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ABSTRACT

Seven basic models for teaching languages for special purposes (LSP) are outlined: (1) language-levels; (2) skills; (3) rhetorical functions; (4) notions/concepts; (5) situations; (6) topics; and (7) tasks. These models are examined through analysis of the texts (textbooks, research documents, and others) used to teach LSP courses. Examples of teaching units for each model are given, as well as the major theoretical influences for each model. The concept of genre for operating in both the classroom and the larger society is examined. It is proposed that the analysis of discourse and other features of any given genre within a field can provide the course designer with a manageable and meaningful framework within which to construct courses and that it can offer the learner tools with which to engage in any of the structurable events of business and professional life. (MSE)

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GENRE ANALYSIS AND ITS APPLICATION TO LANGUAGES
FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES

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GENRE ANALYSIS AND ITS APPLICATION TO LANGUAGES FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES

John Swales

1. The Structuring of Language Courses

The private thinking of a specific-purpose course designer or materials writer is made public by the overt structuring of the language learning materials. This structuring becomes visible in a variety of formats and documents:

- i) in the kinds of title and heading given to chapters, units or sections;
- ii) in the way the syllabus is justified, outlined or described;
- iii) in the highlighting of elements in a course description;
- iv) and in the form a proposal takes in a bid for sponsorship or approval.

Thus, McDonough (1984) has been able to both categorize and illustrate the important issue of "approach" (Richards, 1984) by analyzing the contents pages of a range of textbooks. "The kinds of labels given to the units, although usually brief, can tell us about the perspectives on language and learning interest in the materials, and about their overall organization" (McDonough, 1984:46).

With very few exceptions, all the ESP unitization schemes of the last twenty years or so can be categorized - with a fair degree of content - into a restricted set of architypal approaches. The architypal approaches or models are listed in Figure 1, along with in each case three typical examples of unit titles plus an indication of the provenance of the model. Not all my colleagues would agree with the listing, nor would all agree with my views on the intellectual origin of particular models, but I trust that the categorization is sufficiently uncontroversial to serve my introductory purpose.

Figure 1: Models of ESP Course Structuring

<u>Model</u>	<u>Examples of Units</u>	<u>Major Influences</u>
A. <u>Language-levels</u> (pronunciation, lexis, syntax etc)	1. Word-Stress 2. The Present Passive 3. Business Vocabulary	The Linguistic Sciences
B. <u>Skills</u>	1. Reading 2. Writing 3. Listening	Behaviourism Language Learning Pedagogy
C. <u>Rhetorical Functions</u>	1. Classification 2. Definition 3. Comparison and Contrast	Rhetoric Linguistic Philosophy (Austin/Searle)
D. <u>Concepts/Notions</u>	1. Probability 2. Measurement 3. Cause and Effect	ESP Research Communicative Grammar
E. <u>Situations</u>	1. In the Office 2. On the Shop-floor 3. At the Airport	Life - experiences
F. <u>Topics</u>	1. The Oil Crisis 2. The Discovery of Penicillin 3. Industrial Relations	General Education Liberal Arts
G. <u>Tasks</u> (inc. study skills)	1. Setting up a Meeting 2. Revising a Term Paper 3. Following Instructions	Linguistic Philosophy (Wittgenstein) Applied Discourse Analysis Ethnography

Model A, in our communicative age, has been out of favor for years, as has traditional LSP research into the frequency and range of linguistic items within and across registers (e.g. Widdowson, 1979). Nevertheless both the model and its associated research tradition has a two-fold legacy. In the first place, we would do well to value and utilize that research for the data-based input it provides. A single instance must suffice. Chiu (1973) analyzed the most frequent verbs in two large samples of Canadian government language: administrative correspondence and boardroom discussion. Figure 2 gives the ten commonest verbs in each case.

Figure 2: The 10 most frequent verbs in two corpora (after Chiu)

<u>Administrative Correspondence</u>		<u>Boardroom Discussion</u>	
Rank		Rank	
1)	be	1)	be
2)	have	2)	have
3)	make	3)	think
4)	require	4)	know
5)	attach	5)	so
6)	appreciate	6)	say
7)	enclose	7)	get
8)	receive	8)	take
9)	provide	9)	do
10)	refer	10)	find

The differences are patent. It is doubtful for instance if many would have guessed the high frequency of occurrence in official letters of such verb-lexemes as attach, appreciate and enclose. A cursory look at several textbooks designed to teach administrative and commercial correspondence equally suggests that textbook writers have seriously underestimated the use of such verbs. Frow (1981) is almost certainly wrong in his hypothesis that administrative discourse will be more affected by the subject matter than by whether the communication is oral or written.

