Written Communication across Cultures

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Written Communication across Cultures: A sociocognitive perspective on business genres
by Yunxia Zhu

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Table of contents

List of figures

List of tables

Notation conventions

GNE   Genetive's
H   Honourific
Class   Classification
Mod   Modest form for self
ASP   Aspect marker

Preface

This book reflects an extension of cross-cultural genre research as suggested by its title: Written Communication Across Cultures. In the past ten years, several insightful works have influenced my model development in this area. As an initial influence, I was inspired by Kaplan's approach for comparing English and Chinese rhetorical patterns. Dialogues and discussions in contrastive rhetoric provoked my mind to a series of research questions, which has gradually led to my inquiry into cross-cultural genre study. Later-stage influences include the psychology of language, genre analysis and intercultural and management communication, to name just a few. This book depicts my research exploration in incorporating genre study with cross-cultural dimensions and Chinese theories and the study has also made a valuable contribution based on my descriptive work.

Since the mid-1990s, several notable research experiences have further shaped my view about cross-cultural genre research and teaching. Working with Professor Herbert Hildebrandt was an immensely rewarding experience, and during this time I developed a keen interest in exploring and incorporating persuasion and rhetoric in cross-cultural genre study. I have benefited from collaborating with Dr. Catherine Nickerson and Dr. Francesca Bargiela in exploring various approaches for cross-cultural genre study. I have also benefited from my continued involvement throughout the past six years with the Intercultural Committee and colleagues in the Association of Business Communication in the United States and Europe, where I was encouraged to explore intercultural as well as culture-specific perspectives. Another influence worth noting is from Professor John Swales, Professor Vijay Bhatia, Professor Ken Hyland, Professor Jan Ulijn and Associate Professor Chen Ping, who have given me advice regarding genre study in general or Chinese genre specifics.

At a practical level, this book has benefited enormously from managers' contributions in three countries of Australia, New Zealand and China where data were collected and analysed in the light of the above-mentioned theoretical dimensions.

I would like to acknowledge and thank all those who have been involved in various stages of my research and the writing of this book. First of all, I am greatly indebted to Professor Herbert Hildebrandt, Associate Professor Tony Liddicoat, Reader Tony Diller, Professor Andy Kirkpatrick and Dr. Beverley Hong-Fincher who have contributed to my idea development at various stages of my research. Thanks are also given to Arjan van der Boon, Simon Hart and Alan Mateucci for helping collect data or organise questionnaire and interviews in New Zealand and thank Wang Jiakun, Sun Daogang, Zhang Qun, Zhu Yungang and Zhu Yungiang for a similar contribution in China. I would also like to acknowledge my thanks to my former institution, Henan University of Finance and Economics, for their support in providing business connections for conducting interviews.

I would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments, which offered me further insight and guidance throughout the one-year revision of this book. Special thanks go to my friend Dr. Mandy Scott who has edited this book thoroughly and meticulously, and also go to Sun Zhu for the insertion of the Chinese characters and other types of research assistance for this book.

A special thankful note is given to Pingxin Zhang, my husband, who has always been there giving me full support including offering his contribution to earlier idea development of this book. I would like to thank my daughter, Mengzi Zhang, for her countless hours over the weekends accompanying me in my office while I was working through my book manuscript and also for being the first reader and critic of many of the chapters.

Finally, I would like to thank Sage and John Benjamins for permission to incorporate the major content of these two arricles, which serve as the basis of analysis for Chapters 5 & 6 of this book.

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Introduction and outline

Understanding differences in cross-cultural genre writing is becoming increasingly important for effective business communication as more and more countries are doing business internationally. This study aims to conceptualise cross-cultural genre study and analyse and compare English[1] and Chinese business genres. Specifically, it compares specific business genres such as sales letters, sales invitations and faxes collected from organisations in Australia, New Zealand (NZ) and People's Republic of China. The three genres are frequently used in business writing in all of these three countries. Practical imperatives also arise from business practices for conducting cross-cultural genre study. To set the scene for the discussion, the following quotes from a NZ and Chinese sales invitation may well illustrate the imperatives, which also offer a glimpse of the cultural differences in genre writing. The English invitation begins with:

> Dear Mr. Jones,
> Here's your personal invitation to join 6000 fellow retailers, and 280 leading industry suppliers enjoying the Christmas Stocking Fair experience.

The Chinese invitation starts with these lines:

> Dear Respected Mr. Lin,
> How are you?
> 1998 arrived with hopes, opportunities and challenges. However, where are the opportunities and challenges? Please come and attend our 2000 Foreign Trade Expo. This event will be held December 1–3 in Beijing.

These two invitations employ different persuasive strategies to invite the reader. The English letter reads rather informally by identifying itself as a personal invitation while the Chinese is much more formal by addressing the reader as *Respected Mr. Lin*. In addition, the Chinese invitation also introduces some background information relating to the general challenges of the year 2000 before the actual event is mentioned and the reader invited, thus indicating a seemingly indirect tendency. To further confirm my view regarding different writing conventions across cultures I showed the letters to two managers: one

NZ and one Chinese manager. The NZ manager was asked to comment on the English invitation and the Chinese manager on the Chinese. It turned out that they both agreed that the beginning was acceptable and common in their own culture respectively.

What was more interesting, however, was that the two invitations solicited different views when they swapped the invitations. The Chinese manager thought the English invitation was too informal and an invitation for a business Expo should be more formal; the NZ manager, on the other hand, commented that the Chinese invitation included too much information irrelevant to a foreign trade Expo.

What has happened here? At least, two sets of issue are apparently at play: (1) a certain set of writing conventions has been followed by members of a certain culture or discourse community; (2) what is considered acceptable and common by members of one culture may not be shared by those of another. These issues pose interesting challenges for writing business genres across cultures and therefore it is essential for us to have an in-depth understanding of not only our own genre conventions, but also those of other cultures. However, it may not be feasible for us to learn the specifics of writing about all cultures since there are so many cultures and professional communities in practice in this world. Therefore, developing a sound theoretical and knowledge-based framework can be an initial step towards this kind of understanding, which will help us explore the possible knowledge construct relevant to the writing practice of different cultures, hence the need to introduce the theoretical imperatives.

The theoretical imperatives

Although extensive theoretical modelling can be found in genre analysis (such as Swales 1990; Bhatia 1993), very little has been done in cross-cultural genre study in a similar thrust. In other words, the in-depth analysis of genre and cross-cultural comparisons remain two separate research areas. The imperatives, as well as challenges, to conceptualise cross-cultural genre study only increases since recently more and more researchers began to pay their attention to comparing genres, and in particular comparing genres in business communication (such as Akar 1998; Bargiela-Chiappini & Harris 1997; Louhiala-Salminen 1997; Orlikowski & Yates 1994; Mauranen 1993; Ulijn & Li 1995; Yli-Jokipii 1994). We therefore need to further develop the relativistic orienta-

tion for cross-cultural genre study such as shown in contrastive rhetoric (e.g. Connor 2002; Canagarajah 2002) and intercultural communication.

An earlier influence in the relativistic vein derives from Kaplan's (1966) model based on a comparison of directness and indirectness. According to Kaplan, rhetorical structures vary across cultures, and some Asian languages are characterized by the use of the circular style as opposed to the linear style in English writing. Kaplan made an insightful observation regarding cultural differences, and his pioneering work initiated further research to compare English and Chinese discourse. As a result, a number studies (Young 1994; Kirkpatrick 1993) have been conducted evolving around linearity and circularity. Their discussion has also initiated further studies to include other areas of contrast such as comparing genres which is to be detailed in Chapter 2.

This study was one of those inspired by contrastive rhetoric and it shares the starting point of comparing differences in rhetorical structures and stylistic features. However, it is not a mere continuation of the study on linearity and circularity of discourse patterns. In order to offer an in-depth interpretation of genre differences and to promote genre comparison from a multiple perspective, I will incorporate research findings from genre analysis, in particular, the sociocognitive genre study into this cross-cultural research project.

By sociocognitive study I mainly allude to genre research that focuses on genre knowledge and institutional understanding of the discourse community. Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995) initiated this kind of research in genre study. In brief, sociocognitive genre study can be seen this way. First, the origins of the sociocognitive approach can be traced back to the early stage of genre study in Schutz and Luckmann (1984) and Bakhtin (1986). Bakhtin's "deep semantics" indicates that genres are not just the "sites of actions", but also sites of ideological action which are intermingled with "concrete value judgements" (Schryer 1994) and express the shared "stock of knowledge" (Schutz & Luckmann 1984) and the shared values of the group (Paltridge 1997). These genre semantics can interact with intertextuality (Bakhtin 1986) and other genre dynamics which are useful for studying both genre conventions and genre change. Bakhtin's view regarding the shared relevant knowledge of genre has been inherited by later genre researchers such as explicated in Swales' (1990) discourse community and communicative purposes. Recent years have seen an increased interest in professional genre study. For example, Swales (1990) explicates the genre knowledge shared by the discourse community. Bhatia (1993) explores English promotion genres and Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995) adopt a systematic approach to explore English scientific genres. A recent development is found in Trosborg (2000) representing a clear deviation from the traditional

rhetorical approach to a focus on uncovering the rich dynamic aspects of genre knowledge.

Other relevant literature regarding cross-cultural comparison can be found in cross-cultural pragmatics (Wierzbicka 1991) and intercultural communication (Gudykunst & Kim 2000; Hall 1976; Hofstede 1991). Contrastive rhetoric focuses on the study of rhetorical structures. Intercultural communication tends to use categories to compare traits across cultures, while cross-cultural pragmatics looks at speech acts as a major area of comparison. Each of these areas will add strength to comparing genres across cultures although they may not be directly concerned with comparing writing conventions.

To reiterate, we need to develop a more synthesised theoretical framework which will ultimately contribute to the new area of cross-cultural genre study.

The rationale, aim, and research questions

This study aims to promote genre comparison in the light of sociocognitive and cross-cultural dimensions which will be used to compare a range of business genres in English and Chinese. As noted earlier, these genres include sales letters, sales invitations, and business faxes. The data is largely drawn from business and professional genres collected and updated in the past few years across three countries, including Australia, New Zealand and the People's Republic of China. A specific description of data is given in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, which also include a detailed comparison of genres.

The rationale of the book is characterised by the use of the sociocognitive approach based on exploring "stock of knowledge" of the discourse community. In particular, the study focuses on exploring the depth of cross-cultural genre study by considering communicative purposes (Swales 1990), cognitive structuring (Bhatia 1993), and the deep semantics of genre (Bakhtin 1986), while broadening genre study by integrating insights from cross-cultural communication as well as the Chinese perspectives.

Specifically the study seeks to:

1. Explore and propose a sociocognitive theoretical framework for examining genre across cultures; enrich the proposed model by providing multiple theoretical dimensions and establish linkages to other research areas such as intertextuality, cross-cultural studies and Chinese theories.

2. Set the criteria for genre comparison from a multi-dimensional perspective, embracing sociocultural, economic and interpersonal contextual factors.
3. Compare the specific components of "stock of knowledge" employed by relevant discourse communities; compare various types of writing conventions in relation to the social and business practices of different cultures.
4. Incorporate and compare professional members' viewpoints, thus confirming the shared social "stock of knowledge" employed in the culturally-defined writing conventions.
5. Explore the implications of this research for cross-cultural genre education and training, and develop an appropriate model for cross-cultural genre learning and teaching based on the findings of this study.

These aims can be achieved by exploring the existing literature in a range of relevant research areas besides a comprehensive study of empirical data, which is to be detailed later in this book. Based on a rationale of both genre writing and cross-cultural communication, specifically, these research questions are proposed:

1. How can we best approach the comparison of business genres across cultures?
2. What kind of persuasive orientations can be embedded in the English and Chinese cultural and rhetorical traditions? In what way will they possibly influence the writing conventions of English and Chinese business genres?
3. What are the major persuasive strategies employed by English and Chinese business letters? In what ways are they similar or different? What contributes to these similarities and differences?
4. What are the implications of this research for learning and teaching business language and intercultural communication? Above all, how can business organisations enhance their intercultural competency and employ appropriate communication strategies when writing cross-culturally?

The book sets out to answering these questions by means of exploring sociocultural contexts, proposing a sociocognitive model for analysis and analysing specific English and Chinese genres used in business settings, which are to be further detailed in the following outline.

The outline of the book

The book is composed of the following nine chapters:

Chapter 1 offers a brief introduction to the rationale, aim and the organisation of the book. This chapter embarks on the concept that genre is related to the relevant "stock of knowledge" shared and programmed by the relevant discourse community within a certain sociocultural context. It also introduces and highlights the imperatives for developing a theoretical framework for genre comparison.

Chapter 2 gives an overview of cross-cultural studies in contrastive rhetoric and intercultural communication, and evaluates the impact of these research findings on cross-cultural studies. These research findings also represent the major cross-cultural dimensions and contexts to be incorporated into the study.

Chapter 3 examines the relevant literature relating to genre study from both English and Chinese sources. These two sets of literature are introduced with the purpose of providing a dual perspective for genre comparison. The chapter then proposes the model of genre comparison based on knowledge structure building developed from the sociocognitive genre study and the Chinese scholars' views. In all, it details the major theoretical framework for cross-cultural genre analysis and stresses the interaction of genre and intertextuality, thus highlighting the contribution of this work to promoting cross-cultural genre study from a sociocognitive and intercultural perspective.

Chapter 4 offers a detailed introduction to the data collection procedures and interviews with both NZ and Chinese managers. Additional intercultural interview results such as NZ managers' on the Chinese letters and vice versa have also been solicited and compared in the discussion.

Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 apply the proposed model but are characterised by distinct features of their own: Chapter 5 compares the rhetorical structures and promotional strategies used in English and Chinese sales genres, while Chapter 6 compares the effective persuasive strategies of the English and Chinese invitation letters with an emphasis on invitation as part of the social and politeness behaviour.

Chapter 7 uses the proposed approach to compare business faxes-a relatively new genre of business writing. This chapter also indicates the possibility of extending the use of the approach to high-tech related business genres, and this extension can go far beyond business genres and involves the influence of technology on genre writing in general. More importantly, it also discusses

genre evolution, intertextuality and the changing modalities as an important means for business communication.

Chapter 8 looks at the implications of the proposed framework for genre learning and education and applies the findings from previous chapters to cross-cultural genre learning. In particular, it examines the pedagogical issues in both English and Chinese business writing curricula and develops relevant learning processes for cross-cultural genre education based on situated cognition, knowledge building and community of social practice (Lave & Wenger 1991). As an illustration, this model is applied to providing pedagogical guidance for Chinese students learning to write English sales invitations.

Chapter 9 concludes the study with a working definition for genre relating to the collective programming of the genre knowledge within a discourse community. This definition also sheds light on understanding genre comparison and genre education as a dynamic process, which involves exploring various types of genre knowledge and sociocultural and interpersonal contexts across cultures from multifaceted dimensions. In addition, further challenges for future research in the area of cross-cultural genre comparison and intercultural communication in general are also explicated and highlighted.

Note

1. English and Chinese are used in a limited sense to refer to only the three countries mentioned in the same paragraph. Here I am very much aware of the diaspora and multicultural nature of both Australia and New Zealand and the focus of discussion will be on the European Australians and European New Zealanders. For example, both countries are known as immigrant countries embracing a range of ethnicities and Maoris or Aborigines. However, the business letters were collected from companies where the mainstream culture is still of the European ethnicity. In a similar way, Chinese culture refers to Mainland China where the business letters were collected.

Communication across cultures

This chapter explores cross-cultural dimensions as part of the theoretical underpinning for comparing English and Chinese genres and it also discusses various levels of sociocultural, organisational and interpersonal contexts for studying the business genres involved. As noted in Chapter 1, since this is a contrastive study, it needs to have a clear cross-cultural dimension.

As an initial step, contrastive rhetoric is examined as an important source of literature for comparing English and Chinese texts and this is also the area this book intends to contribute to. There has been no lack of literature in this regard over the past forty years since Kaplan (1966) made his thought-provoking observation about different rhetorical styles employed by students of different cultures. These earlier studies in general tend to follow one aspect of persuasion, which is the rhetorical structure of discourse or argumentation. Although further parameters such as linguistic rhetorical system (Connor & Lauer 1985, 1988) have been developed, rhetorical structure still remains as an important dimension for contrastive study. A detailed account of these developments can be found in Connor (2003). In addition, there is a genuine lack of models that incorporate other cultures' rhetoric and persuasion. I will therefore introduce contrastive rhetoric first in order to highlight the need to incorporate Greek and Chinese classical rhetoric into contrastive studies, and to recognise other cross-cultural and culture-specific dimensions. Research findings in cross-cultural pragmatics and intercultural communication will also be discussed in detail, and their impact upon this study reviewed. In addition, adequate attention is also given to culture-specifics of Australian, NZ and Chinese business discourse communities involved in this study.

Contrastive rhetoric

Kaplan's (1966) pioneering work in what is known as contrastive rhetoric deserves our initial attention. Kaplan analyses the organisation of paragraphs in ESL student essays, and explores cultural thought patterns in which lin-

earity and circularity stands out as a dominant issue. In his research, Kaplan found that linearity of paragraphing is basically in line with directness, while circularity is seen as relating to indirectness and digression. Some Germanic languages such as German, Dutch, and English tend to be linear, while some Oriental languages such as Korean, Japanese and Chinese tend to be circular. His findings made a major contribution to culture-specific influence in ESL writing. In the meantime, they have also made an impact in the area of intercultural communication (Campbell 1998; Ulijn & St. Amant 2000; Ulijn & Strother 1995).

