguistic background of the writer. The latter was predictably scotched, though the finding was nonetheless worth stating, namely that "there is no 'Chinese way' of writing science that is attributable to features of the Chinese language system itself." (Taylor & Chen 1991:330). They found that the Swalesian 1-2-3-4 schema was confirmed as the dominant one in all three groups, used in 16 out of the 31 introductions analysed.

Another of their aims, as I understand it, was to bring into question the universality of discourse structures, across (broadly) genres – they classified two, according to whether the article was 'experimental' or 'theoretical' -and disciplines (though these were, as they say, closely matched) as well as cultural membership. The criteria for establishing 'experimental' and 'theoretical' papers as distinct genres are not given; however, they did find significant variation between them. Experimental papers followed the '1-2-3-4' schema nearly twice as often as theoretical papers; on the other hand experimental papers were very likely (8 out of 11 in the sample) to drop a move, and have a '1-2-4' or '1-3-4' or '2-3-4' schema. Secondly, Taylor & Chen found that the Chinese scientists, whether writing in English or in Chinese, were much more likely than their Anglo-American counterparts to drop Move 2, the literature review, and to adopt the straightforward, unelaborated schema. They also used a noticeably lower mean number of sentences (10.7 for Chinese/Chinese [in translation], 11.8 for Chinese/English against 17.7 for the Anglo-Americans) and made noticeably fewer references (mean = 9.3 for Anglo-Americans, 3.9 for Chinese/English and 2.1 for Chinese/Chinese.) Their final conclusion was that "there is an internationalization of scientific discourse that is nevertheless heavily qualified by significant variations in both regional and disciplinary cultures." (Taylor & Chen 1991:332)

5.2. Halmari (1993)

Although most studies in CR have been of written genres, one recent investigation (Halmari 1993) has focused on the spoken genre of intercultural business telephone calls. Her data consists of 12 calls between Finns and Americans, and is subdivided into 5 calls between Finns (in Finnish) and 6 calls between the same Finnish businessman and different American businessmen, and a 12th call, conducted in English between the Finn and another non-native English speaker. Hal-

mari notes that there are similarities as well as differences, and interestingly among the former is that there is cross-culturally the same 'episode structure'. The calls are structured around an *opening – non-topical episode -business – close* model, with the first and last two as obligatory elements and greater optionality about the second. Each episode consists of 'sub-episodes' (e.g. the OPENING episode consists of the sub-episodes of 'name', 'greeting' and 'limited answer to 'How are you?''). Among sub-episodes, 'greetings', 'business', 'recapitulation' and 'formal closing' appear to be equally used by Finns and Americans. Two areas of divergence are in the use of the non-topic episode, and the frequency and placement of overlapping speech.

The non-topical episode, in fact, is not so much more optional than the others as more utilised by Finns than by Americans. Halmari's explanation for this is as follows:

"As opposed to the Finnish business conversations where non-topical is an accepted and expected part, following formal opening and preceding the core business, American business conversations seem to emphasize the effective 'straight to the business' style." (Halmari 1993:416)

I have an alternative explanation which is based on a cross-culturally different interpretation of the 'How are you?' sentence type. By native speaker English it is uttered and interpreted as a greeting token; by Finns, it is heard as a genuine inquiry. In Halmari's data, the non-topical episode appears to consist of a lengthy answer to the 'How are you?' question-form. In other words, we have a case of 'pragmalinguistic failure' (Thomas 1983) – a differential interpretation of the pragmatic meaning of a syntactic form. That this causes a rhetorical problem for the American English native speaker is well illustrated by Halmari, through attempts made to 'get down to business', as shown below. The attempts are in the arrowed turns. The sequence is preceded by a 'How are you?' query from the American speaker

(5)	1	A:	Pretty well thank you.
	2		I have moved closer to you
	3		I sold my house in Pasadena
	4		and I have moved to Upland.
	5	B:	Oh really?
	6	A:	Yes =
	7	B:	=Yes
	8	A:	because I used to live here in Montclair and
	9		I liked – liked the .. area.
	10	B:	Oh
	11	A:	so – =
	12	B:	Your English is much better today too.
	13	A:	Ye:es heh-heh (laughs)
	14	B:	heh-heh you're doing good.

15	A:	Ye:s.
16	B: _	Good. LISTEN.
17		Wha- what are the: what do the /furnaces/ cost these
18		that will temper? (Halmari 1993:418-9; #3)

5.3. *Mauranen (1993)*

The last study I am going to examine in this section comes closest to uniting genre analysis with contrastive rhetoric, and indicates, I think, directions that the field can profitably take in the future. Mauranen adopts a view of genre as "social activity of a typical and recognisable kind in a community...[which] can best be distinguished by reference to social rather than linguistic parameters..." (Mauranen 1993:4). The similarity of this with, say, Miller's view is plain.