The second legacy is attitudinal rather than substantive. The rise of the communicative language learning movement has rightly underlined the need for the LSP profession to show greater educational responsibility - to be more than just purveyors of information, setters of tasks and presenters of principles. However, in the current concern with the individual learner, with the processes of language learning, and with devising of methodologies that will maximize communicative interaction, there has been some neglect of the older tradition of linguistic responsibility. There is, I suspect, an increasing reliance on inherited beliefs, armchair prescriptions and unresearched textbook guidelines about the actual linguistic properties of communicative events in the real world. Again only one illustration is possible. Kinai et al (1985) have recently investigated the admonitions of Day (1979) and many others that writers of research papers should close their introductions with a summary of their main findings. Kinai et al were able to show, although admittedly on a small sample, that 80% of 'successful' writers (at least in the sense that they get their articles published) do not in fact "pre-announce" their conclusions.

The 4-skills Model B is sufficiently well known to permit a shorter discussion. In LSP situations, it is obviously at risk in overgeneralizing the types of skill that may be required and in failing to identify which sub-skills are used for which purposes. In a recent article on 'Physicists reading Physics', Bazerman (1985) has shown that professional physicists rarely read journal articles in a serial manner. Bruce (personal communication) observes that Kuwaiti doctors typically read English medical articles in reverse order. They read the Discussion. If that interests them they look at the Results, if the Results are of interest they examine the Method section, and if their attention is still maintained, they will study the

description of previous literature in the Introduction. Mathes and Stevenson (1976) cite research that managers only read the body of reports submitted to them 15% of the time. Clearly, the LSP profession needs to be able to take on board motivated but non-standard reading practices such as those I have just alluded to - and the same would be true, if to a lesser extent, for the other skills. Reading processes (and those in the other three skills) also need to be examined in specific contexts. And here I believe the recent revival of interest in schema theory is of considerable relevance. If we follow Carrell (1983a; 1983b) and argue for a distinction between content schemata (background knowledge of the content area of a text) and formal schemata (background knowledge of the rhetorical structures of different types of text) we can see that both emerge as crucial variables that need to be taken into account in devising LSP programs.

The rhetorical function and notional Models can be taken together. Both possess the enormous advantage of having a built-in emphasis on communicative purpose, but both have a number of inherent weaknesses. As Munby (1978) showed all too well, models of the Card D type typically become too atomistic. Like Model A, they tend to offer units that deal with the single sentences or utterances. They, also, in an effort to maintain clarity and to maintain some link between function and form, have tended to opt for the monofunctionality of sentences and utterances (as indeed did their philosophical precursors Austin and Searle). However, we know that isomorphism between function and utterance is a dangerous simplification, especially in professional settings. For example, Candlin et al (1974) have revealed that the following type of utterance made in the setting of a hospital Casualty Department has three functions:

"I'm just going to pop a couple of little stitches in".

Obviously enough, it functions as a piece of information that the patient needs to have. Secondly, the form of words chosen reflects the doctor's desire to reassure the patient that what is to come is relatively non-serious and non-painful (compare 'You are going to need some sutures'). However, Candlin and his colleagues were also able to show that the third function of the utterance was an indirect instruction to the nurse to prepare the suture-set. It is clear that communicating on those three levels simultaneously requires a very considerable degree of communicative skill and not surprisingly, working in Casualty emerged as one of the key situations in which foreign doctors required screening and support. A final difficulty with these models lies in the tendency of their protagonists to be satisfied with identifying a function. However, to be able to label a statement as, say "a definition" is not of itself to have achieved very much. More to the point would be insight into why a definition had been introduced at that particular juncture and what was the purpose of its introduction; indeed Swales (1983) has argued that definitions have very different purposes in Science, Law and Social Science textbooks and that it is the characteristics of particular disciplinary cultures that coerce the diverse roles, forms and distributions of definitions in such expository texts.