Alongside his influence and contributions, Kaplan's works have also been criticised by other researchers working in contrastive rhetoric. For example, Mohan and Lo (1985) point out that Kaplan's model is constrained to uncovering certain patterns in L2 products. Matalene (1985) claims that Kaplan's findings privilege the writing of native English speakers. Hinds (1983, 1987) gives even a more detailed account and concludes that Kaplan's model can be misleading because of its over-generalisation of the use of rhetorical patterns. These comments pinpoint the overall weakness of this model, which was also recognised later by Kaplan himself. Kaplan (1988), calling his 1966 article his "doodles" article, suggests that rhetorical differences do not necessarily reflect different patterns of thinking. Rather they reflect different writing conventions learned in a particular culture.

Nonetheless, Kaplan's model gave impetus to further research and debates in contrastive rhetoric across a range of cultures. Relevant to this study, are the debates on the circularity of Chinese style in both written and spoken discourses. Kaplan (1966) argues that similar to other "Oriental" writing, Chinese is indirect mainly because of earlier influence from classical Chinese writing style. Contrary to his argument, Mohan and Lo (1985) challenged Kaplan's view and claim that both classical and modern Chinese taught at school today favour a direct style. On the other hand, in agreement with Kaplan, Scollon and Scollon (1991) and Matalene (1985) support Kaplan's hypothesis. However they do not attribute the indirectness to the organisational pattern of classical Chinese. According to Scollon and Scollon, the indirectness in Chinese writing is related to a different view of self from the West, which disallows the use of a thesis statement at the beginning of a piece of writing. Interestingly enough, Scollon and Scollon's contribution goes beyond the topic of rhetorical structure, but deals with an essential issue – cultural differences in terms of values and concepts, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

In agreement with Kaplan, Young (1994) identifies the indirectness in Chinese discursive patterns in natural interactions in a variety of institutional

settings. However, in Young's analysis, the indirectness is seen as closely related to the topic-comment syntactic feature of the Chinese language. According to Li and Thompson (1976, 1981), this kind of structure begins with a topic rather than a subject, and the topic only sets the framework for the predication, and occurs in a sentence-initial position. Young further explains that this structure indicates a significant difference from the subject-prominent languages such as English.

Kirkpatrick (1991, 1993) comes up with similar findings to Young. However, he attributes them to a different syntactic rule – subordinate-main structure (S-M), in which main clause is preceded by a subordinate clause. Kirkpatrick argues that while English tends to follow a sequence that develops from the main to the subordinate information, the opposite is true in Chinese. The S-M structure has a great impact on the way Chinese organise an argument which is mainly reflected in the genres he examined. For example, Kirkpatrick (1991) found that Chinese request letters tend to be written with a preference of a subordinate-main (S-M) structure, with the main information of request placed towards the end of the text.

Here Kirkpatrick's findings are significant for studying rhetorical structure in relation to speech-act types, which may also shed some light to Chinese written discourse in general. For example, a request is related to the use of politeness strategies and imposition which involves employment of indirect approaches (Brown & Levinson 1987). In contrast, genres relating to other speech acts such as offers in Chinese sales promotions (Zhu 1997) may adopt a more direct style. Zhu's (1999a) data proved that S-M and M-S structure are both prevalent in modern Chinese writing. There can be some links between existing complex-sentence structures and rhetorical structures since sentence is a unit to express ideas. However, the likelihood is that there can be more than one type of preferred style since both S-M and M-S structures are prevalent. In spite of that, the approach of extending the unit of analysis to the textual level is insightful and in particular, it provides an additional dimension to interpret certain speech acts in a cultural context.

Kaplan (e.g. 1966, 1972) and other researchers in contrastive rhetoric have made an enormous attempt to explore the influence of cultural and linguistic contexts, and "to ignore these differences is to ignore the pluricentricity of genre construction" (Hyland 2002:121). Both kinds of context are essential for cross-cultural comparison. However, the constraints of contrastive rhetoric at an earlier stage lie in the fact that it focuses on discussion of the linearity or circularity of the communication styles and rhetorical structure exhibited in the textual structure. The debates clearly evolve around this and the re-

searchers' approaches, as a consequence, have been largely confined to attributing differences in the rhetorical structures to linguistic and syntactic reasons and interpretations. The over-emphasis on argumentation and structure has been criticised by other researchers. According to Liebman (1992), Kaplan uses rhetoric only to refer to argumentation while ignoring other important components such as invention, memory, style and delivery. Connor (1996) further points out that Kaplan interpret rhetoric in a narrow sense by including only the organisation of writing or "arrangement" in Aristotle's terms. The other two important components including rhetorical appeals and persuasive language were largely ignored. It has to be noted that Kaplan himself (1987, 1988) also identified the limitations of his first statement and points out the possibility of having more than one rhetorical style within one culture. Regardless of this, rhetorical structure still remains a focus of his discussion throughout.

However, recent studies in contrastive rhetoric have witnessed a breakthrough that goes beyond analysing rhetorical structure and a more comprehensive study of texts across cultures is documented in Connor (2003) and Canagarajah (2002). In his critical contrastive rhetoric Canagarajah pays attention to the contribution of L2 students in their way of persuasion, which has implications for both genre research and education. Therefore, it needs to be stressed that persuasion is not only an essential component of classical rhetoric but also one of the major aims of modern discourse (Kinneavy 1971; Connor 1988); it should be a focal point of discussion for contrastive study of genres across cultures as well while paying attention to possible theoretical contribution of all target cultures. This also responds to Connor's (1996) call for a broader approach and we should develop models that ensure impartiality (Connor 2003: 236). Accordingly, this study sees incorporating classical rhetoric and the Chinese rhetoric as an initial attempt towards this research direction.

Classical Greek and Chinese rhetorical traditions

This section examines rhetoric beyond the level of argumentation, and covers other essential areas relating to persuasive orientations in both Greek and Chinese rhetorical traditions. These classical traditions exercise a great influence on English and Chinese writing. Aristotle, one of the greatest influential figure of Greek rhetoric, developed a wide range of concepts in rhetoric, and the most relevant to this study are the "artistic proofs" defined as forms of proof

the speakers create (Aristotle 1991:1.1.1354). That is, the speaker can turn to *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*.

Here, Aristotle (1991) points out three means of influencing belief and action: *ethos* (character and standards), *pathos* (emotion) and *logos* (reason and evidence). Fundamentally, *ethos* can mean the believability of the speaker, the credibility which the speaker brings to the speech situation. The speaker has to create his own credibility; he has to maintain a moral linkage between himself and his content. *Pathos* as an artistic proof focuses on using the emotions as a supplement to a speaker's other means of persuasion. Aristotle's list of emotions is long, recommending co-joining them with ethical appeals. This part of the artistic process simply reaches out to the speaker, and arouses emotional feelings in the message receiver.

For the purposes of this study, *logos* is taken to mean the logical, rational, evidential underpinning of a speaker's argument. While the two preceding artistic supports seemingly appear more peripheral, it is the logical and reasonable substance that should be the primary part of a communicator's presentation. *Logos* originally occurs in philosophy, metaphysics, rhetoric, and even religion, and specifically involves determining the status of a case, ascertaining the facts, testing the evidence as well as constructing arguments. *Logos* exercises a tremendous influence on western thinking and is essential for the study of English genres.

Logos is thus seen as the major element in persuasion, and the arrangement of ideas gathers under its rubric; a structure has to be imposed on the collected material. For Aristotle (1991:3.13) such partitioning could be a duo: "A speech has two parts. Necessarily, you state your case and you prove it." We can thus see that *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* do not enjoy an identical level of priority; Aristotle places major importance on *logos* in persuasion, treating pathos only as secondary to the logical presentation of an argument.

Logos remains a focus of attention in rhetoric and composition writing but *pathos* and *ethos* much less heeded. This has drawn researchers' attention, and this over-emphasis on *logos* is seen as inadequate. For example, Kinneavy (1971) points out this weakness in composition study and tries to promote research in other areas besides argumentation and structural development, and proposes discourse types based on a holistic view of classical rhetoric. *Ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* are inseparable in persuasion; the speaker or writer has to resort to all these elements in order to persuade others. Nevertheless, the stress on *logos*, clear structure and argumentation has had an overwhelming influence on contrastive rhetoric. This also indicates a major difference from classical Chinese rhetoric to be detailed below.

Similar persuasive orientations are also in existence in classical Chinese rhetorical practice. The term "rhetorical practice" is used here to allude to the Chinese classical rhetoric as there appears to be some cultural differences in approach to rhetorical studies between these two traditions. For example, no such a book titled "Rhetoric" was written by earlier scholars in Chinese history as in the Greek rhetorical history. Chinese rhetoric seems to have more philosophical underpinnings than conceptualisation of rhetoric per se. Here Lü's (1998) "Confucian school of rhetoric" is used as an example of the Chinese rhetorical practice as it represents a dominant influence on the practice of persuasion. According to Lü (1998), Confucian school of rhetoric refers to the rhetorical practice in alignment with Confucian philosophy of interpersonal and social relations. Therefore this rhetorical tradition is largely based on *ren dao* 人道 or "the way of humans", and the moral codes he prescribes in his teachings. To him, *ren* 仁 meaning "benevolence" is seen as the highest standard of moral perfection for keeping orders in society and playing familial roles. In order to achieve these virtues, Confucius sets the highest standards for adequate conduct in the following five key role relationships: between ruler and subject, neighbour and neighbour, father and son, husband and wife, and brother and brother. These relations are based on both social roles, and social networking patterns and kinships. The former can be seen as related to *logos* and the latter to *pathos* such as expressing feelings based on interpersonal relationships. They are also often advocated as important forms of effective persuasion in Chinese culture.

Mencius, in the vein of Confucian philosophy, further develops the concept of *ren* (benevolence or the highest moral standard) and *xin* 心 or "heart", and points out that *ren* 仁 or "benevolence" could not be achieved through cognition alone and should be located in *xin* 心 or "heart". Affective, cognitive and logical functions are thus closely intertwined and equally valued (Garrett 1991, 1993; Lü 1998). They are expressed very much in the modern terms of *qing* 情 and *li* 理 (Li 1996). *Qing* 情 can be roughly translated as "emotions" or "emotional approach" or "emotional appeal" and *li* as "reasons and facts" or "the logical approach". Li (1996) advocates that *qing* 情 has great persuasive power and compliments *li* 理. Effective persuasion and good writing lies in influencing the reader's feelings and having a strong argument. *Qing* 情 or "emotional approach" and *li* 理 or "logical approach" can thus be seen as the essential element in Chinese persuasion. Based on this, Zhu and Hildebrandt (2003) point out that Chinese rhetoric tends to stress both *pathos* and *logos*. *Qing* 情 or "emotional approach" and *li* 理 or "logical approach" are also the theoretical basis upon which writing principles and criteria for genre divisions

are formed and developed. This point deserves a separate section and will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

According to Zhu and Hildebrandt (2003), the difference in persuasive orientations is the root of cultural differences in the communication styles identified by intercultural researchers (e.g. Kaplan 1966; Hall 1976; Hofstede 1991; Hofstede & Bond 1988). For example, the writer stressing *pathos* and *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" may resort to different linguistic strategies from those who prefer the *logos* and *li* 理 or "logical approach" as a major persuasive orientation. Only with adequate understanding of these persuasive orientations, can we interpret cross-cultural differences in rhetorical structures more fully. These persuasive orientations will therefore be used in this study as an important dimension for genre comparison in the subsequent chapters. In addition to rhetoric and persuasion, we should incorporate other contrastive, though related, theories including intercultural communication and cross-cultural pragmatics, which are to be detailed below.

Intercultural communication

In this section, both Hall's (1976) and Hostede's (1991) intercultural theories will be applied as fundamental principles of examining cultural differences and they will shed light on the understanding of the sociocultural contexts for genre comparison as well.

Hall claims that culture is communication and communication is culture; his earlier works focus on the study of non-verbal interactions such as personal space and body movements. Hall's seminal work only appears later in the examination of culture, context and communication. Hall (1976, 1998) divided cultures into high- and low-context cultures. High-context cultures, including China, Japan, and Korea, are characterised by using covert messages. Low-context cultures such as the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, are characterised by the use of overt messages. Overt messages are transmitted through clarity of styles and expressions because they may not be based as much on shared context as the covert messages in the high-context cultures. Concerning the understanding of business writing, we may add that the differences noted may also be because the communicative purposes are not necessarily shared across cultures. The style in a high-context culture may appear to be indirect or inappropriate to someone from a low-context culture, and vice versa. Many research findings so far have proved the validity of Hall's high- and low-context cultures. For example, Ulijn and St. Amant (2000) claim

that high context cultures tend to perceive the straightforward style explicated by the low context cultures as a lack of stress on relationship building, while low context cultures tend to view high context cultures as indirect and not speaking to the point.

Alongside the concept of the high- and low-context cultures, Hofstede (1991) has developed four cultural dimensions encompassing individualism-collectivism, power relations, uncertainty avoidance and masculinity and femininity. Among these four dimensions, individualism-collectivism and power relations are of relevance to this cross-cultural study and will be discussed in detail. Hostede's division of collectivism and individualism is based on "personality" and "self-concept". According to Hofstede (1991), individualistic cultures, such as in the United States and Australia, value self-concept, and individual "personality" is considered as "a separate entity distinct from society and culture". Collectivist cultures, such as the Chinese and Japanese, do not value "personality", and individuals are seen as related to the group or collective they belong to. Hofstede's view offers further insight and validity to Scollon's interpretation about delaying the thesis statement in Chinese writings mentioned earlier. This style apparently is also associated with the *qing* 情 or *pathos* which is seen as essential for group harmony and cohesion required of the collectivistic society.

Related to individualism and collectivism, is the concept of power relations According to Hofstede (1991), collectivistic societies tend to exhibit a High Power Index and are thus more hierarchical in structure than individualistic societies. This can be true because of the concentrated power influence upon the group, and this applies to the Chinese culture. There is also a close link between power relations and the use of language. In an individualistic culture, the power relation index is relatively low, and therefore there is not much need to indicate such power in language use. In contrast, in a High Power Index society such as China, the power relation may influence the use of language, and this dimension will be applied in the analysis and comparison of genres where relevant.

While acknowledging the validity of the above cultural dimensions, I am very much aware of the various criticisms towards these intercultural theories. A common criticism is that the intercultural dimensions indicate only general categories that can lead to stereotypes of cultures. Adequate caution will be exercised in applying them to my analysis and comparison. In particular, I will try to apply these dimensions in relation to the specific social, historical and linguistic contexts in order to avoid any possible over-generalisations.

Guanxi 关系 and intercultural business communication

As a particular research area, intercultural business communication applies intercultural theories to business contexts. For example, *guanxi* 关系 or "connections" or "relationship building" is an important concept to depict the connectedness within a discourse community and is essential for doing business in China. *Guanxi* 关系 is defined as long-term relationship building within the community (Beamer & Varner 2001) and as friendship with implications for continual exchange of favours (Chen 1995; Lung, Wong, & Tam 1995). Both types of definition focus clearly on the role played by a network of relationships.

    Guanxi 关系 or "connections" can also be interpreted in more depth in the light of Fei's (1985) work on the Chinese networking system. According to Fei, Chinese culture is composed of a series of concentric circles with the family and "I" placed at the centre. This core circle is surrounded by subsequent circles such as composed of siblings, classmates and friends. Therefore group membership is the key to further relationship building, and in order to achieve this, one has to locate oneself somewhere inside a circle (Beamer & Varner 2001). This principle also applies to doing business in China, which is often done through *guanxi* 关系 or "connections". *Guanxi* 关系, as an essential concept for doing business in China, has given rise to a growing body of literature (Bond 1986; Tung 1982; D'Souza 2003; Luo 1997; Pearce & Robinson 2000; Peng 1997). However, as a professional writer in business communication, one needs to make meticulous efforts in order to set up a possible relationship with the reader besides the salesman-client relationship. This intention may well influence the writers' politeness behaviour when they write business letters. *Guanxi* 关系 or "connections" will therefore be used as an important concept for analysing Chinese genres in this study.

Cross-cultural pragmatics

Cross-cultural pragmatics (e.g. Blum-Kulka 1997; Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper 1989; Wierzbicka 1985, 1991) will shed light on this study at the level of speech acts and the use of politeness strategies. Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) compare request strategies across a range of cultures. The starting point for cross-cultural pragmatics is closely related to Grice's theory of meaning, speech act theory, and politeness strategies, hence the need to discuss these concepts first.

According to Grice (1975, 1989), linguistic communication is intentional, and the speaker can only achieve his/her goal when the intent is recognised by the hearer, which becomes mutual knowledge. Grice (1975) also claims that human communication is mediated by "maxims of conversations" such as "be brief", "be informative", "be relevant", and "be clear". It is also well known, however, that these maxims are culturally defined. For example, a greeting required in a Chinese sales letter may be considered irrelevant from the Western perspective.

Another important concept of Grice's is conversational implicature, according to which the speaker does not necessarily express this intent explicitly. Such implicitness may pose a challenge for the hearer, and s/he needs to work out what is meant, rather than what is said. The pragmatic theory is therefore concerned with explaining and interpreting meanings in relation to the communicative intent. For the same reason, the unit of analysis is based on utterances in a specific context, rather than on sentences. Speech act theory is relevant for explaining these utterances.