The study is of economics texts written in English by Finnish and Anglo-American academics. In this way, Mauranen like Taylor & Chen controls for subject matter. She applies Hinds' typological distinction of reader- and writer-responsibility, and examines this through the use of metatext, and the role of person. Her general finding is that Finnish writers in the selected genre employ far less metatext than their Anglo-American counterparts, and that their writing indicates an 'implicitness' in rhetorical strategies. Mauranen calls this characteristic of a reader-responsible rhetoric. I will exemplify Mauranen's argument here from her remarks on the role of person, and quote one of her examples. The native-English text contains three times as many sentences (9, to 3 in the Finn's text) in which a real-life human agent is mentioned. Furthermore, the human subjects are often given thematic position, as subjects of active clauses. There are no such instances in the Finn's text.

(6)   (a)   [native-English text]

"Chang (1983) identified, but did not surmount, the major stumbling block to obtaining general results: determining the signs of the cross-partial second-order derivatives of fiber volume and soil expectation value with respect to time management intensity."

(b)   [text by Finn]

"Traditionally, the forestry organizations in Finland have strongly emphasised the requirements of the national economy as a whole by promoting maximal wood production and also supporting sufficient roundwood supply." (cf. production objective in Speidel 1984, p. 33) (Mauranen 1993:13)

Mauranen characterizes the Anglo-American rhetoric as "marketing-type", in which the writer uses explicit guidelines to condition the reader's interpretation. The Finns' rhetoric she calls "poetic", and describes it, poetically enough, as follows.

"Instead of acting as a guide to his or her text, the Finn travels his path alone, leaving tracks for those who might be interested in following. The reader's task is then to find the marks, interpret them, and draw the conclusions." (Mauranen 1993:16)

Mauranen's tentative explanation for this cross-cultural rhetorical difference is worth considering. She links the strategies to different notions of politeness in the respective cultures, and to a homogeneity/heterogeneity axis. The 'implicit' Finnish rhetoric can be construed as polite in that it treats the reader as intelligent enough to follow the argument. On the other hand, the Anglo-American rhetoric can also be seen as polite in that it helps the reader along. Each side, however, can interpret the other's rhetoric as, respectively, arrogant and uncaring, or patronizing, an insult to the reader's intelligence. Mauranen stresses that it is not a matter of one culture being polite and the other not. (though that may be how it is perceived, unfortunately.) Her further explanation for 'implicitness' is that Finnish culture is homogeneous: a Finnish writer may therefore more reasonably expect that the reader can interpret effectively on fewer clues, whereas in a huge and heterogeneous culture such as the Anglo-American, more explicit strategies become necessary. It is at this point that I think Mauranen comes close to introducing an ideological dimension to her study, without actually doing so. Notions of politeness are, of course, linked to power differentials, and through this to ideology.

6. Conclusion

My final example is from nearer home, involving a non-native speaker postgraduate student recently at Sheffield. I give full excerpts from the opening three paragraphs of a Syrian student's assignment. (The numbers in square brackets were not in the original text. They have been added in order to highlight the paragraph sequence of the original)

(7) [1] "Language and man were together from the early stages of human existance on the planet. With the different human languages in early civilisations emerged the need for translation to make communication easier among people with different languages. It may be that translation began as a need for survival and communication, and started as simple as knowing basic information about the other language(s).
[2] An important stage in the history of translation in English language is the period between 1650-1800. Poets and critics started to write long prefaces to the translated works from Latin and Greek....According to G. Steiner (1992), this period is very important because it represents a peak for a long period i the history of the theory of translation starting with "Cicero's famous precept not to translated pro verbo" and ends with Tytler's essay.
[3] The importance of period comes mainly from Dryden. He was the main figure who practised vastly in the field of literature in that time...."

Although there are slips, errors, typos and other 'infelicities' sufficient to indicate that this piece comes from a non-native writer, they are nowhere of a degree to cause misunderstanding. The real problem is, as shown by the native speaker marker, that its generic structure is awry.

(8) "This ... lacks a satisfactory organisation and structure, for it amounts to a series of little fragments which have been welded together."

The consequence is serious: this assignment, as a borderline pass, was referred to the external examiner for adjudication, and was failed, for being "too disjointed and vague to pass." The power of the marker, secure in the academic an d social culture, and secure in his position in that culture, and the problem for the non-native student, who is still a novice in both senses of the culture. Cross-cultural rhetoric is as necessary and urgent as Kaplan, Purves and others have said. What is now needed, and is now possible, is a marriage of the traditions of CR and GA and critical GA. Cross-cultural literacy is a good area in which such a marriage can take place.

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