The Situational Approach typified by Model E has found relatively little favor in LSP courses, one possible reason being that it seems more suited to the learning of socially appropriate behaviour than that which is communicatively effective. On the other hand, it is valuable for the emphasis it places on the non-verbal environment. The developments in both discourse analysis and LSP have tended to stress the importance of understanding texts as textual

phenomena (using 'text' in its contemporary sense of encompassing oral as well as written) and of relying entirely on techniques of textual analysis to get at that understanding. However, the discourse analyst and the LSP practitioner alike may have given text too great a place in nature for, whilst it is true that textual study is essential, it is not necessarily sufficient. The course designer needs to know, for instance, not only something about the target texts but also about the patterns of significance, use and evaluation given to them by the members of the institutions that use such texts. Is a textbook a "bible", a "straw-man" or something in-between? Is an agenda sacrosanct, not worth the paper it is typed on, or something in-between?

Model F also has a contribution to make, especially in the area of content. Although the model has rarely produced exceptional courses (often being a fall-back for more indolent or less imaginative materials writers and often giving teachers too much opportunity for deciding what their LSP students ought to be interested in), it raises issues of how to handle texts with familiar or unfamiliar content schemata, of how to choose texts that are prototypic in terms of rhetorical structuring and of how to decide which would be appropriate text-based tasks. Imagine for instance a group of diplomats who need a capacity to read the newspaper editorials of the country to which they are (or will be) posted. Available research (Boliver 1982) indicates that a common rhetorical structure for such a genre is the following three-part development: description of actual events; delineation of possible events; advocacy of desirable events. The group itself could then evaluate this putative scheme against a range of content, political, economic etc. Even in a relatively straightforward situation such as this, 'content' is hard to identify in any simple way with "what a text is about". And complexity increases if recent distinctions between

'carrier content' (the surface text-content) and 'real content' (the underlying task-content) are incorporated (Scott and Scott, 1984; Crocker and Swales, 1984).

The final model (G) is concerned with specific tasks and has, I would argue, considerable advantages over preceding models:-

- 1) It produces a set of units of manageable size,
- 2) The units are labelled so as to stress communicative purpose and achievement ("another useful job done").
- 3) The units involve an integration of the traditional four skills.
- 4) The units are all concerned with both types of schema.
- 5) The units are placed within constrained communicative settings so that certain regularities of organization and form-function correspondence are apparent and utilizable.
- 6) The units are expressed in terms comprehensible to lay people.

However, LSP task-based learning, for all its advantages, remains at risk if tasks are inappropriate, ill-understood or ill-defined for the professional contexts that they are designed to serve. It is a purpose of applied genre-analysis to offer that clarification and definition and to offer it in terms that are sufficiently specific in linguistic characterization to be transposable into LSP curricula. As we have seen, such an analysis is more of an eclectic amalgam of the strong points of previous approaches, rather than a radical departure. As far as LSP is concerned, the antecedents of a genre-driven approach are summarized in Figure 3.

Figure 3 LSP Antecedents of Genre Analysis

Model A	:	Linguistic responsibility	
Model B	:	Specific-situation sub skills, practices and processes	
Model C	:	The role of communicative purpose	genre analysis
Model D	:	The importance of sub-cultures	
Model E	:	Text-roles within textual environments	
Model F	:	The complex nature of 'content'	

2. Towards An Analysis of Genres

In the opening section I concluded that organizing teaching units and activities along genre-based lines offered gains of both coherence and relevance. I would now like to advance another claim: a genre-approach not only makes sense as a way of structuring the narrow world of the LSP classroom, but also reflects a reality beyond that narrow world. I would suggest that we operate in society, both at work and at play, partly through a repertoire of genres that most of us add to and become more proficient in as we become older. This is one reason why the communicative approach can be unsuccessful with teenagers; teenagers tend to have a very limited genre repertoire, either through lack of experience or through their refusal to participate in many of the genres of adult society.

Traditionally genres have been more associated with art rather than with life; with literature (e.g. Fowler,1983)or with film (Neale,1979)for instance. There is also a long history of genre-analysis in the field of folklore studies. The tradition in the discourse analysis and sociolinguistic areas is much shorter and currently there is considerable terminological confusion: apart from genre itself (from art criticism) there proliferate partly overlapping terms such as topic-type

(reading research) activity-type (anthropology), text-type (text linguistics), episode and communicative event (ethnography) script (discourse analysis) and so on.