Austin (1962), Searle (1969, 1979) and later Fraser (1983, 1985) conceptualise speech acts as comprising locution (langue) and illocution (parole). What is of vital importance is the illocutionary force of an utterance, which is the performing of a speech act such as making a request. According to Searle (1969), a request is a directive which is used to get the addressee to do something. As an illocutionary action, a request seeks to establish a relationship of social expectations between the speaker and the addressee. This requires certain felicity conditions to be met. In other words, for the speech act to be socially significant, it must create a shared sense of meaning in regard to some perceived change or modification to existing social relations. These are often so obvious as to require little explanation. However, felicity conditions in speech-acts are culture-specific and may encompass politeness strategies that may not be obvious to other cultures.

Leech (1983) contends that indirect illocutions are more polite than direct illocutions, because the former can offer more options for the addressee. In actual language usage, indirectness is the norm, and a polite utterance is likely to be seen as minimizing the addressee's costs and maximizing his/her benefits, the opposite being true for the addresser.

The indirectness of politeness can also be further explained in the light of Brown and Levinson's (1987) "face-saving" theory. When individuals interact they are concerned with maintaining their face or public image. Face has two dimensions: negative face and positive face. The former is concerned with one's requirements for acknowledgement and approval by others. The latter alludes

to an individual's need for autonomy, with which s/he is free from imposition. What is more relevant is the negative face involving imposition. Many actions we do with words, such as requests and orders, are potential face-threatening acts (Brown & Levinson 1987). The addresser is thus often confronted with negative face and has to address it by applying Leech's (1983) principles, in which indirectness is the dominant strategy to gain politeness. Face values will be further discussed in the next section.

Politeness strategies should be seen as culturally relativised. For example, Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) explore various degrees of indirectness of request strategies across eight different cultures, and point out the linguistic forms associated with these in several languages, including French, German, Spanish and Hebrew. Their findings indicate that "languages may differ as to which specific linguistic expressions become conventionalised as indirect requests" (Blum-Kulka 1997). According to Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989), the strategies used in each culture are shared by the members of the culture, so the communicative intent and illocutionary force should also be explored in the relevant culture-specific context.

In their study, Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) point out the limitations of the speech act theory, which focuses largely on isolated utterances, and attempt to break these constraints by basing their analyses on discourse in social contexts. They also draw from various theories and methods in the study of human communication such as in relation to the ethnography of communication. In a similar thrust, other pragmatists such as Chen (1999), Kasper (1990, 1992), Kasper and Blum-Kulka (1993) and Matsumoto (1988) explore the relation between culture and politeness, and have shown that cultural differences affect the use of politeness strategies for a specific speech act.

Wierzbicka (1991) criticises the whole notion of directness/indirectness as a dichotomy totally based on "anglocentric" mainstream modern pragmatics. To her, this field has developed under the influence of British and American philosophers of language on the basis of Anglo-Saxon cultural norms and expectations. In addition, directness or indirectness is often seen as absolute or relative tendencies, frequently based on a comparison of two cultures. In order to overcome these limitations in cross-cultural pragmatics, Wierzbicka points out that it is essential to study a culture from within instead of from any "extracultural point of view". Wierzbicka therefore describes pragmatic aspects of a language in terms of the key characteristics of a culture. For this particular purpose, Wierzbicka has developed a natural semantic metalanguage also known as cultural scripts, which are based on her hypothetical system of universal semantic principles including concepts such as "think", "do", "good" and "bad".

Although I do not actually employ her cultural scripts in my analysis, it is necessary to introduce her approach because of its relevance to this study. The advantage of her approach is that it attempts to avoid arbitrariness and biased attitudes towards any particular culture. However, Wierzbicka underestimates another kind of constraint of her approach: her metalanguage may not be as universal and culture-independent as she assumes. For example, the meanings of "feel" or "think" may not correspond precisely to one particular connotative meaning in all languages.

I share Wierzbicka's starting point of trying to avoid biased interpretations. However, I will adopt a different approach by examining discourse from both Western and Eastern perspectives and by studying relevant local theories (both English and Chinese theories in this context) applied in their own cultural contexts. As Tayeb (2001) points out, we need to develop a dual perspective for cross-cultural study. We need this dual perspective in order to help us locate the precise meanings embedded in the discourse of the culture.

In sum, cross-cultural pragmatics provides a cross-cultural perspective in the examination of specific speech acts in a certain sociolinguistic context. I will incorporate it into my analysis and comparison of English and Chinese business genres. In addition, the findings discussed here may also have significance for the study of indirect or direct rhetorical structures.

Face and politeness behaviour

Face is discussed in this section as a further parameter of language use relating to politeness behaviour, and the discussion will have further implications for genre comparison. For example, the language usage regarding politeness behaviour can go beyond the use of speech acts such as using honourifics in Chinese.

In regard to face, as noted earlier, Brown and Levinson's (1987) work on face and politeness strategies has greatly influenced intercultural communication, and further references can be found in Scollon and Scollon (1983, 1994), Ting-Toomey (1988), Pan (2000), Gao and Ting-Toomey (1998), and Lim (1994). Face is known as a very important concept for understanding cultural differences. As Scollon and Scollon (1994:138) point out, "...face should be a central concept we will want to invoke to understand East-West discourse". Erving Goffman (1967, 1972) defines face as the favourable social impression that a person wants others to have of her/him. Face therefore involves a claim for respect and dignity from others. It can be seen from this definition that face

has two characteristics. Face is related to favourable social self-worth, and differs from self-image since it is an image held by others. Besides, face only has meaning in a relational and cultural setting and therefore needs to be studied in relation to a specific sociocultural context.

Here I will focus on Ting-Toomey's (1988, 1994) face negotiation theory as this theory has cross-cultural bearing on this study. According to Ting-Toomey (1988) cultural values and norms provide a frame for the interpretation and maintenance of face. For example, in a collectivistic society such as China, the concept of "self" is closely related to a web of social relationships.

Ting-Toomy, based on the concepts of "self face" and the "other face" (Craig, Tracy, & Spisak 1986), develops face negotiation processes which include a number of assumptions. The most relevant are (1) people from all cultures negotiate over the concept of face and face is a universal phenomenon; (2) the concept of face is especially problematic in uncertain situations, such as face-threatening acts; (3) people in all cultures express a need for negative face or positive face in problematic situations; and (4) people's selection of face maintenance strategies is influenced by their cultural interpretation and the cultural expectation levels of the context. For example, individualistic cultures are concerned with self-face maintenance and they consequently value autonomy and choices. In contrast, people in collectivistic cultures "are concerned with both self-face and other-face maintenance" and, in turn, value interdependence and reciprocal obligations.

The concept of face can be further explained in the light of *mianzi* 面子 and *lian* 脸; these two Chinese terms can be translated to "face" in English but they have significantly different connotations. The former refers to prestige or reputation, while the latter has a broader sense and stands for respect for someone with a good moral reputation (Hu 1944; Bond & Hwang 1986; Chang & Holt 1994; Mao 1994; Hinze 2002). Mao (1994) points out that both *mianzi* 面子 and *lian* 脸 encode and epitomise establishing connectedness and seeking interpersonal harmony with one's own community, an orientation that remains central to the Chinese cultural imperative.

In a more recent study, Gao and Ting-Toomey (1998) discuss the influence of cultural dimensions on face maintenance strategies. The collectivistic cultures stress the collaborative *mianzi* 面子 and *lian* 脸, while individualistic cultures pay major attention to individualistic face.

In support of Ting-Toomy and her colleagues' findings, researchers have found that, in the business context, forms relating to face-keeping and harmony are important Chinese politeness strategies and are often discussed in a cross-cultural context (Bilbow 1995; Gunthner 1993; Murray 1994; Ulijn & Li

1995; Hu & Grove 1991). Ulijn and St. Amant (2000) also found that face is one of the concepts that can affect the style of oral communication such as silence and asking questions in business negotiations.

In relation to *mianzi* 面子 and *lian* 脸, a culture-specific politeness behaviour worth noting is to show respect by using appropriate linguistic forms such as honourifics. This point is often stressed in business writing textbooks (Chen 1991; Gu 1995; He & Lu 1991). The writer resorts to the use of honourifics in order to create a sociolinguistic distance, thus indicating respect and politeness for the reader, a practice which can be related to China as being a collectivistic culture in which power and status are important values. This phenomenon can be traced back to ancient times when various forms of pronouns were used to address Kings and the elderly. Clearly social status and power distance are closely related to face and *mianzi* 面子. Showing respect is often discussed as a culturally shared value and as appropriate behaviour in interpersonal communication (Gu 1990). For example, honourific forms still influence people's behaviour today and, as of relevance to this study, and can be used in business letters. This stress on an appropriate level of respect can be seen as related to *guanxi* 关系 or "relationship building" and to the positive image the writer wants to claim. This may have an impact on the preferred formal register in Chinese business letter writing, while English business letters stress a friendly and informal atmosphere, and prefer a conversational style (Murphy, Hildebrandt, & Thomas 1997).

In a similar light, but much more depth, Scollon and Scollon (2001) describe the dynamic nature of face which can be influenced by social distance, status and other interpersonal and social dimensions. By doing so they point to the need to explore not only cultural contexts at the national level but also other interpersonal contexts that are at play and are influential factors to face and the use of linguistic strategies. Pan (2000) echoing these findings and proposes a situated approach to studying face and politeness. According to Pan (2000: 148), settings, social relationships such as insider or outsider, and power relation are important dimensions influencing the use of politeness strategies.

In all, the interrelatedness of culture, politeness rituals, interpersonal relations and linguistic features will shed light on the comparative study of English and Chinese business genres for this study. Although a detailed account may not be fully present, I will include all the possible clues about these factors to indicate the intertwining of all these factors embodied in the business correspondence involving the three cultures in question.

Australian, New Zealand and the Chinese cultures

As noted earlier, this study examins business writing of three cultures of Australian, NZ and Chinese. To reiterate, only European Australian and NZ cultures are of relevance. I am quite aware of the multicultural nature of both countries. For example, Australia and NZ both have aboriginal cultures such as the Aboriginal culture in Australia and Maori in NZ and both countries are also the target of growing numbers of immigrants, many of whom are from Asia and The Asian Pacific Region. However, the mainstream culture of the business community is still represented by the European cultural traditions. In relation to this, only English written business genres are studied since English is the main business language. In a similar way, Chinese culture is also applied in a restricted sense referring to Mainland China and would not reflect the overall cultural practices in other Chinese-speaking communities such as Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong and other overseas diaspora communities.

In other words, English and Chinese writing are alluded to with these cultural backgrounds in mind and by no means they are intended to embrace all the English and Chinese speaking communities. In order to reduce the bias of binary and polarised assumptions about the Western and Eastern cultures, this study also incorporates cultures of sub-categories such as professional cultures within a specific community and interpersonal contexts. In particular, it will follow Pan, Scollon and Scollon's (2002) contrastive frameworks in analysing discourse as social interactions taking into an overall account of all the cultural and interpersonal contexts at play. They specifically propose four dimensions for studying professional communication:

– Members' generalisations involving a group of a culture's expectations
– The objective view which is related to an external observer's views
– Individual case history about the individuality and personality within a corporate setting
– Contrastive study about different types of rhetoric and logic across cultures

The first dimension apparently deals with issues at a more general level and the pre-mentioned cross-cultural dimensions are very much related to members' generalisations at the level of national cultures, which may also lead to over-generalisations or binary views towards cultures in contrast. In order to avoid overgeneralisations, Pan, Scollon and Scollon's (2002) use the other three dimensions to combat with the possible binary tendencies.

I will also try to implement a similar approach, and will look at the national cultures as a major dimension while taking into consideration about other levels of culture such as organisational and interpersonal cultures where possible based on the accessibility of data and other information. For example, some of the historical traditions and century-old values and identities may transcend into the present and the future, thus having a relatively long-lasting influence on the cultural groups and discourse communities concerned. On the other hand, specific interpersonal and organisational communication patterns may also play a significant role in a certain context. Furthermore, I will also resort to a contrastive dimension such as incorporating managers' views of different cultures in order to identify different types of rhetoric and logic at work in business genres of different cultures.

Summary of the cross-cultural dimensions

In sum, this chapter has discussed a range of cross-cultural dimensions, which include rhetorical structures, persuasive orientations, intercultural patterns, politeness behaviours and face maintenance. Among them, persuasive orientations were seen as the most important concept. Since business writing is related to persuading people, rhetoric and persuasion should be seen as a major dimension of comparison and will be studied in relation to genre conventions throughout this book. However, they were also seen as closely related to other cross-cultural dimensions.

For example, the cultural variables and patterns developed by Hall and Hostede can provide a starting point to compare cultures, and the general findings could be referred to in discussing differences in persuasion in the specific cultural, social and economic context. Findings in cross-cultural pragmatics and the concept of face were also seen as relevant to this study in terms of politeness strategies. As a consequence, a culture stressing *pathos*, collectivism, and *guanxi* 关系 or "connections" or "relationship building" may not share the same politeness strategies with the culture that places emphasis on *logos* and individualism. More importantly, face is closely related to specific settings of the social interaction and therefore an interface of various social, cultural and interpersonal contexts is essential to cross-cultural genre analysis.

Above all, this study goes beyond the scope of comparing differences and focuses on cross-cultural genre conventions for effective communication. Therefore this study will not only identify the sociocultural variables in all the aforementioned dimensions but also, more importantly, establish a sociocog-

nitive contrastive system that employs these cross-cultural and contextualised dimensions, where relevant, in the study of English and Chinese business genres, which will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

Conceptual framework

A dual perspective

This chapter reviews the literature in genre study from both English and Chinese sources, thus offering a dual perspective. As part of the English sources, genre study has been an area of research interest in a number of disciplines. These include linguistic anthropology (e.g. Malinowski 1923, 1935; Fine 1984), rhetoric (e.g. Kinneavy 1971; Freedman & Medway 1994), systemic linguistics (Halliday 1970; Martin 1993), sociology of knowledge (e.g. Luckmann 1992; Berger & Luckmann 1966; Bergmann & Luckmann 1995) and professional genre analysis (Swales 1990; Bhatia 1993). Detailed studies of various areas in genre study can be found in Paltridge (1997) and Hyland (2002). Only relevant approaches with a sociocognitive perspective are discussed in this chapter, and this perspective will add depth to the cross-cultural genre comparison in this study.

Although only a few genre researchers, such as Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995), have recently claimed their approach as sociocognitive, there is no lack of literature in this regard in the genre research tradition such as Bakhtin (1986), Swales (1990), Bhatia (1993) and Paltridge (1997). However, it was Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995) who first synthesised this approach systematically, and their work adds to genre knowledge in the sociocognitive tradition. Since then there has been a reviving interest in this tradition. For example, recently researchers (e.g. Trosborg 2000; Zhu 2000a, 2001) have used this approach to analyse and compare genres. This reviving interest mainly derives from the imperative to compare genres in relation to genre knowledge and sociocultural contexts. This is a further reason to review and develop the sociocognitive approach.

An incorporation of Chinese scholars' views on genre study and composition writing will further complement the above sociocognitive approach and offer culture-specific genre knowledge with a strong emphasis on reader-writer relationships. It is also relevant to look at literature in Chinese sources since the genres in question were written in both English and Chinese languages.

Specifically, I will first introduce the sociocognitive approach based on previous studies, using, in particular, Berkenkotter and Huckin's (1995) definition. Then I will move on to introducing Chinese genre study with a focus on reader-writer relationships embedded in genre practice throughout the Chinese writing and its rhetorical history. The dual perspective will provide a major theoretical basis for a cross-cultural genre model to be developed at the end of this chapter.

Introducing the sociocognitive study of genre

Although there have been few definitions of the sociocognitive study of genre. Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995), in their article "Rethinking Genre from a Sociocognitive Perspective", made an initial attempt to develop a sociocognitive understanding for genre study. The following quote may well capture what they mean by a "sociocognitive perspective":

> [G]enres are inherently dynamic rhetorical structures that can be manipulated according to the conditions of use, and . . . genre knowledge is therefore best conceptualised as a form of situated cognition embedded in disciplinary activities.   (1995: 3)

This statement can be related to a number of sociocognitive theories that contributed to their thoughts. First and foremost, Berkenkotter and Huckin's (1995) view was inspired by Vygotsky's (1978, 1986) theory on ontogenesis, which had a fundamental element of sociocognitive understanding. Vygotsky claims that cognitive development is socially situated, and that learning is a process of children internalising social and cultural values and patterns in a given society. Vygotsky points to an important link between knowledge formation and development and the social and cultural context. His view not only applies to children's or an individual's cognitive development, but also to cognitive learning in general. For example, Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995) have extended the use of the concept to genre study, which is well beyond the individual level.

The second influence is situated cognition such as in Brown, Collins and Duguid (1989) and Rogoff (1990). A common theme in situated cognition is related to how the person and his/her relationship to the environment can be conceived. As suggested in the term "situated cognition", this theory has two major components: the cognitive aspect, which attempts to explain processes of learning and structures of the individual's knowledge; and the situated as-

pect, which focuses on interactive systems and the resulting "trajectories" of individual participation in real-life situations. Thus the activities of an individual and the situated environment are viewed as parts of a mutually-constructed whole. Because of its contribution to knowledge construction, situated cognition has been well applied to psychology and education, and its relevance to genre knowledge is substantiated in Berkenkotter and Huckin's work.

Other influences on Berkenkotter and Huckin include sociology of knowledge, rhetorical study, and genre analysis (Swales 1990), and all these areas will be alluded to in this study where relevant.

Based on a synthesis of relevant theories in the sociocognitive tradition, Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995) have developed a conceptual framework which consists of five principles: dynamism, situatedness, form and content, reproduction of social structures and relations, and norms and ideologies of discourse communities. These principles all evolve around genre knowledge in disciplinary communication, and the principles of situatedness and community ownership in particular, shed light on this study. In order to develop a sociocognitive approach in a similar thrust, I will elaborate on the following four theoretical dimensions and review relevant literature in each area.

1. Genre as social stock of knowledge
2. Genre and the sociocultural context
3. Genre practice and the discourse community
4. Genre as communicative events

The above four areas further elaborate on Berkenkotter and Huckin's (1995) conceptualisation with a stronger connection to genre knowledge. In addition, these four dimensions were developed with the intention to compare genres. As an essential starting point, I will view genre as a relevant "social stock of knowledge" (Berger & Luckmann 1966), referring to Berkenkotter and Huckin's (1995) principles where appropriate.

Genre as relevant "social stock of knowledge"

To explore genre in the form of social knowledge has been an important tradition in genre study. This has implications for genre analysis and is explored in Bazerman (1988) and Myers (1990) in scientific texts, and in Hyland (1998) and van Nostrand (1994) in academic genres. Based on social constructivism within the sociology of language (Berger & Luckmann 1966; Luckmann 1992; Bergmann & Luckmann 1995), genres are seen as related to "social stocks of

knowledge" and "socially constructed models". As Gunthner and Knoblauch (1995:5) further elaborates, genres represent central communicative means in the construction of social reality. An earlier reference to this kind of knowledge can also be seen in Bahktin's (1986) term "the deep semantics of genre", by which he means that genre is deeply embedded in the sociocultural context. Bahktin's explanation also highlights the link between the social context and genre knowledge to be discussed later in this chapter.

Gunthner and Knoblauch (1995:5) further develop the concept of the social stocks of knowledge and point out that the knowledge is not statically transmitted: it is "being built up, maintained, transmitted and also modified in communicative processes" via "prepatterned" conventions. All these processes contribute to the socialisation of individuals (Paltridge 1997:21) and the interactive systems in the text. In this way, the concept of social stocks of knowledge complements Bakhtin's social ideology of the group and the "deep semantics of genre". However, in spite of the in-depth discussion about genre knowledge, very little systematic research has been done on the specific formation and specification of genre knowledge. We therefore need to look at feasible ways to promote further understanding of genre knowledge.

First, genres are dynamic and need to be viewed in the light of prototype theory. Drawing from the concept of "social stocks of knowledge", we can see that genres are historical, dynamic, and above all, culturally patterned, and "the repertoire of communicative genres vary from culture to culture as well as from one epoch to another" (Gunthner & Knoblauch 1995:6). This view is also echoed in Paltridge's (1997) development of the notion of prototype based on frame semantics (Fillmore 1985; Rosch 1975; Lakoff 1987; Taylor 1995). This notion explains "why people and cultures categorize the world in the way they do", and elaborates on how "people categorise objects according to a prototypical image they build in their mind" (Paltridge 1997:53). According to the notion of prototype, there is a close relationship between genre, concepts or images and contexts. What is also relevant is Paltridge's concept of institutional understanding, which refers to "the protocol of the particular discourse community, ideology, . . . the supporting frameworks of common knowledge, expectations, attitudes and beliefs". The discourse community can also be seen as a subculture, such as a business culture. According to Beamer and Varner (2001), people from different cultures may form different prototypical images about genre writing. Paltridge (1997) here touches upon the concept of the discourse community (Swales 1990), which will be detailed later in this chapter.

Second, Bhatia's (1993:21) "cognitive structures" of genre offer a further sociocognitive understanding towards genre knowledge. To Bhatia, genre rep-

resents the "typical regularities and organisation", and reflects strategies of the discourse community applying the genre. The focus of Bhatia's discussion here is not placed on the actual cognitive processes of knowledge production or acquisition. Rather it is on genre as reflecting relevant knowledge structures. The "regularities" and "strategies" apparently offer us some interesting clues for identifying significant patterns within the genre convention. However, Bhatia did not specify how genre knowledge is cognitively structured or how the structuring can be interpreted in more detail. Hence it is necessary to refer to the schema theory, which is also the third point in my argument, for further specification of genre knowledge.

Schema theory is often used in reading comprehension and has implications for genre study. According to the schema theory (Bartlett 1932; Rumelhart & Ortony 1977; Rumelhart 1980), readers have to construct meaning based on their own previously acquired knowledge when reading or learning a text. These knowledge structures are called schemata (Bartlett 1932; Adams & Collins 1979; Rumelhart 1980). The process of understanding a text is thus seen by schema theorists as an interactive process between the readers' background knowledge and the text.

Carrell and Eisterhold (1988) later divide schemata into formal schema and content schema. The former refers to the background knowledge of the formal, rhetorical organisational structures of different types of texts; and the latter refers to background knowledge of the content area of a text. Carrell and Eisterhold further point out that appropriate schemata must be activated during text processing to enable efficient comprehension. Cook (1994), in his study of literary genres, divides schemata into three kinds: world schema, text schema, and language schema. According to Cook (1994: 15), world schema refers to the "schematic organisation of knowledge of the world, or of certain text types", such as schema for describing one's home. Text or language schema refers to the background knowledge of "a typical ordering of facts in a real or fictional world" (Cook 1994: 15).

In sum, Carrell and Eisterhold (1988) and Cook (1994) follow very similar principles in discussing how background knowledge interacts with the meaning of the text. Their divisions of schemata can basically be seen as nonlinguistic schemata including world schema and content schema, and linguistic schemata including formal schema, text schema and language schema.

In the light of schema theory, Zhu (1999b) further discusses genre knowledge in terms of formal and world schemata. However, Zhu extends the concept of schemata: instead of examining the individual knowledge structures, Zhu uses the term schemata to refer to the knowledge shared by the discourse com-

munity using the genre. According to Zhu, the world schemata refer to the understanding relating to sociocultural context, while the formal schemata allude to the linguistic and rhetorical understanding of the genre concerned. In addition, Zhu highlights the importance of incorporating expert members' views to confirm these schemata, which is related to the discourse community to be discussed later in this chapter.

The world and formal schemata complement the "social stock of knowledge", "cognitive structuring" and "deep semantics" of the genres by specifying what kind of knowledge is needed for genre study. These schemata embrace cultural protocols, persuasion, reader-writer relations, professional knowledge and rhetorical structure, and will be applied to this study.

In relation to genre knowledge, and also as an important principle of their sociocognitive perspective, Berkenkotter and Huckin claim that genre is dynamic and is constantly changing. This complex nature of genre knowledge thus poses the imperative to explore genre in relation to the sociocultural context.

Genre and the sociocultural contexts

Sociocultural context is related to social knowledge of language, and in particular, to the world schemata. It is often seen as an important factor in cognitive learning, sociology of language studies and genre analysis. For example, Malinowski (1960) indicates that genres have an important function in the maintenance and cohesion of culture. Bakhtin (1981, 1986) stresses the importance of social contexts and the ideology of genre. According to Bakhtin, there is a close link between language and social reality, and intertextuality is central to genre study. Genre is thus seen as interactive pattern of speech representing both the activities of verbal interaction and the ideologies of social groups. Bakhtin further divides genre into "simple genres" of everyday communication and "complex genres" such as novels, dramas and essays. Bakhtin's division represents an important contribution to genre study which goes beyond the static traditional genre practice of text description. The Bakhtinian tradition exercises a great influence on further studies of genre. Other relevant works stressing the importance of social and cultural contexts can be found in Bazerman (1988), Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995), Brown and Yule (1983), Goffman (1981, 1983), Huckin (1997), Kramsch (1993), Gunthner and Knoblauch (1995), Hyland (1998), Lantolf (2000), Liddicoat (2002), Miller (1994), Shopen (1993), Swales (1990), and Zimmerman (1994).

As a further example to highlight the importance of sociocultural context, Gunthner and Knoblauch (1995:8) are quoted here: "communicative genres can be defined as historically and culturally specific, prepatterned and complex solutions to recurrent communicative problems". According to them, genres are pre-determined by sociocultural norms and values as part of shared expectations. Drawing upon Miller's (1984) social constructionist view of genre, and Schutz and Luckmann's (1984) notion of typification, Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995) look at genre as "dynamic rhetorical forms that are developed from actor's responses to recurrent situations", and claim that "genres change over time in response to their users' sociocognitive needs". This view clearly stresses the link with the sociocultural contexts in genre study. The study of sociocultural context is also essential and relevant to comparing genres across cultures. The social and cultural contexts in a specific culture will give clues to the prepatterned expectations of the discourse communities and to interpretations about differences in genre writing across cultures.

Berkenkotter and Huckin's (1995) "situatedness" principle can also be seen as related to sociocultural contexts. As discussed earlier, this principle developed based on the Vygotskian tradition and cognitive learning, both of which view social context as essential to knowledge formation. According to Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995:7), genre knowledge derives from "our participation in the communicative activities of daily and professional life" and is transmitted through enculturation and socialisation. They liken genre learning to the process of second language acquisition, which involves immersion into the culture and apprenticeship to the disciplinary communities. The influence from situated cognition is self-evident here. The situatedness principle not only reveals the importance of social and cultural contexts as an integral part of genre knowledge but more importantly, sees the development of this knowledge as part of the enculturation process. We therefore need to explore genre from the actors' or professional members' perspective in relation to their performance. This point of view is also in alignment with ethnography of communication to be discussed below.

Ethnography of communication (e.g. Garfinkel 1967, 1972, 1986; Hymes 1962, 1974; Gumperz 1982; Gumperz & Hymes 1972) has a strong sociocultural tradition in which speech situations are described in relation to the contexts. It is also related to the interpretive approach, which gained prominence in the late 1980s among linguistic and communication scholars. Researchers in this area believe that humans construct reality, and that external view alone is not sufficient for understanding human behaviour. They also believe that human experience, including communication, is subjective. In order to reduce

this subjectivity, the interpretive researchers set out a proposal for a descriptive approach, and their major objective is to describe culture and explore how culture is created and maintained through communication. In this way, they can provide an insider's understanding about the cultural practice. The insider's perspective is worth following up in this study. However, I would not claim that my study is an ethnographic work of contrastive genre study. Rather I will incorporate ethnographic elements such as soliciting business managers' views where relevant in order to confirm my research findings.

The approach in ethnography of communication is also known as *emic* in nature, in contrast to the opposite *etic* approach. The terms *etic* and *emic* have been used in social science as standard vocabulary, although originally they derived from anthropological linguistics. Pike (1967) extends this distinction to non-linguistic cultural phenomena. In contemporary research (e.g. in Befu 1989) *etic* study involves using cultural general constructs for comparison across cultures while *emic* focuses on cultural-specific aspects from within the culture. For example, the cultural dimensions (e.g. Hall 1976; Hofstede 1991) discussed in Chapter 2 are very much based on an *etic* approach. The Chinese perspective discussed in Chapter 2 can be seen as related to the *emic* perspective. Both perspectives are relevant to this study in order to reflect a full picture of all the cultures and genres involved. A similar *emic* and ethnographic element has also been incorporated by Hildebrandt (1990, 1995) to discuss effective communication for managers in China and other parts of Asia.

Therefore, the study of sociocultural context can well be linked to Hall's (1976) and Hofstede's (1991) cultural dimensions and contrastive rhetoric since these theories also indicate a strong emphasis on contexualised factors. Here various levels of contextual factors can be taken into consideration, such as national cultural contexts, professional culture contexts and interpersonal contexts. In this way, the intercultural taxonomies can add an additional dimension to the sociocognitive comparison of genres.

Genre practice and the discourse community

"Genre conventions signal a discourse community's norms, epistemology, ideology, and social ontology" (Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995:21). The concept of discourse community (Swales 1990) and its ownership (Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995) is an essential component of the sociocognitive approach. It is also an interesting concept which has attracted researchers' attention in discourse and rhetorical studies, genre analysis, linguistics, and cultural studies. A detailed

account of discourse community is given in Swales (1990, 1998). Only relevant works such as Swales (1990), Hyland (1998), Paltridge (1997) and Miller (1994) are discussed here in order to provide an "institutional understanding" for genre comparison.

Drawing on the concept of speech community used in sociolinguistics (Bloomfield 1933; Braithwaite 1984; Gumperz 1961; Hymes 1974; Hudson 1980; Labov 1966; Saville-Troike 1984), Swales develops the concept of discourse community within a speech community. He suggests that a discourse community is a group in which particular communicative tasks are central to its functioning. To be specific, Swales (1990: 24–27) assigns six characteristics to a discourse community, and these characteristics specify how they share the relevant social stocks of knowledge. First and foremost, a discourse community has a set of common public goals, and these goals are shared among its members. Second, a discourse community possesses mechanisms with which its members communicate with each other. Third, a discourse community uses its mechanisms of communication in order to provide information and feedback, and may also have secondary goals to enhance its performance. Fourth, the discourse community employs genres in order to realise its goals. A discourse community shares expectations in terms of appropriate use of topics, form, and function of texts. Fifth, the discourse community establishes specific lexis such as specialised technical terminologies. Finally, a discourse community has a threshold level, which ensures that its members have an adequate degree of discoursal expertise.

As listed above, a discourse community requires its members to exhibit a general level of knowledge structures as a prerequisite for membership. These basic knowledge structures are related to both the world and formal schemata such as the goals of the community, communication with each other, and genre conventions. We can see that the knowledge structures of genres are shared and understood within a discourse community. This also means that different discourse communities are likely to share different sets of knowledge, and exhibit their differences in genre practice as well. For example, the Chinese managers' discourse community requires a certain level of basic knowledge, and this knowledge is shared by all of its members. However, their understandings may not be shared in exactly the same way by an English business discourse community, although their knowledge structures may overlap to a certain degree. As Swales (1990: 24) explains, a discourse community enrols its membership by training or relevant education, which implies the existence of such knowledge structures in the discourse community.

According to the above characteristics, Swales stresses the concrete sharing within the discourse community, although abstract knowledge is also involved. This stress on locality and concrete knowledge is self-explanatory in Swales' (1998) recent discussion of the discourse community: local discourse community, which is a term borrowed from Killingsworth and Gilbertson (1992). A local discourse community (LDC), according to Swales, "is a group of people who work regularly together". A LDC also involves other features such as aggregation's roles and purposes, relevant degree of consensus, and having a sense of history and participation.

Concrete knowledge is important, as already discussed in the light of the sociocultural contexts. However, we also need to give adequate attention to abstract knowledge such as genre ideologies, beliefs and values, which are also important concepts for cross-cultural studies as detailed in Chapter 2.

As further complement to "discourse community", Paltridge (1995) develops the concept of "institutional understanding" which associates both concrete and abstract knowledge structures within the practices of the discourse community. According to Paltridge (1995: 397, 399), these understandings are comprised of "the protocol of the particular discourse community, ideologies, shared understandings and the rule relationships", which are also "the supporting frameworks of common knowledge, experience, expectations, attitudes and beliefs shared by the discourse community".

Although Paltridge did not elaborate on these institutional understandings, the implications for cross-cultural genre study is self-explanatory if we regard discourse community as a sub-culture. For example, knowledge of the cultural protocols can be related to power, the appropriate degree of politeness and respect. The ideologies include what is desirable in order to accomplish a certain task of the discourse community, such as what can be persuasive factors and what can be attractive factors for the reader. In the case of the business discourse community, professional knowledge can be related to marketing, and to the understanding of the role relations and sociolinguistic distance between the writer and the reader.

In a similar light of social knowledge construction, Hyland (2000) uses the term "disciplinary cultures" to refer to the academic discourse community. To Hyland, a discipline is very much an academic tribe (Becher 1989; Becher & Trowler 2001) that shares norms, nomenclature, bodies of knowledge, sets of convention and modes of inquiry (Bartholomae 1986; Swales 1990). Hyland (2000) also stresses the situated activity using the metaphor "communities of practice". He claims, "We are then concerned with knowledge and knowing as social institutions, with something collectively created through the interactions

of the individuals" (Hyland 2000:7). Genres, in other words, imply particular institutional practices of those that produce, distribute and consume them (Fairclough 1992a).

Hyland (personal communication) points to a good balance between the concrete and abstract knowledge. He uses the term "disciplinary cultures" to refer to a slightly wider concept, going beyond what we understand of a community and its discourses to embrace the values, belief structures and practices of communities, much of which, of course will be instantiated in its conventional patterns of discourse.

Herndl, Fennell and Miller (1991:304) critique Swales' discourse community as being "either misleadingly vague or intriguingly rich". Later, Miller (1994) therefore uses the term "rhetorical community" instead. According to Miller a rhetorical community is characterised by its beliefs, values and social practices. However, it differs from the discourse community in that it offers the virtual perspective to the study of genre. The rhetorical community does not necessarily have a location or membership. In spite of the differences, the beliefs, values and the norms shared by the rhetorical community are also seen as an underlying principle for genre writing. The concept of shared genre knowledge is explicit in both rhetorical and discourse communities, as can be seen in the cultural artefacts (Miller 1994) and the threshold of community (Swales 1990). Miller's approach to rhetorical community clearly stresses abstract knowledge such as the beliefs, values and ideologies involved. Therefore, I do not see the discourse community and rhetorical community as contradictory as they appear to be. Rather they are viewed as complementing each other, and both abstract and concrete knowledge is essential for this study.