For the present purpose I offer the following description of genres:-

- a) A genre is a recognized communicative event with a shared public purpose and with aims mutually understood by the participants within that event. (The emphasis on purpose allows a way of distinguishing 'the real thing' from parody, which if good may reproduce all the linguistic and rhetorical features of the text being parodied.)
- b) A genre is, within variable degrees of freedom, a structured and standardized communicative event with constraints on allowable contributions in terms of their positioning, form and intent. Thus a genre is a bounded but infinite. Genres do not deny creativity but rather encourage it by providing a framework through which communicative activities can be channeled and expectancies shared.
- c) Overt knowledge of the conventions of a genre is likely to be much greater in those who routinely or professionally operate with that genre rather than in those who become involved in it only occasionally.
- d) Societies give genre names to types of communicative event that they recognize as recurring. Named genres are manifested though spoken or written texts (or both) but are not themselves texts. Genre is a concept that encompasses text, text-role and text-environment.
- e) Modified genre-names (survey article, issue memo, cocktail party) indicate features that a speech community finds salient and thus provide a way into sub-genres.
- f) Individual genres cannot be defined for genres are continually evolving. Some are in decline (formal debates run according to Robert's Rules), others are changing, others are being developed (poster sessions).



g) Genres differ in a number of ways: the nature and complexity of communicative purpose; the degree of pre-preparation; the relations between creators and receivers of genres; their propensity for being embedded within other genres; the degree to which they are culturally-specific etc.

The following sample list of utterances indicates a few of the genres that are recognized in my own speech community; they exemplify in their different ways many of the genre characteristics that have just been described.

- 1) Her latest article is even better written than the others.
- 2) News broadcasts are becoming more and more parochial.
- 3) Dr. Jones can always be relied on for a good reference.
- 4) Do you have a recipe for this?
- 5) I didn't really expect a sales-pitch.
- 6) The usual pep-talk.
- 7) Are you going to the party?
- 8) She really enjoys heart-to-hearts.
- 9) At least they're not a couple who're always having rows.
- 10) Mother thinks the funeral went off rather well, considering.

The article, or perhaps more properly the research article, is in quantitative terms one of the most important English-language written-text genres, probably only rivalled in number of printed examples by news reports in newspapers. The world's annual production of research articles runs into the millions, and at least half are written in English (Baldauf and Jernudd, 1983; Swales, forthcoming). Inevitably there is a heavy non-native speaker involvement in this genre, both as producers and consumers of texts. The research article is also of considerable qualitative significance. As Ziman (1968) and many others subsequently have noted, research is not considered complete until it is made available to the wider research community.

Further, publication is the major route to tenure, promotion, research grants and so on. The macro-structure of the genre is therefore well understood: Introduction, Method, Results and Discussion. However, the rhetorical organization within certain sections such as Introduction and Discussion is not so well perceived by the practitioners of the genre; equally obscured may be a realization that the research article, especially at the outset, is often a powerful piece of rhetorical persuasion rather than some neutral descriptive commentary. Section 3 will illustrate how recent work in this genre might be turned to pedagogical account.

If research articles are quite different texts to the notes and written data from which they emanate (Latour and Woolgar, 1979; Gilbert and Mulkey, 1984), similarly news broadcasts have little direct relationship with everyday narratives of events. First, there is the well-known inversion of temporal sequence as encapsulated in the journalistic maxim of 'put the freshest at the top'. Second, news broadcasts are structured through a complex and recursive set of text organizing elements: station identifications ("this news comes to you from."); time-signals; wavelength information; the blocking of news ("here are the headlines", "the news in detail", "the main points again"); greetings and the personal identification of the news reader in order to counteract the distance of the Institutional Voice (Lerman, 1983), and so on. Thirdly, editorial control not only is responsible for deciding which items are sufficiently newsworthy to warrant inclusion, but also for handling matters of attribution and background information. Attribution is the process of moderating the correctness of an item by such qualifications as "according to reports reaching..."; background information is the insertion of factual comment, most typically about people and places, so that the listenership

can process the newscast without strain or bewilderment. In turn, all these features can be related to the purposes of newscasts and to the discursial expertise of those responsible for them.