Scollon's (2001, 2002) mediated discourse as social interaction within a speech community provides a dynamic perspective for studying the social practice of the discourse community, of which written genres are of one type frequently used in business transactions. According to Scollon, mediated discourse refers to locating representational systems and social groups into the habitus of social actors and the real world within the speech community. Two basic concepts deriving from Scollon's (2002:133) mediated actions are of relevance here. One is the mediated action, which is mutually constructed among multiple participants. The other concept is the nexus of practice alluding to "connected groupings of practices" and these grouping produces an appropriate habitus shared by a group or class. These speech community practice concepts can also be applied to the members of the discourse community and so the mediated action fits well into the community practice of writing in this study. More importantly, they add fluidity and dynamics to studying profes-

sional discourse practice, incorporating a perspective of changing habitus for specific interactions in context within the discourse community.

Discourse community can also be viewed from an intercultural perspective in terms of types of knowledge involved. Hofstede's definition of culture also involves abstract and concrete knowledge. According to Hofstede (1995), culture is the collective programming of the mind within a social group. The programming processes will involve abstract knowledge such as beliefs, values and ideologies, as well as the more specific rules and norms underlined by the abstract knowledge. This definition fits in well with the discourse community, and although there may not be a one-to-one relation between abstract knowledge and concrete knowledge as stressed by Hofstede, values and ideologies will play an important role for genre writing.

Hofstede's definitions of culture can also add a cross-cultural dimension for contrastive purposes. So far the major theories regarding discourse community tend to focus on the knowledge within a discourse or rhetorical community. Adequate consideration should therefore be given to the national cultural level as well besides the professional and rhetorical knowledge shared by a discourse community. In their more recent research of business discourse, Bargiela-Chiappini and Nickerson (2002) also stress the need to study professional discourse in relation to national cultural values.

Credit will be given to all the above theories of cultural or professional community for their contribution to the understanding of genre knowledge. However, this study will adopt the term discourse community for the simple reason that it focuses on the professional practice of business genre writing across cultures. It will also allude to Scollon's model and look at business genres as part of the mediated action while incorporating as much as possible all particulars of the contexts as part of the nexus of discourse practice. In addition, the concept of discourse community is closely related to the ethnographic perspective. The members of the discourse community are expert members who have the appropriate knowledge or world and formal schemata for professional genre writing, and their views will be considered as having an insider's perspective if not fully ethnographic. As substantiation, Zhu (1999b) applied the discourse community as a valid concept in her research on Chinese sales genres and their evolution in the past fifty years. She found that the Chinese managers constituted the professional discourse community for Chinese business communication and their views reflected the world and formal schemata relevant for business-genre writing.

Genre as communicative events

Swales views genre as composed of communicative events, and his view is often applied in analysing academic genres (Hyland 2000; Paltridge 1997) and ESP studies (Bhatia 1993). Studying genre as communicative events can be seen as related to "how to do things with words" (Austin 1962) and "genre as social action" (Miller 1984). According to Miller, genre is meaningful action, and is interpretable by means of rules. A similar view can be found in the sociology of language that stresses the ends and means and discusses language as a means of communicating social reality. I will therefore examine this sociocognitive dimension in the light of Swales' (1990) genre approach involving communicative purposes and a rhetorical structure composed of moves and steps. Furthermore, I will also point out its link to the other three sociocognitive dimensions of genre knowledge, social contexts, and discourse community where relevant.

Genre and communicative purposes

Swales (1990, 2002) discusses communicative purposes as a starting point for defining genre. According to Swales (1990), genre is "a class of communicative events" characterised by a set of communicative purposes, which are shared by a discourse community using the genre. These purposes are sometimes criticised as being too utilitarian (e.g. Canagarajah 2002), however, they can be appropriately seen as related to "genre as social action" (Miller 1984) that is culturally confined. These purposes also constitute the rationale and defining feature (Dudley-Evans 1994) behind a genre "giving rise to constraining conventions" and setting boundaries of appropriate behaviour within a genre. Swales' view fits well into the sociocognitive vein in that it shares these major components: the situated events and shared understanding of goals and conventions within the discourse community (Geisler 1991; Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995). In particular, Swales stresses communicative purposes as the focal point for genre study. These purposes are also essential in genre comparison and are thus worth further elaboration.

Swales' view of genre in terms of communicative purposes is very much influenced by ethnography of communication (Saville-Troike 1984; Hymes 1974). Another influence that contributes to Swales conceptualisation includes Miller (1984) and Martin (1989) who also stress the importance of purposes. Swales extends Miller's view by highlighting the importance of communicative purposes as a fundamental feature that sets constraints for the stylistic and lin-

guistic choices of genre. Genre is seen as dynamic and evolving in response to particular social and rhetorical needs. This emphasis on the means by which genre realises its goals is widely accepted in ESP genre study (Dudley-Evans 1994; Bhatia 1993), and is applied in the study of Chinese professional genres as well (Zhu 1997, 1999b). What is worth further mentioning is Bhatia's study of of English sales letters, in which he identifies eliciting a specific response from the reader as the major communicative purpose of the genre. These findings will be used as an important reference for this study.

Communicative purposes are often used as criteria for identifying genres and sub-genres. Bhatia (1993:21) claims that the communicative purpose of genre is "inevitably reflected in the interpretative cognitive structuring of the genre." Apparently there is interrelatedness between the purposes and the "regularities of the organization" within a discourse community. Certain sets of regularities can contribute to an identifiable communicative purpose although there may not be an identical relationship between the two sets. Their relationship needs to be studied in the light of the other sociocognitive dimensions such as world schemata, sociocultural contexts, the discourse community, and their views towards effective communication to be discussed below.

The world schemata of the discourse community are essential for studying communicative purposes and identifying the cognitive structure of genre. We need to familiarise ourselves with the appropriate levels of knowledge structures shared by the discourse community, and understanding the social and cultural contexts is the first step towards this. This kind of knowledge is also an important part of collective programming within the discourse community. As Martin (1985) claims, genre is used to accomplish social purposes.

In relation to the discourse community, Zhu (1999b) points to a link between communicative purposes and effective communication. In particular, identifying the communicative purposes involves the study of illocutionary and perlocutionary forces (Austin 1962). The former refers to the intention to accomplish something through speech acts and the latter to the effect of the utterance on the reader's mind. These forces can also be seen as reflective of the knowledge of the discourse community. Based on the needs arising from the social and cultural contexts, we can correctly interpret purposes as well as the effectiveness of these purposes.

We therefore should study communicative purposes in relation to the concept of the discourse community. For example, we can solicit expert members' views regarding effective communication as a means towards an end. As noted earlier, identifying expert members' needs and confirming their views will help us understand genre more comprehensively. Their views are also useful for

comparing genres, and managers can comment on genre conventions from their own perspective, which may differ from an outsider's. This approach will be applied to both the English and Chinese genres, and the managers' views regarding effective communication of target cultures will be solicited and compared. This is also a feasible way to further uncover the relevant "social stock of knowledge" (Schutz & Luckmann 1984) employed by the discourse communities.

In addition, communicative purposes need to be studied in relation to other kinds of criteria of persuasion in cross-cultural genre study. As detailed in Chapter 2, English and Chinese discourses tend to follow different criteria regarding what persuasive communication is. For example, English sales letters can be characterised by a set of communicative purposes which may not be exactly the same as Chinese sales letters. Therefore culture-specific persuasive orientations as discussed in Chapter 2 can be used to identify communicative purposes for relevant cultures, and this point will be further discussed in the theoretical conceptualisation later in this chapter.

Genre and rhetorical structure

Swales' (1981, 1990) rhetorical moves are discussed in this section as an essential part of the valid rhetorical structure for sociocognitive genre analysis because of their clear orientation towards the task and purpose. A move is defined as a communicative event the writer aims to accomplish (Duszak 1994: 299). From this definition, we can see that a move indicates a genre unit if we view genre as composed of a series of communicative events. Besides, moves correspond to communicative purposes in that every move also has an intent and tries to contribute to the general idea development of a text. Finally, moves are task-oriented and indicate a "tactical space". According to Bhatia (personal communication), "genres operate within a tactical space, rather than entirely in textual or social space", and hence the notion of moves or tactics is crucial to our understanding of genre. In this, a "move" still keeps to its original meaning in terms of tasks and intent as in Bellack, Kliebard, Hyman, and Smith (1966), who first employed this concept to explore classroom interaction and activities between teachers and students.

Swales (1981, 1990) applies move as an important component of the rhetorical structure of genre and proposes that communicative purposes can be realised in moves and steps, a step being a lower unit than a move. For example, Swales (1981) assigns a typical four-move structure to the introduction of research articles in English on the basis of forty-eight article introductions.

These moves include "Establishing the Research Field", "Summarising Previous Research", "Preparing for Present Research, and "Introducing the Present Research". Each of the moves is composed of one or more steps. For example, "Introducing the Present Research" is composed of two steps of "Giving the Purpose" and "Describing Present Research". In Swales research, moves indicate different attributes with various intents. Both moves and steps represent staged strategies for realising the communicative purposes.

Moves can therefore be seen as idea units reflecting the specific cognitive structures of the text (Bhatia 1993). This is also a textual boundary that genre analysts tend to follow. A detailed discussion on textual boundaries is given by Paltridge (1994) in which he examines a range of ways of identifying stages based on the content of text. They include structural paragraphs (Longacre 1992), macro- and micro-structures (van Dijk 1977), schematic structure (Martin 1989), generic structural potential (Hasan 1985, 1989) and moves and steps (Swales 1990). Paltridge (1994:295) sums up that "it is the cognitive rather than the linguistic sense that guides our perception of textual division". Hasan shares a similar view by saying that stages within a text are related to semantic properties (Hasan 1985) and play the role of setting boundaries for the text. It is the content that "influences the selection and use of the formal features in the instantiation of particular genres" (Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995:16). Moves can be seen as having a close link to the sociocognitive approach for the major reason that they have a strong focus on communicative intent and reflect the regularities of the cognitive structuring as shown in the above discussion. Therefore moves and steps will be used as units of analysis in this study.

Genre analysis using moves and steps as units of analysis is found in academic or professional writings (e.g. Bhatia 1993; Crookes 1986; dos Santos 1996; Duszak 1994; Teh 1986). Bhatia's (1993) analysis of English sales letters is worth further mentioning, in which he identifies moves such as "Establishing Credentials", "Introducing the Offer", "Offering Incentives", "Enclosing Documents", "Soliciting Response" "Using Pressure Tactics" and "Ending Politely". These moves truly reflect the writing practice of sales letters, and references will be made to these moves where appropriate in this book.

However, I am very much aware of the various criticisms towards the use of moves. For example, Crookes (1986) queries the empirical validity of "move" because it is based on personal judgement and lacks well-defined structural elements. Holmes (2004) also points out that the this kind of unit can no doubt help explain how texts are organised, but won't reflect the dynamics and creativity of genre. In a similar light, Dudley-Evans (1994) questions the classi-

fication and validity of moves. Hyland (personal communication) also points out that moves are intuitive and thus he uses both move analysis and feature analysis. For example, in his analysis of academic genres, Hyland (2000), uses "moves" to complement feature analysis as they both add to our understanding of a text.

These views should be seen as a precaution rather than as criticisms against using moves. In order to reduce the level of arbitrariness we should apply adequate world and formal schemata in identifying moves and make sure that these schemata reflect the understanding of the discourse community. On the one hand, moves can be examined in relation to effective communication and as tactics for the realisation of communicative purposes. We can increase the validity of the analysis by referring to the relevant schemata of the discourse community, and incorporating managers' views regarding what can be effective strategies for writing up a move. On the other, rhetorical structure should be seen as something complementary to other genre feature such as intertextuality which is to be detailed in the next section. Without these back-up systems, we may not validate moves and, as a result, we may end up separating moves from the genre knowledge of the discourse community.

Genre and intertextuality

In order to overcome some of the constraints of moves discussed above, this study will incorporate intertextuality as an important concept to reflect genre dynamics and genre evolution.

According to Morris (1994), the concept of intertextuality originates from Bakhtin's (1986) "dialogic interaction" in the writing and reading processes by which he means that an utterance is linked to other utterances in a complex organising system. Kristeva (1986) employs intertextuality as a property of text, which makes reference to previous texts. In this way, a text is no longer regarded as static and constrained by existing structure, and it actually interacts with the writer's or the reader's pre-acquired knowledge of other types of text or genres. More recently, Fairclough (1992a) applies intertextuality as an important construct to investigating the relationship between genres as social action and the concurrent social structures. Here the influence from Miller (1984) is also self-evident. Fairclough further divides intertextuality into two types: "manifest" and "constitutive". The former alludes to reference made to other texts within a text and the latter refers to the configuration and constitution of discourse conventions that go into genre production. Here Fairclough points to intertex-

tuality as part of an essential genre system as a response to social structures and social change.

More dimensions of intertextuality can be found in Devitt (1991), who proposes referential, functional and generic intertexulaity and these three dimensions appropriately reflect the interaction of text for the needs of the tax accounting community. Referential intertextualiy refers to the reference to other texts, functional intertextuality to a network of texts formed and used by a community such as the tax accounting community as in his case, and generic intertextuality to the evolution of genres based on available texts and rhetorical situation. It can be seen from this that Devitt's (1991) stratifications of intertextuality further develops Fairclough's concept genre as part of social structures and social change.

Bhatia (1997, 2000), although within the constraints of communicative purposes and moves, applies the concept of intertextuality to business genre analysis. For example, he identifies that genre mixing and genre embeddedness are used in professional genres in English promotional and legal discourse. By genre mixing, Bhatia means the inclusion of texts from another genre into a certain genre and the genre embeddedness alludes to the phenomenon of embedding messages into a text. Genre mixing and embeddedness can also be seen as specific types of intertextuality. There has been a growing interest in the studies on intertextuality. Gimenez (2004) also studies genre embeddedness in English business emails and he defines embeddedness as having more than one messages embedded into one email text. Zhu (1999b), in her analysis of Chinese *tongzhi* 通知 or "official circular letters", found that *xiaxing* 下行 (superior writing to subordinates) genre used *pingxing* 平行 (equals writing to each other) registers, which indicates genre evolution in official-letter writing and reflects the changing reader-writer relationships under the new Chinese economic system. More recently Zhu (2004) identifies another kind of intertextuality-genre complimentarity, which refers to the fact that English and Chinese business faxes tend to interact with emails or telephone conversations by making a reference to them. Her finding indicates that professional genres sometimes complement and depend on each other.

We can infer from the above discussion that intertextuality adds an additional dimension to genre analysis because of its focus on genre creation, genre evolution, and even genre interaction as a set of system or repertoire of interactive texts (Orlikowski & Yates 1994) within a community or across communities. I will use some of the dimensions covered in this section for my analysis where relevant. However, it is understood that that each genre may indicate different types of intertextuality depending on the social structures and

actions involved (Fairclough 1992a). Specific types of intertextuality will be detailed for each chapter of genre analysis in this book.

In sum, the four sociocognitive dimensions indicate a knowledge-building and construtivistic process which involves the understanding of relevant socio-cultural knowledge, intertextuality, and rhetorical structures as part of social action in relation to social structures and change. These dimensions will form a solid foundation for the model to be developed in this book for cross-cultural comparison. However, so far, the sociocognitive study very much mainly concentrates on studying English genres or one particular community. As noted in Chapter 1, there has been a lack of cross-cultural dimension in genre study. As Bond, Fu and Pasa (2001) point out that we should make all cultures' voices heard if we want to compare cultures effectively. Therefore, there is a need to introduce and incorporate the Chinese perspective for comparison in order to make all the voices of the cultures heard, and also to further validate the comparative study of English and Chinese genres.

The Chinese genre approach

Just like the English sources, the Chinese also have a rich source of literature on written genre. However, unlike the English research, Chinese genres are often studied and discussed in relation to rhetoric and written discourse in general. As Zheng, Zong and Chen (1998: 424) point out, the Chinese research method in genre writing and rhetoric is different from that of the West that has established genre study as a separate field from rhetorical study. They further comment that the Chinese genre approach is closely tied to other areas such as rhetoric and composition writing, and that this kind of interrelatedness has a long history in the Chinese discourse study.

As already discussed briefly in Chapter 2, Chinese discourse study is very much influenced by classical, and in particular, by the Confucian rhetorical tradition that stress both *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" and *li* 理 or "logical approach" as the major persuasive orientations. *Qing* 情 or "emotional approach" and *li* 理 or "logical approach" will be referred to as a culture-specific principle underlying Chinese genre practices.

First of all, I would like to outline the Chinese view of written discourse and the division of genres as background knowledge about Chinese genre and discourse study. This is also to show how rhetoric, composition writing, and genre study are closely interrelated. In addition, the discussion will also point to the important position of business genres in the Chinese written discourse
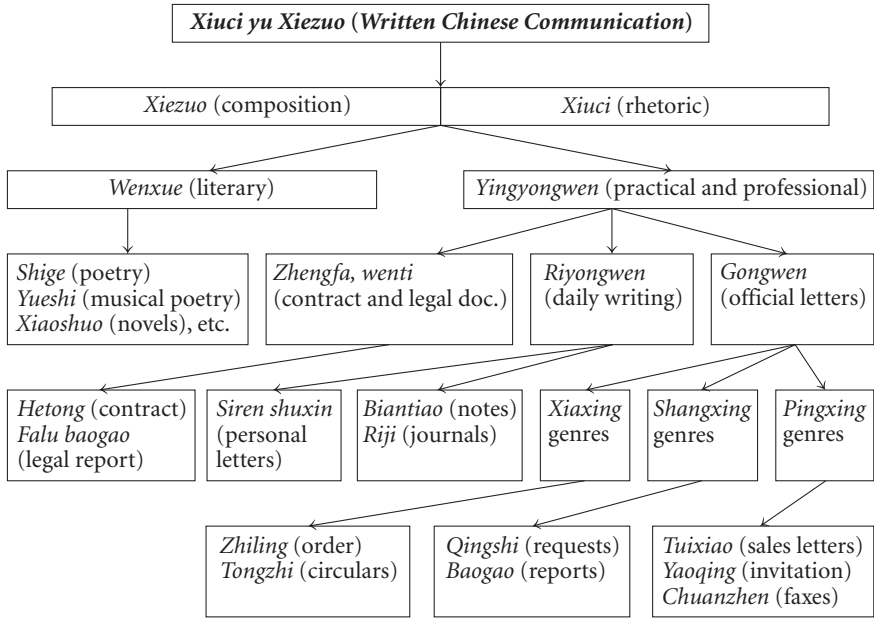
Figure 1. Chinese written discourse and the division of genres

as a whole. Figure 1, reflecting all these points, draws on a number of Chinese scholars' views (e.g. Zhang 1983; Xu 1986).

Figure 1 is not an exhaustive list of all the Chinese written genres. It indicates the Chinese approach to genre study in general, and also highlights the position of *yingyongwen* 应用文 or "practical writing" or "professional genres" as an integral part of the Chinese written discourse.

First, Chinese written discourse is seen as composed of composition writing and rhetoric, and the rules and conventions of both govern all Chinese written discourse. For example, the persuasive orientations discussed in Chapter 2 also apply here, and *qing* 情 (emotional approach) and *li* 理 (logical approach) are seen as essential for all types of writing. Second, business genres belong to *gongwen* 公文 or "official letters" in the category of *yingyongwen* 应用文 or "practical writing". Third, official letters are letters written by an enterprise or organisation, and are composed of: *xiaxing* 下行 or "the superior writing to the subordinate", *shangxing* 上行 or "the subordinate writing to the superior" and *pingxing* 平行 or "equals writing to each other". The genres this study examines: sales letters, sales invitations and sales faxes, all belong to the

pingxing 平行 category, which is also the most frequently used category among the three in business communication today (Zhu 1999b).

The criteria for genre classification are also worth further attention. Two sets of criterion have been followed in the division of Chinese written discourse; the former is based on the social function and the *li* 理 or "logical approach" or *logos* of the genre, and the latter is on the reader-writer relations and the *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" or the *pathos* of the genre. Based on the *li*-related criterion or the functional criterion, Chinese written discourse is divided into poetry, novels, practical writing, and official letters. This criterion shares similarity with the division of English genres. It is really the *qing*-related criterion that deserves further attention. *Qing*-related criterion can also be seen as relational criterion, and is mainly used in classifying practical writing (*yingyongwen*) and official letters (*gongwen*). In particular, *gongwen* 公文 or "official letters" are divided into *xia/ping/shangxing* 下/平/上行 genres (the superior writing to the subordinate, equals writing to each other, and the subordinate writing to the superior) based on the reader-writer relationships. This criterion of division may also apply to practical writings that involve interpersonal relationships between the writer and the reader. These three categories are essential for understanding Chinese business genres and will be referred to in the following discussion of Chinese scholars' views as an important dimension to reflect reader-writer relations and to choose linguistic strategies in order to express *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" and *li* 理 or "logical approach" adequately.

In short, both reader and writer relationships and the appropriate use of language are considered essential prerequisites for effective communication and this principle has been followed closely and consistently throughout the Chinese genre study history.

Historical review of Chinese genre study

The most representative work in history is Liu Xie's (Shih 1959) work *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* written in the fifth century, which is still well cited and exercises a great influence on the study of Chinese written discourse today. Hence a detailed discussion is given below.

Liu Xie's view on Chinese written discourse

First and foremost, Liu Xie warmly advocates Confucian philosophical and rhetorical traditions; both sustaining social order and adequate reader-writer

Yi 意 (purposes and emotions)   Yi 意 (purposes and emotions)

Pian 篇 (text)   Pian 篇 (text)

Zhang 章 (paragraphs)   Zhang 章 (paragraphs)

Ju 句 (sentences)   Ju 句 (sentences)

Zi 字 (words and phrases)   Zi 字 (words and phrases)
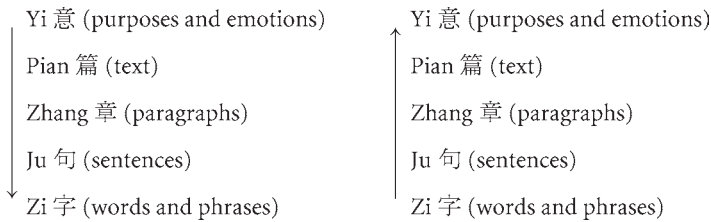
Figure 2. The process of interpreting writing

relationships are stressed as the major components of writing. According to Liu Xie, a piece of writing is only valuable if it is concerned with the Five Rites or moral disciplines claimed by Confucius. It should at the same time reflect the natural phenomenon of the universe, and artificiality practised by mystics should be avoided. The stress on purposes or the social function of writing always remain a focal point in the study of Chinese written discourse, and the major reason for this consistence is that written discourse is employed to achieve social purposes (Li 1994). This is also in alignment with Swales' communicative purposes of genre. Furthermore, Liu Xie also points out the importance of reader-writer relations, thus highlighting the relevance of *qing* 情 or *pathos* in addition to the purpose of writing.

Second, writing is viewed as a staged process in which purposes and feelings are realised in linguistic forms, and these forms, in turn, reinforce the former. Liu Xie views the structure of writing as composed of purposes and emotions, overall structure, paragraphs and sentences. However, unlike Swales who prefers a top-down information process in which purposes are realised in moves and steps, Liu Xie stresses the importance of both top-down and bottom-up processes in genre writing as shown in Figure 2.

Note that in Figure 2, *yi* 意 is not an equivalent of communicative purposes but has wider connotations. According to Shih (1959), *yi* 意 can be roughly interpreted as purposes and meanings closely associated with the writer's feelings and the context. On the one hand, *yi* 意 or purposes and emotions are the most important element in writing, and can be expressed by appropriate *zhang* 章 or "paragraphs", and sentence structures. On the other hand, Liu Xie insists that *zi* 字 (words) form *ju* 句 (sentences), *ju* 句 (sentences) form *zhang* 章 (paragraphs), and *zhang* 章 (paragraphs) form *pian* 篇 (text). By referring to these levels of the text, the reader or critic can identify *yi* 意. In his words, "only when ideas are definite can linguistic forms be meaningful" (Shih 1959: 35).

Writer ⇄ Purposes & Emotions ⇄ Structure & Language ⇄ Reader
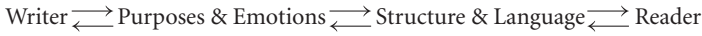
Figure 3. Understanding written discourse

This model not only applies to the criticism and comprehension of genre, it can also be used in genre analysis.

Third, the understanding of text is stressed as a two-way communication. In relation to knowledge structures, Liu Xie highlights the importance of creating an understanding and communication channel between the writer and the reader. To Liu Xie, writing would not have any meaning or value if it is not understood and appreciated by the reader. To do this, the writer needs to have clear *yi* 意, adopt an adequate emotional approach to the reader, and express these in appropriate textual structure and linguistic forms. The reader, on the other hand, has to have an appropriate understanding of the rhetoric and linguistic forms in order to understand the purposes and the emotional appeal of the writing. Liu Xie's view thus indicates a reciprocal process in which both the reader and writer contribute to the understanding of meaning as shown in Figure 3.

From Figure 3, we can see that both *logos* and *pathos* are stressed as the most important components of writing. We can also infer that the understanding of writing is an interactive process of communication between the reader and the writer depending very much on shared knowledge structures in both world and formal schemata. The more they share, the better understanding of the written genre would be achieved.

Last, but not least, Liu Xie introduces the concept of *shengren* 圣人 or "sages". To him, sages only refer to outstanding people like Confucius and other renowned classical philosophers, who are very rare and few in number. In spite of this constraint of definition, "sage" has a connotation similar to today's expert members of the discourse community. According to Liu Xie (Shih 1959), these sages understand the purposes of writing, and they try to reflect the principles of the society in their writings. In addition, they are well versed in the pattern of writing, or understand the conventions of writing in today's terms. From this we can see that sages exhibit appropriate knowledge structures for writing of the genre. However, Liu Xie places a lot of stress on the sages' works, which to him provide a source of the relevant knowledge of writing. He believes that the best way of understanding writing is to read and understand sages' works. Up to the present day, quoting from sages' works is still considered a sophisticated skill for good writing in China.

Liu Xie's approach to genre study

Liu Xie's approach to genre is largely descriptive, combined with a historical perspective. To be specific, he traces the origin of the genres involved and examines how the linguistic forms change through history. Subsequently he also illustrates each genre with historical examples written by sages or well-known writers. For example, he points out that the purpose of *biao* 表 or "memorial" is to thank the emperor; and *xi* 檄, or "war proclamation", is used to declare wars. The works he cites further reinforce his argument regarding the communicative processes of genre as detailed in the previous section. In other words, the rules for general written discourse also apply to practical writings. Although no detailed analysis was given to the works he cited, illustrating genre with reference to sages' works already indicates the importance of experts' knowledge.

Liu Xie's stress on the interpersonal relationships between the reader and the writer is a further illustration of *pathos* underlining Chinese written discourse. Although Liu Xie does not use the term of the *xia/ping/shangxing* 下/平/上行 genres in his work, he explains the different roles a writer plays according to specific reader-writer relationships. For example, a ruler using genres such as *zhao* 诏 or "edict" uses "lofty" and "powerful" words and these words "are suspended high for all to look up to" (Shih 1959: 114). The linguistic distance indicates that the writer or speaker is in a higher position, thus reflecting the hierarchical relationship in the sociocultural distance. *Shu* 书 or "letters" between equals should use forms that make one feel like one is talking face to face with the author (Shih 1959: 145). Note that the linguistic distance changes to "face to face", which is a typical way of expressing an equal relationship; one is not supposed to look at a king or very senior person in the eye. *Biao* 表 or "memorials to the king", should use forms to express reverence without any sign of fear or arrogance (Shih 1959: 147). Liu Xie here stresses the importance of showing respect for a *shangxing* 上行 or bottom-up relationship. From this we can see that the 下/平/上行 genres have already emerged in his work in an embryonic form, which lays a solid foundation for a more sophisticated division of these genres later.

In sum, Liu Xie initiated genre study with his division and interpersonal treatment of genre. From this we can see that Liu Xie's exploration of genre represents an insightful model in the *qing* 情 (emotional) and *li* 理 (logical) tradition while sharing the concept of discourse community in a limited sense.

Liu Xie's approach to genre and written discousre has been inherited by modern Chinese written discourse study in all areas of rhetoric and com-

position writing, and by *yingyongwen* 应用文 or "practical or professional genre" study.

Modern Chinese genre study

Chen Wangdao is a strong advocate of Liu Xie's ideas, hence a detailed discussion of his works on Chinese writing and rhetoric.

According to Chen (1947, 1985), spoken or written discourse is a social phenomenon in which the writer/speaker communicates and exchanges meanings and feelings. He further claims that the major task of the writer/speaker is to influence the reader/listener and achieve mutual understanding and similar feelings. Yuan (2000) comments that this can be seen as a dynamic process, in which both the reader and writer contribute to the understanding of meaning. Figure 4 is an adapted version of Yuan's model in which he makes an attempt to interpret Chen's dynamic communication process of genre.

As shown in Figure 4, Chen sees purposes and feelings in contexts as a starting point for the writer/speaker. When one communicates s/he should have the reader in mind, and use appropriate language so that the reader/listener can understand the purposes and feelings of the writer. As a consequence, mutual understanding of the writer's purposes and feelings in context can be achieved. This model stresses both the purposes and relevant feelings involved in the process.

To Chen (1947), purpose (*mudi* 目的) and feelings/emotions in context (*qingjing* 情境) are the most important elements for writing. Effective writing lies in a balanced coordination of the two elements. They complement
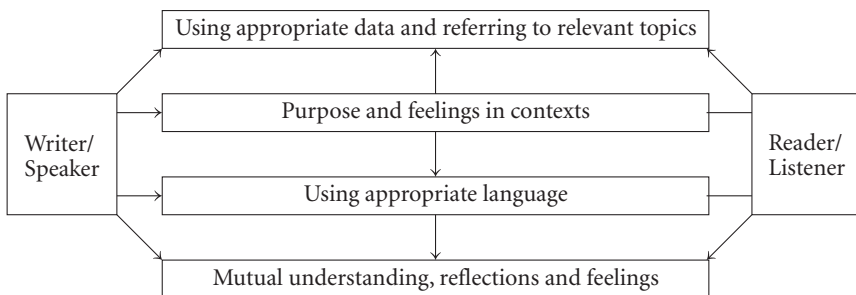
Figure 4. The communication process between the writer and the reader (based on Yuan 2000)

each other based on the *ethos* or the relationship between the reader and the writer. *Ethos* is therefore treated as the sociolinguistic and contextualised factors, which influence the logical and emotional appeals. However both *logos* and *pathos* (or *qing* 情 and *li* 理) are seen as essential for communication between the writer and the reader. This further confirms the use of persuasive orientations in modern rhetoric. This principle is well received in Chinese writing theories such as reiterated in Li (1996). The explicitly preferred *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" can be seen as part of the Confucian values relating to harmony, consensus and relationship building, as noted by Hofstede and Bond (1988). This issue is further explored by Campbell (1998), who found that this principle could even be applied to Chinese scientific writing.

As a second contribution to Chinese rhetoric, Chen divides rhetoric, or simply writings, into *jiji* 积极 or "positive" and *xiaoji* 消极 or "negative". "Positive" and "negative" are only used for contrast and they have nothing to do with being passive or active. This is just an example of dialectic thinking or considering things in pairs. But the two are not really opposites, and rather they are complementary. These terms are still based on his purpose and feelings-in-context principle. Negative and positive rhetoric indicate different registers. Negative rhetoric focuses on the factual content and structure of a text, and therefore has a narrative register as shown in *yingyongwen* 应用文 or "practical or professional genres". Positive rhetoric pays attention to style and metaphorical use of language, so it tends to have an expressive register, and is often used to describe feelings such as in literary genres. However, Chen also points out a mixed register wherein both negative rhetoric and positive rhetoric can be employed, which is also an interesting concept related to intertextuality (Bakhtin 1986) and genre mixing (Bhatia 1993).

In spite of his lack of attention to *yingyong*wen 应用文 or "practical and professional genre" writing, Chen's contribution to rhetoric is valuable in a number of areas, including the sociocognitive understanding of the relationship between the writer and the reader, the registers of writing, and the mixed use of registers or genres. His theories have a strong impact on Chinese writing in general (e.g. Lu, Zhu, & Zhang 1979; Xu 1986; Zheng 1991), as well as on practical and professional genres to be discussed in the next section.

Yingyongwen 应用文 and *gongwen* 公文 genre study

Research on *yingyongwen* 应用文 or "practical and professional genres" is an emerging area of genre study. Research interest mainly focuses on *gongwen* 公文

or "official letters" and other professional genre such as legal genres and contracts for apparent reasons relating to the economic opening-up in China. As of particular relevance to this study, *gongwen* 公文 or "official letters" are discussed in more detail. It was only from the 1980s that researchers and textbook writers (e.g. He & Lu 1991; Li & Sun 1989; Lin 1989; Liu 1986; Pan 1991; Pu 1992; Wang 1987) began to pay attention to the exploration of *yingyongwen* 应用文 and *gongwen* 公文 genres. For example, Wang's (1987) "Introduction to Genres" is considered one of the first books on Chinese *yingyongwen* 应用文 (practical writing) and *gongwen* 公文 (official letters) study and needs further attention here. Wang mainly discusses the importance of classifying genres. To Wang, social, interpersonal and linguistic contexts are the essential criteria for genre identification. Once again the *qingjing* 情境 or "feelings in contexts" are seen as an important factor; he stresses the importance of expressing appropriate feelings for the specific linguistic contexts involved in the text. Based on these principles, Wang classifies genres into scientific, political, advertising and official genres.

Li and Sun (1989) and Pu (1992) further promote the language of *yingyongwen* 应用文 or practical and professional genre study by developing the following writing principles:

> *Licheng* 立诚 (Expressing good faith)
> *Juyou shiyong mudi* 具有使用目的 (Indicating communicative purposes)
> *Qiejing* 切境 (Fitting into the contexts)
> *Deti* 得体 (Using appropriate form and style)
> *Youxiao* 有效 (Indicating effectiveness)

Licheng 立诚 can be seen as an initial principle, which is also a realisation of *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" in professional genre writing. Researchers in professional genre study agree *licheng* 立诚 is important to express the writer's feelings and good faith in order to make the writing appeal to the reader. However, they also point out that there should be less *qing* 情 or "emotional appeal" than in literary genre writing. Purposes are listed for obvious reasons but only in the second place. To Chinese scholars, *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" and *li* 理 or "logical approach" are still the underlying principles in the writing of practical and professional genres although *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" is advised to be used more sparingly. Contexts are also seen as an important principle, and the various contexts discussed earlier in Chinese rhetoric and composition writing can still apply here. However, more specific context is also stressed in relation to the particular genre involved. Form and style are related to using appropriate formulaic features as well as linguistic

forms. *Youxiao* 有效 or "effectiveness" is all related to persuasion in language and achieving communicative purposes, which shares similarity with English genre study as well.