References are another distinct type of genre-text that once again needs to be understood in its own terms, rather than be taken as broadly representative of the language as a whole. References are not descriptions of individual careers; rather they are evaluations that are both written and read against a background of what is not said. Thus, the support for an individual tends to be measured more by the length of the reference rather than its content. In all three of the cases that there is space here to comment on (the research paper, the newscast, the reference) general communicative skill is patently insufficient for timely creation of a successful product; in each case a period of apprenticeship to the genre is also required. Thus, the LSP learner may come to genres with assets as well as liabilities; that learner, especially in genres with relatively little cross-cultural variation, may already be apprenticed in her or his first language, even though s/he may carry liabilities in the form of much reduced competence in the target language.

Earlier in this section I claimed that our communicative behaviour is organized partly through a repertoire of genres. I am not therefore claiming that all communicative events are instances of genres; indeed I would now like to suggest that there are two important areas of verbal activity that are better considered as non genre-specific. One area is casual day-to-day conversation and the other is ordinary narrative accounts. It seems to me that these two verbal activities are prototypical or pre-generic in a number of ways: in the probable evolution of human societies, in an individual's acquisition of language, in the sheer amount of time given to chat and story-telling, and in the fact that most human

beings are psychologically dependent on such interactions and exchanges. As a result, the interest for the genre-analyst lies in the kinds of relationship that might exist between the "rules", patterns and procedures of general conversation and narrative and genre-specific communicative events. Do (Say) the Gricean maxims still apply? Are unequal encounters (Candlin 1984) such as normally occur between doctor and patient, police and suspect, lawyer and witness, teacher and pupil, bank manager and loan applicant different in kind to those that occur between peers in incidental settings? Do summaries of previous research, descriptions of experiments, testimonials and references, news broadcasts, or corporation annual reports have their own sets of organizing principles that are to be separably distinguished from the generalizations attempted in the field of narratology (Prince, 1982)? There are as yet no firm answers to these difficult questions but I believe the better way of proceeding is to examine each genre in its own terms -- to take, if you will, the perspective of the cultural anthropologist and apply it to those areas of business and professional discourse wherein we wish to provide training for our LSP learners. In the final section I offer some illustrative indications of how this might be done.

3. Applications of Genre Analysis

This section consists of three illustrations. The first is taken from the field of Research English and attempts to show how discursal and rhetorical analysis can be turned to pedagogical account. The second comes from English for Academic Legal Purposes and is concerned with text and task and with *carne's* and real content. The third is from Business and Administrative English and is more concerned with matters of course design.

The introduction sections of research articles usually have a three - or four-part information structure - although there is some possibility of recursion,

especially in the Social Sciences (Crookes, forthcoming). Various characterisations of this structure have been offered (an elaborated problem-solution text-type, as in Zappen (1983), or the creation of a 'research space', Swales, (1981), but all commentators observe that researchers tend to end their introductions by introducing their own current research. Typically, they do this in either one of two main ways:-

1. Purposive: The aim of this paper. . .
 The purpose of the present investigation . . .
 It is the purpose of the present study . . .
 This study was designed to. . .

2. Descriptive:

- a) collapsed: The present analysis utilizes . . .
 This paper reports . . .
- b) Uncollapsed: In the present paper, changes are reported . . .
 In this paper, we will argue that . . .

A number of teaching points for both the reading and writing of research English can be obtained from this type of analysis:-

- a) In the above genre-specific context, a key signal that a writer has made the transition from evaluating previous research to introducing the current study is the use of this or the present. In this context, these two elements are used interchangeably (i.e. the present can be considered as a demonstrative pronoun). If, however, this refers back to the evaluation, it is not replaceable by the present:-

To remedy this deficiency, we have . . .

In view of these uncertainties, an attempt . . .

Thus the reference of this can be used for teaching comprehension and discourse structure.

b) We have an ideal opportunity to review a complex lexical set: paper, article, study, report etc.

c) That review will enable us to sort out the vexed question of whether "is" or "was" is the preferred verb form in purposive statements. Suppose we divide the lexical set into two sub-sets:

i) type and place of presentation:-

paper, article, report, review, presentation, letter, thesis, note etc.

ii) type of enquiry:-

investigation, study, enquiry, research, work, experiment, analysis ...

then we can see that the past tense is blocked with sub-set i) but not with sub-set ii):-

The purpose of this paper is to

Sub-Set 1

*The purpose of this paper was to

The purpose of this work is to

Sub-Set 2

The purpose of this work was to

d) According to Kojima and Kojima (1981) the collapsed structure is not possible in Japanese and hence Japanese researchers find it alien and consistently opt for the uncollapsed variant. Given the heavy use of the collapsed structure in Research English, we now have both a sufficiently motivated context and audience to give it special attention.