These five principles are, in general, in line with Liu Xie and Chen Wangdao's theories about writing, which further proves that their influence also permeates the studies of practical and professional genres. In other words, both logical and emotional approaches are still followed as a fundamental principle although textbooks sometimes tend to stick to a prescriptive approach. Take the treatment of the *xia/ping/shangxing* 下/平/上行 *gongwen* 公文 genres as an example. Chinese scholars often begin with rules for writing a certain genre and then move on with an idealised example without any reference to the source of the example. The following discussion of the three genres is based on Deng, Liang and Jiang (1993), Gu (1995) and Li (1990) and can also be used as an introduction to the writing of the three genres.

Li (1990) and Deng, Liang and Jiang (1993) point out that *xiaxing* 下行 genres are used to perform a "top-down" social rule and are used by superiors to communicate with subordinates. Typical *xiaxing* 下行 genres include *ling* 令 or "order" and *tongzhi* 通知 or "official circulars". The language of these genres is characterised by power and authority. The style is often direct and precise to indicate the voice of the authority. One example from Deng, Liang and Jiang (1993:81) is quoted here to illustrate the *tongzhi* 通知 (official circulars) genre and show the linguistic strategies used in such texts:

> 按照国务院,省政府的有关规定, 各地, 各部门未经审批私自设立的
> 检查站, 收费点,洗车厂,自发文之日起一律撤销.
>
> *Anzhao   guowu yuan,   sheng   zhengfu   de   youguan*
> in line with State Council, Provincial Government, GNE[2] certain
> *guiding, gedi,   ge bumen   weijing shenpi sizi sheli de*
> rules   every place, every section without approval self set up GNE
> *jiancha   zhan, shoufei dian,   xiche chang,   zi*
> inspection station toll   station, car-washing point, from
> *fawen   zhi   ri qi yilu chexiao.*
> issue document GNE date all   abolish

In line with the rules and regularities issued by the State Council and the Provincial Government, all the car-inspection stations, toll places and car-washing points will have to be abolished from the time this *tongzhi* is issued.

This is only one section of a long letter written on behalf of the provincial government. Brief as it is, the section already indicates the use of the authorita-

tive voice with a reference to the State Council and the Provincial Government and with the use of modals and verbs such as "will have to be abolished". Other similar expressions include *wubi canjia* 务必参加 or "must attend" and *buyu tongyi* 不予同意 or "have decided not to approve".

Shangxing 上行 genres are often employed by subordinates to express their opinions or make a request to their superiors. They perform a "bottom-up" social role and are often indirect and persuasive in nature. As the writer is of a lower social status and has less power or control, he would resort to various tactful strategies to make his point acceptable and persuasive to the superior. Typical *shangxing* 上行 genres include *qingshi* 请示 or "requests" and *baogao* 报告 or "reports". Here is another example from Deng, Liang and Jiang (1993:109) illustrating *qingshi* 请示 or "official request letters":

> 现将具体意见请示如下:
> *Xianjiang juti   yijian qingshi ruxia:*
> now   detailed points request as follows
> Now I will detail my request as follows:
>
> 以上当否请批复.
> *Yishang dang   fou qing   pifu*
> above   appropriate not please approve
> Please approve my request where appropriate

These two lines can offer a glimpse of a formal request letter in its use of such phrases as *qingshi ruxia* 请示如下 or "my quests as detailed below". Other relevant expressions include *qing zhishi* 请指示 or "please give instructions". Although this example may not reflect all the five principles listed earlier (e.g. Pu 1992), it illustrates how interpersonal relationships or the superior-subordinate relationship as in this context underpins genre writing. The writer clearly follows the principle of *qiejing* 切境 (fitting into the interpersonal context) and *deti* 得体 (using appropriate form and style) by giving the reader, the superior, more than one alternative in order to save face.

Pingxing 平行 genres indicate a horizontal reader-writer relationship and the relevant *pingxing* 平行 genres for this study include *tuixiao xin* 推销信 or "sales letters", *tuixiao yaoqing xin* 推销邀请信 or "sales invitations" and *shangye chuanzhen jian* 商业传真件 or "business faxes". Gu (1995) stresses the most important principle is to focus on business in business-letter writing. In general, the writing practice of these genres requires the writer to use an appropriate format and level of sociolinguistic devices to match the reader-writer relationships. Gu (1995) further comments that business letters are composed of the purpose for writing the letter, a salutation addressing the reader, the begin-

ning, the main body, polite closing and good wishes. Take the polite closing as an example (Gu 1995:176):

> 如能在近期得到贵公司的复函, 将表示深切的感谢.
> *Ru neng zai jinqi   dedao gui gongsi   de   fuhan,*
> If   can   in   near-future receive your (H) Co. GNE response
> *jian   biaoshi shenqie de   ganxie.*
> will ASP express deep   GNE thank
> I will express my deeply-felt thanks to you if you (H) can give us a response
> at your earliest convenience.

This example indicates a much more polite register than the *xiaxing* 下行 genres, as indicated in the writer's gratitude *jian biaoshi shenqie de ganxie* 将表示深切的感谢 or "I will appreciate it greatly". The writer once again follows the writing principles relating to *qiejing* 切境 (fitting into context) and *deti* 得体 (using appropriate form). Apparently, a more affective expression *shengqie* 深切 or "deeply-felt" is used to indicate stylistic and lexical appropriateness based on the equal status between the reader and the writer.

As illustrated above, Chinese scholars follow a similar principle based on Liu Xie's interpersonal relationships between the writer and the reader. However, very little attention has been given to other types of complexity of genre such as genre evolution and intertextuality as advocated by Chen (1947). According to Zhu (2000b) there is a link between the specific genres used and the nature of business communication in each historical period based on different reader-writer relations. For example, more *xiaxing* 下行 (superior writing to subordinate) and *shangxing* 上行 (subordinate writing to superior) genres were used before the Chinese economic opening-up in 1978, and *pingxing* 平行 (equals writing to each other) genres became more popular after 1978. Zhu (2000b) also found that the *shangxing* 上行 (subordinate writing to superior) features are often employed in *pingxing* 平行 (equals writing to each other) genres as a strategy to indicate respect for the reader. These findings seem to echo Scollon and Scollon's (2001) claim on the Chinese face concepts applied in the specific interpersonal contexts of the business genres. Although this book focuses on examining the use of *pingxing* 平行 (equals writing to each other) genres, *shangxing* 上行 (subordinate writing to superior) or *xiaxing* 下行 (superior writing to subordinate) features may still be of relevance for the discussion where appropriate. This point needs to be incorporated further in the discussion of specific genres in subsequent chapters in order to reflect the dynamic nature of genre use in business communication.

To sum up, it has been found that Chinese scholars have a consistent view about writing in both the classical tradition and modern writing practice, and stress the importance of both *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" and *li* 理 or "logical approach" in genre classification and composition writing. The strong influence of Liu Xie's genre approach, and later from Chen Wangdao further illustrates the validity of the different stress on persuasive orientations of both *pathos* and *logos*. In addition, it has been found that the Chinese traditions of composition and rhetoric also emphasised the sociocognitive elements in a number of ways, which include the importance of purposes, various contexts involved, intertextuality, and the reader-writer relationships. All these areas relating to the Chinese scholars' views can offer a theoretical perspective from within the culture, which can help interpret the persuasive and other strategies employed by Chinese business genres, hence reinforcing the conceptual framework for cross-cultural genre comparison.

Proposing the model for cross-cultural genre study

In the light of the above literature review, cross cultural genre study involves the exploration of relevant knowledge structures (Bartlett 1932; Rumelhart 1980), "deep semantics" and a dual perspective for comparing cultures. A model is developed based on this organising frame as shown in Figure 5.

In general, this model represents an attempt to promote cross-cultural genre research. Specifically it provides a systematic way of exploring and comparing the cognitive structures of genres. As indicated in Figure 5, persuasive orientations and communicative purposes, along with the relevant world schemata and formal schemata, stand out as a prominent element in this model. In particular, world schemata are referred to as a fundamental element to determine what can be relevant for comparison. They can be seen as related to the knowledge structures of the respective discourse community. The stress on the relevant schemata thus strengthens the sociocognitive aspect of genre comparison.

The model also contributes to the breadth of the sociocultural approach in cross-cultural genre comparison. Based on the understanding of the knowledge structures of the discourse community, it enriches genre study by providing multiple theoretical dimensions drawn from contrastive rhetoric, pragmatics (Austin 1962; Searle 1979; Grice 1975, 1989; van Dijk 1997), intercultural communication, and Chinese genre writing. This will be detailed below in the
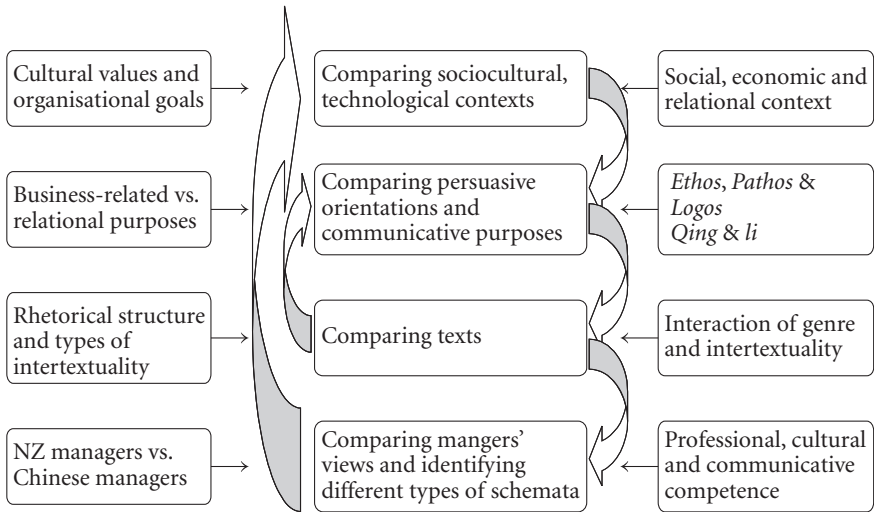
Figure 5. The model for cross-cultural genre study

specific discussion of each stage of comparison. Genres can thus be compared from a holistic point of view.

Specifically, this model is composed of these four major stages of comparison:

1. Comparing sociocultural factors
2. Comparing persuasive orientations and communicative purposes
3. Comparing texts including rhetorical structures and intertextuality
4. Comparing professionals' views of cultures involved

These four stages represent a multifaceted genre comparison across cultures with a focus on a study of the communicative purposes and persuasive orientations. In the first stage, it is essential to compare the sociocultural contexts in which relevant English and Chinese genres are used. Here intercultural taxonomies of cultural variables explicated by Hall (1976) and Hofstede (1991) (see Chapter 2) can be referred to in identifying the differences in each context. Social and economic contexts will also be discussed since the genres to be compared are business genres. Here various contexts discussed earlier apply here, such as Bakhtin's (1986) social context, Berkenkotter and Huckin's (1995) situatedness of genre, and Chen's (1947) *qingjing* 情境 or "feelings and contexts". In addition, professional and interpersonal contexts in the light of discourse community, social distance, reader-writer relationships and face values (Scol-

lon & Scollon 2001; Pan 2002) will also be referred to where appropriate and possible. The basic knowledge about the relevant sociocultural contexts composes the prerequisite world schemata shared by the discourse community for the next stage. Without this type of knowledge, an appropriate understanding of the subsequent stages can hardly be achieved.

The second stage compares communicative purposes and persuasive orientations. Swales' genre analysis applies to the comparison of communicative purposes. On the other hand, persuasive orientations are also compared along side of the purposes. In terms of persuasive orientations, both English and Chinese perspectives are taken into account, thus adding a culture-specific or *emic* dimension to cross-cultural study. As discussed in Chapter 2, persuasive orientations not only include *pathos*, *logos* and *ethos*, but also embrace the Chinese perspective relating to *qingjing* 情境 or "feelings and contexts", and *li* 理 or "logic". Since both English and Chinese persuasion shares the stress on *logos* and *pathos*, I will refer to them as major persuasive orientations, while still giving adequate attention to *ethos* in relation to reader-writer relationships. These factors will have a strong influence on communicative purposes. For example, a genre with a strong *qing* 情 or "emotional appeal" can have a *qing*-related purpose. In contrast, if a genre has a dominant logical appeal in persuasion, its purposes may have more stress on *logo* or *li*-related purposes. As indicated in Figure 5, both purposes and persuasive orientations can be realised in a top-down manner in lower levels of genre including rhetorical structure, moves and steps.

The third stage compares textual features encompassing both rhetorical structures and other horizontal textural features such as intertextuality (e.g. Bakhtin 1986) to be detailed below. For example, it examines the rhetorical structures as part of the formal schemata reflected in genre writing and shared by the discourse community. This stage also complements the top-down process which is reciprocated by a bottom-up manner, as indicated in Figure 5, and the lower-level textual structure can help understand the communicative purposes and persuasive orientations. Comparison can be made at the level of the overall textual structure first. Here relevant theories in contrastive rhetoric as discussed in Chapter 2 can be referred to in the specific contrasts of rhetorical structures.

The comparison will then proceed to the levels of moves, steps and specific persuasive strategies embedded in the text. Moves and steps are used in the light of Swales's genre approach. In the specific comparison of sales genres, Bhatia's move analysis of English sales letters will be used as a reference, and his findings will be referred to as part of the substantiation as well. In addi-

tion, other relevant theories such as speech acts, cross-cultural pragmatics and text analysis will also be used to compare specific forms of moves and steps where relevant.

However, as detailed earlier in this chapter, rhetorical structure is seen only as one component of the text while consideration is also given to other genre or rhetorical features such as genre embeddedness (Gimenez 2004) and genre mixing (Bhatia 1993, 1997). Other features such as genre mixing indicated in Chen (1947) from the Chinese sources may also be a significant parameter for the Chinese business genres. In this way, the proposed model can help overcome the constraints of a purely linear-staged comparison and offers the possibility of examining genres more horizontally and comprehensively.

The fourth stage solicits professionals' views from both cultures, and it offers an *emic* and insider's perspective from within the discourse community as welll as an outsider's views from another culture. This stage very much aims at finding out from the managers of relevant discourse communities what effective communication is like and to compare how these views differ from those of another culture. For example the most effective English and Chinese sales letter will be commented on by both Chinese and NZ managers. It can also be seen as further substantiation of the communicative purposes and findings. The similar or different views will offer insight for further interpretation and analysis across cultures. Furthermore, as indicated in Figure 5, the manager's views can reflect the genre conventions employed and explicated at various levels of the text.

In sum, the proposed model provides a valid dimension to studying and comparing genres across cultures. It will be used as a major guideline in this study to compare a range of English and Chinese professional genres including sales letters, sales invitations, and business faxes. However, the application of the model is not confined to a rigid format of staged comparisons. Rather the model is used as a general frame of reference for organising the comparative study, and the consistent use of this model is not based on a simple replication of fixed set of knowledge structures. Here the key concept lies in the relevant social "stock of knowledge" and "the mediated discourse", which are pertinent to a particular genre and are employed by a particular discourse community. That means genres are compared based on their particular features in their cognitive structuring and situatedness. Specific details regarding the genres for this study will be examined in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Research design

This chapter gives an overall view of the research design and details the research method, data, questionnaires and interviews, and the method of analysis. In this way, the whole chapter prepares a feasible platform empirically for the introduction of the subsequent chapters. To do this, research method is introduced first to indicate in what way the proposed model fits into the analysis of English and Chinese genres in question.

The research method

The specific research method utilised in this book is both interpretive and contrastive in nature. Both respects are discussed in detail in this section. It is interpretive as it embraces textual analysis and interview results while also incorporating questionnaire results in order to complement the interpretive approach. The use of both qualitative and, to a limited extent, quantitative methods, suits this study as shown below.

First, as indicated in Figure 6 the proposed model is based on the world and formal schemata of the discourse community, and researchers using the model need to be engaged in qualitative research by explicating relevant components of these knowledge structures. It would be extremely hard to measure or identify these with quantitative methods. In addition, these schemata or knowledge structures are particularly relevant in the examination of English and Chinese letters, which may reveal differences influenced by the social and economic structures. The relationship is also reciprocal: The focus on knowledge structure adds to the interpretive approach, which provides a deeper understanding of the cultures concerned.

Second, the interpretive method enables a deep analysis of textual structure with the stress on move development, and indicates the possibility of using Swales' model in contrastive studies in addition to the existing rhetorical structural analysis such as that in Abelen, Redeker and Thompson (1993). In the meantime, in-depth analysis is also reflected in the four-stage analysis of

genre. However, these stages are not static or linear, each representing a simple platform for specific textual comparison. Instead, they represent a knowledge-based guideline for comparison and analysis at each stage. As we can see, the analysis is flexible and is not constrained to a top-down or bottom-up approach. As discussed in Chapter 3, many of the stages of genre comparison are closely interlinked.

In addition to the interpretive method, empirical results are incorporated into the analysis as a subordinate method to the former. In particular, this research project has a large database and involves analysing quite a few genres. The quantitative method is also used in order to complement the interpretive approach. For example, surveys will be used to determine the most effective letters. Details in this regard will be given later in this chapter.

In terms of the contrastive nature of the research method, this study compares the similarities and differences between the English and Chinese genres. With its focus on communicative purposes, persuasive orientations, and knowledge structures of the discourse community, this book adds to the work of contrastive studies, such as Connor, Davis and Rycher (1995) who examine correctness and clarity based on textual moves. The major strength of the method this study employs lies in the fact that it "gives textual genre its distinct cognitive structure" (Bhatia 1993), while sharing the fundamental starting point of identifying differences across cultures.