All I have done in this example is examine a small part of a small section of a single genre. Despite the microscopic nature of this analysis, I venture to think that valuable work on the use of this - perhaps the key determiner in academic prose - can be done; that a crucial lexical area can be explored; that it can be shown how the general English distinction between past and present may be neutralized in certain genre-specific contexts; and that there is cross-cultural

variation in the acceptability of certain common research English sentence patterns. If such things have been achieved, they have been achieved by genre-analysis itself and by recognizing that within genres we can find strongly motivated opportunities for teaching particular linguistic features.

The second illustration takes up two inter-related issues within the sub-field of English for Academic Legal Purposes. For some years there has been a controversy about the appropriacy of using legal case descriptions in the early stages of EALP courses. On one side, Calderbank (1982) has argued that case descriptions are an excellent starting point because they exhibit simple discourse, are detachable from a required knowledge of the whole legal system and are texts suitable for standard problem-solving exercises. Similarly Swales (1982) advocates their early use "because they are similar in many respects to the narratives and stories familiar from school English". On the other side, White (1979) has shown that language teachers set comprehension questions on cases that are quite different to those raised by lawyers; moreover, the English teachers' questions are judged by the lawyers to be either irrelevant or appropriate. Further support for postponement of cases comes from Davie (1982) who argues that case descriptions require lengthy genre-specific reading strategies that turn on spotting the ratio decidendi. We thus have a controversy between textual-similarity and task-specificity. The narrow textual approaches of Calderbank and Swales fail to take text-role sufficiently into account; more importantly, such an approach may have the deleterious effect of teaching students a wrong way of studying cases.

In fact, a genre-driven concern to shift some of the attention away from engaging students in the right text to engaging them in the right task offers some hope to LSP practitioners who feel undermined by a need to understand the content of alien fields. For instance, there may be many EALP teachers around the

world who would prefer not to cope with authentic legal texts. If, however, we recognize that all law students need exceptional skills in detecting and ambiguity (Crocker 1982), then we have a suitable task to hand; further our own linguistic training will be a storehouse of suitable short texts, such as:-

Flying planes can be dangerous.

We decided on the boat.

All the old men and women were ill.

The car's content then will be exercises in English grammar, but the real content will be developing in the law students a capacity for disambiguation as part of their legal training.

The final illustration is taken from Business English, more precisely from an upper-intermediate course I am developing on International Business Communication. One strand of this course is structured through a text-task sequence that is graded across two parameters: the length of text and the complexity of audience. Part of the course structure looks like this:

Figure 4: A Task-Based IBC Syllabus

The comprehension, analysis, revising and writing of:-

1. Telexes
2. Telephone messages (message slips)
3. Attachment notes and Routing Slips
4. Other messages
5. Short individual memos (reminders, requests for meetings etc)
6. Short issue memos and circulars (simple announcements, etc)
7. Short business letters (acknowledgement of receipt, reservations etc)
8. More complex memos and letters
9. Progress Reports
10. More elaborate reports (including financial forecasting).

So far this looks like a Reading-Writing course in business and administrative documentation. A number of other features would seem to be required: a better integration of skills, some cyclic reworking of the tasks, and some interface with the world outside the classroom. The second strand, therefore, is the small group project. Three projects are currently underway: an investigation into the University of Michigan's Campus Mail System, a study of the previous year's ELI Current Account, and an analysis of the ELI's marketing policy.

This paper has attempted to give genre-analysis a central place in the teaching of Language for Specific Purposes. I have argued that a genre perspective gives the course designer a manageable and a meaningful framework within which to construct courses. I have suggested that a genre approach offers the learner a series of keys by means of which s/he can engage in many of the structurable communicative events of business and professional life. As Carolyn Miller says

... what we learn when we learn a genre is not just a pattern of forms or even a method of achieving our own ends. We learn, more importantly, what ends we may have: we learn that we may eulogize, apologize, recommend one person to another, instruct customers on behalf of a manufacturer, take on an official role, account for progress in achieving goals. (Miller, 1984:165)

The foreign language learner needs equally to learn ends as well as means; otherwise that learner may be prone to fossilization, to survivalist communication strategies, and to the modes and genres of the mother culture in all the ways that are only too familiar to us.

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