As another particular strength for cross-cultural comparison, this study adopts both the *etic* and *emic* perspectives. As noted in earlier chapters, it not only refers to the existing research findings in cross-cultural study, but also incorporates Chinese theories which provide a further dimension for understanding cultural differences. For example, a historical overview was provided in Chapter 3 which shows that the influence of classical discourse and genre theories still permeates today's business writing in China. Also relating to this *emic* perspective, are the NZ and Chinese managers' views, which are taken into account to identify what is persuasive and effective communication. Thus, the contrastive method tries to make all voices heard so that genre can be studied from both the outsider's and the insider's views. As the famous Chinese martial philosopher Sun Zi points out, "Knowing thy enemies and knowing thyselves, one hundred battles and one hundred victories" (Beamer & Varner 2001). Of course, here we refer only to communication, not to wars, and more accurate comparisons can be made, and better understanding can be achieved with such a dual perspective.

The contrastive approach, as well as the dual perspective, also draws from Pan, Scollon and Scollon (2002), who compares the native speakers' views,

be it Chinese or English, with that of the non-native speakers. For example, Pan, Scollon and Scollon solicited views towards resume writing from three cultural groups including Finnish, Hong Kong and mainland Chinese managers. Although this study may not have the luxury of including exactly the same number of cultures, both NZ and Chinese groups will be invited to comment on each of the Chinese or the English genres. Specific details about this procedure of soliciting their views are to be detailed later in this chapter. The purposes are dual for soliciting both groups' views on one genre. On the one hand, their views will confirm some of the findings of this study regarding the writing conventions in their own culture. On the other, they will help enhance intercultural understanding of each other's writing conventions and point to important cultural differences in business writing.

A final point relating to the strength of the contrastive method, this study goes beyond the identification of differences as many of the cross-cultural researchers do. These differences are not looked at by this study as the ultimate goal of comparison, but only as a step towards effective communication. Intercultural competence is often discussed as an essential skill which promotes communication across cultures, but very little research has been done to explore how to achieve it from a sociocognitive perspective. In order to explore this, the most successful letter of each English and Chinese genre will be analysed and compared in some of the subsequent chapters. In particular, generic and intercultural competence will be defined and discussed in great detail in Chapter 8 in order to promote the effective teaching and learning of genre writing across cultures.

Data

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 analyse and compare three specific business genres which include sales letters, Expo invitations and business faxes. The data for these chapters is of two kinds: the primary data comprising authentic business correspondence, and the data resulting from questionnaires and interviews within the relevant discourse communities. Only an overview of the primary data is introduced here while specifics regarding the number of letters, the selection processes, and the rating of the most effective letter will be detailed in the relevant chapters.

The primary data is drawn from authentic letters which were collected and updated through the cooperation of academics and enterprise managers

in mainland China, New Zealand, and Australia in the past few consecutive years. The English letters were collected from New Zealand and Australia; the Chinese letters from major cities in mainland China such as Beijing, Shanghai, Shengzhen, Kaifeng, Nanjing and Zhengzhou. I started collecting Chinese letters at an earlier stage and my first pilot study was done in 1995 and I then spent over six months travelling over China across the aforementioned cities to collect initial data. Subsequently I went back to China to further update data and collect new data in 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003. It was during this process that I developed a strong research interest in contrastive rhetoric and started collecting English data simultaneously. Based on my findings in Chinese data, I apparently saw the differences in writing conventions across cultures and hence the need for this contrastive study. In general, the data was collected across countries or regions in order to reflect the generic features of each group. In terms of the English data, Australia and New Zealand are seen as sharing similar rhetorical and persuasive traditions as part of the market economy-driven world, although I am also aware of the nuances of differences between these countries. However, generally speaking, these two countries have developed very close ties through business collaborations and mergers. As a matter of fact, many companies in New Zealand are branches of Australian corporations and the same is true of many of the New Zealand companies in Australia. In this way, the range of data gives a balanced view of the genre dynamics from several regions, including the influence of current economic development.

The second source of data is drawn from questionnaires and interviews, both of which are detailed in the following section.

Questionnaire and interviews

The second source of data, consisting of questionnaire and interviews, focuses on effective communication. As noted earlier in this chapter, determining effective communication is a major area in this contrastive study of the English and Chinese genres. The discussion below details the participants and the process of selecting the data from the questionnaire and interview results.

The participants

Questionnaires and interviews were carried out with managers in New Zealand and China since I live in New Zealand and have a research team located in China. These managers were chosen on a voluntary basis to represent their

respective business writing discourse communities. NZ managers' views were incorporated to represent the English writing conventions. These managers were chosen from ten companies located within easy reach of the locality in which I reside. As noted earlier, New Zealand and Australia form close business ties, and thus it is assumed that NZ managers' views can represent the business writing communities of these two countries in general.

The Chinese manager group consists of one hundred managers from twenty companies from seven cities: Zhengzhou, Beijing, Guangzhou, Nanjing, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Kaifeng. These cities were located from the Southern border to the North, thus representing Chinese companies in a general sense. The managers were selected based very much on personal contacts. Apparently, *guanxi* 关系 (connections) is essential not only for doing business but also for any social connections such as finding interview subjects. I came from a business and economics university in Zhengzhou, China, hence have developed many personal contacts with business executives in various international trade companies in our city, and they also referred me to their contacts in other cities. In this way, my access to business managers in China was built up and this kind of contact-based relationships made my questionnaire and interview jobs much easier and sometimes, they also helped conduct the questionnaire and fix the interview times with their colleagues working in the same company.

I used a different approach selecting New Zealand business managers, and simply approached trade companies to gain some managers' support although not everyone was available. However, my personal contact also helped where relevant and some managers were selected through my own contact. For example, a small proportion of managers were my former students who graduated from Unitec in Auckland. Compared to the Chinese participants from a number of cities, I only concentrated selected participants from Auckland, a city which constitutes over a third of the population of New Zealand. The other reason is that Auckland is known as a city that has more business opportunities than other cities.

The Chinese and NZ managers all had at least an undergraduate education, worked in their enterprises for at least three years and had experience in reading and writing business letters. Therefore their attitudes can be taken to represent professional attitudes, and to reflect the shared conventions of the business community. The age range was not significantly different between the groups. The mangers within each group ranged in age from 28 to 48. This will not affect the analysis within each group because each group is taken as representative of each discourse community rather than as individuals.

The companies' names in both countries remain anonymous in this study for the sake of confidentiality.

The questionnaire

Specifically, for each English or Chinese genre (sales letters, sales invitations or business faxes), 200 questionnaires (100 for English and 100 for Chinese) were administered among the NZ and Chinese enterprise managers. The questionnaire form is included in Appendix 2.

For each genre, 200 questionnaire forms (100 in Chinese and 100 in English) were distributed to the NZ and Chinese managers respectively. For example, the questionnaire on English sales letters was sent to NZ managers, and the questionnaire on Chinese sales letters was sent to and completed by Chinese managers. The same method was used with the other genres in both languages. Since three genres are involved: sales letters, sales invitations and business faxes, the total number of questionnaire forms was 600. The processes and content of the questionnaire remained consistent across all the three English and Chinese genres as detailed below.

The questionnaire was preceded by a pilot study in order to make the task more manageable. It would be too time-consuming for busy managers if they were asked to rate all the letters selected for each genre. The pilot study for each genre was conducted among five NZ and five Chinese managers in order to choose five representative letters within the corpus of each genre. For example, in the rating of sales letters, managers were asked to rate all the letters between 1 and 5. The top score was 5 and bottom score was 1. After that, five letters were chosen based on their rating results. For example, the letter that gained the highest or lowest points, and those that gained medium level points were chosen. On this basis, the five were then taken to reflect the whole corpus.

The questionnaire forms (see Appendix 2) in both English and Chinese were similar in content, and included mainly two items. The first was to rate the five letters identified in the pilot study, following a similar rating system as that detailed for the pilot study. Specifically, the managers were asked to grade the five letters with a 1–5 grade scale, Grade 5 indicating the most effective, while Grade 1 indicating the least. The mean score of each letter was then calculated and the most effective letter of each genre was thus identified.

The second item on the questionnaire form was to provide simple reasons for rating the most effective letter; the managers were asked to explain briefly why they thought the letter was effective. Their views would thus highlight the criteria they followed in their rating.

The time required to fill in each questionnaire form was approximately thirty minutes, including the reading of the five letters. The questionnaire forms were distributed in the following two manners based on the availability of the managers for this activity. They were very often distributed to five to ten managers in a company and then collected later on. Alternatively, they were sometimes sent by mail and retuned after completion.

The interviews

Two sets of interviews were conducted. The first, as a follow-up of their questionnaire results, was to solicit NZ or Chinese managers' views on their own writing conventions such NZ managers commenting on the English writing and Chinese managers on the Chinese. The second set of interviews was to ask the NZ managers' to comment on the Chinese genre writing and vice versa and occurred only recently during my revision of this book as a response to the reviewers' comments. Both processes are detailed below.

Twenty follow-up interviews (10 with NZ managers and ten with the Chinese) for each genre were conducted. The interviewees were from the same questionnaire groups. In addition, their questionnaire preferences were representative of the majority of their group. Usually I would like to follow up on some of the points they included in the questionnaire form such as relating to the criteria of writing English genres. In other words, they were mainly chosen based on their comments made in the questionnaire. For example, I felt that there was a need for them to explain a bit more about their brief comments. Therefore these interviews were closely related to the content of the questionnaires, and were meant to further solicit explanations of the managers' rating. Only ten managers were chosen for interviews for easier management of the interviews. The total number of interviews thus amounted to 60 since there were three genres altogether. The number of people to be interviewed each time was flexible. The interview was either conducted on a one-to-one basis or in groups ranging from 2–4 people.

The NZ managers were asked to comment on the English letters and the Chinese mangers on the Chinese letters. The interviews were semi-structured, focusing on the reasons they provided for effective writing. The advantages of interviews, in particular semi-structured interviews, have been stressed by many researchers. Thus interviews have become a commonly used qualitative methodology for sociocultural studies (e.g. Marshall & Rossman 1989; Sarantakos 1998; Smith 1995). For example, Marshall and Rossman (1989) ex-

plain that semi-structured interviews are like conversations which provide the participants' meaning perspective.

The reason for the interviews was to obtain in-depth explanations regarding the writing conventions and effective communication identified in the study. Questionnaires provide an overall picture of the managers' preferences in terms of writing conventions. However, they may not provide sufficient explanations for their preferences.

An intercultural set of interviews was conducted in order to solicit the other cultural group's views: the Chinese managers' commenting on the English letters and vice versa. As noted earlier, they were conducted only recently following Pan, Scollon and Scollon's (2002) interview pattern of seeking other cultures' views. The managers were mainly asked to comment on the appropriateness of the letters or fax rated most effective by the other cultural group and they could base their response on their own understanding of writing conventions. The purposes for these interviews were dual. One was to further confirm their responses upon their own writing conventions as shown in the former set of interviews and the other was to further identify differences across genre writing and shared rules for writing business letters if any.

Specifically, ten Chinese managers were selected on a random basis depending on their availability to comment on each of the three most successful English letters. I used the original version of the English letters for the Chinese managers and a translated version of the Chinese letters for the NZ managers. This was done because a significant proportion of the Chinese managers understood or spoke fluent English while very few NZ manager participants understood or spoke Chinese. This can be seen as part of the limitations for my research method since it would be more appropriate to use the original version in both languages. In the process of selecting the managers of the two cultural groups, I tried to go back to the original group for interviews, but not to my complete satisfaction since the first interview was done a few years ago and some of the interviewees were not available for this further interview. However, I did manage to contact ten business managers in the same companies in China as well as in New Zealand although I also included additional managers within the same companies as replacement of those unavailable this time.

The intercultural interview was organised and conducted in two steps. As an initial step, I distributed or delivered the three most effective letters to the ten managers in each group, making sure the NZ managers got the Chinese letters and vice versa. At the same time, they were asked each for an interview of approximately around half an hour, which they agreed subsequently. The second step was to interview the ten individuals within each cultural group in

a similar semi-structured way as I did before. It turned out the average duration for each interview was about thirty minutes as planned. Their interview results was recorded and transcribed following the rules of my first set of interviews. The interview results will be analysed and incorporated into the discussion in relevant chapters of this book.

Data analysis

Chapters 5, 6 & 7 will use the proposed theoretical framework to analyse and compare English and Chinese sales letters, sales invitations and business faxes. Three types of comparison will be involved. First, general findings regarding the overall structure and textual features in each genre will be discussed and compared in the light of the proposed theoretical framework. Second, the most effective English and Chinese letters of each genre will be compared and a detailed study of various levels of rhetorical structures provided. Other types of textual features will also be discussed as part of the analysis. Third, the managers' views in terms of effective communication will be summarised and incorporated into the analysis of the most effective letter. As noted earlier, the views of the two different cultural groups will also be compared for each of the genres analysed. Their views arise from the responses to the questionnaires and two follow-up interviews.

Comparing English and Chinese sales letters

This chapter applies the framework proposed in Chapter 3 and compares English and Chinese sales letters. It will first compare the sociocultural environments for writing English and Chinese sales letters. In addition, reader-writer relationship will also be discussed as part of the interpersonal or inter-organisational contexts. Secondly, it will proceed to compare communicative purposes and persuasive orientations. Third, it will compare the texts including sociolinguistic factors, intertextuality and rhetorical structures and examine the application of formal schemata in both genres. Finally, Chinese and NZ managers' views about the most effective English and Chinese letter will be incorporated into the analysis where appropriate from an intercultural perspective. Generally speaking, their views mainly focus on the effectiveness of sales-letter writing.

In the textual analysis, general findings from both English and Chinese corpora will be discussed first, followed by the study of the most effective letter from each corpus. The analysis is based on a corpus of forty sales letters. Twenty English and twenty Chinese sales letters were selected on a random basis. As already noted in Chapter 4, the English letters were collected from Australia and New Zealand, and the Chinese from cities in mainland China. In the data collection, the following criteria were applied in the selection: all the letters had to be authentic sales letters, and should have a recognizable letter format. This criterion ruled out a large number of advertising materials which were not in the form of a letter. In addition, I wanted letters in both groups to promote a wide range of products, such as computers, fax-machines, telephones, and pesticides. Instead of comparing one content variable across the two languages, the major purpose of the inclusion of a wide range of content was to avoid a possible textural tendency to prefer a certain type of structure.

The most effective letter from each corpus was determined based on the procedures detailed in Chapter 4, and were chosen by Chinese and NZ managers respectively. Out of 5 points, the most effective English letter was rated

3.5, and the most effective Chinese letter rated 3.9. Both letters will be studied in detail later in this chapter.

Sociocultural contexts for sales-letter writing

Sociocultural, as well as professional and organisational environments are examined in this section as the world schemata of a discourse community are constructed based on their understanding of these environments. The discussion of these contexts for English sales-letter writing precedes those of the Chinese, and some of these contexts can also be applicable for the discussion of other genres for the subsequent chapters of analysis.

The contexts and world schemata for English sales letters

The free market economy has been a dominant feature in the west for many centuries. It is an economic system in which individuals, rather than the government, make the majority of decisions regarding economic activities and business transactions. The principles underlying free-market economies are based on laissez-faire economics which can be traced to the British economist system of the 18th century. Laissez-faire, in economics, is a policy of domestic nonintervention by government in individual or industrial monetary affairs. The doctrine favours capitalist self-interest, competition, and natural consumer preferences as forces leading to optimal prosperity and freedom. Adam Smith, the Scottish philosopher, is well known for his pioneering work *The Wealth of Nations*. According to Smith, individuals can act in their own economic self-interest and will maximize the economic situation of society as a whole. In this tradition, many people believe that free markets are capable of the most efficient means of production as they provide incentives both to individuals and to firms.

The free market economy, which is characterised by competition, helps nurture an individualistic cultural environment and encourages individual achievements. The individuals are therefore encouraged to maximize their contribution to society by meeting customers' needs or the economic demands of the society. This phenomenon also leads to the specific interpersonal context or one-to-one reader-writer relationships, in which the writer or the sales managers writes to an individual as a targeted reader. For example, sales letters are often sent to targeted readers by means of selecting the addressees from the names listed in the local telephone directory.

The above features of the free market economy also tie in well with Hall's low-context culture. As discussed in Chapter 2, low-context cultures are result-oriented, and therefore pay a lot of attention to achieving immediate goals. In sales promotions, the immediate goals are apparently selling the products and gaining maximum profits.

In this way, both the sociocultural and interpersonal environments set the tone for product promotion in which appeals to potential customers and immediate sales are stressed. All these have been employed as major promotional strategies by business-writing textbooks, in which sales letters are designed to achieve marketing purposes and remain a most effective sales tool to reach customers as part of the direct mail marketing effort (Guffey 2001). A similar thrust can be found in a range of business writing textbooks (such as McLaren & Locker 1995; Murphy, Hildebrandt, & Thomas 1997) which stress these strategies:

1. Capturing the reader's attention.
2. Appealing to the reader.
3. Emphasising central selling points.
4. Creating desire for the product.
5. Introducing price strategically.
6. Stimulating action.

The above strategies are in line with the AIDA model, which stands for attracting attention, sustaining interest, stimulating desire for product and calling for action. Besides the AIDA, the sales strategies also stress the persuasive nature of the sales letters, and both emotional and rational appeal can be effective to sustain the reader's interest. Emphasising the central selling point is an essential factor for persuasion, which helps sustain the reader's interest and stimulate his/her desire to own the product. Introducing the price and calling attention to the necessary follow-up is the final strategy, and both at the right time when the reader is potentially persuaded. These strategies, if applied appropriately, stimulate staged psychological responses from the reader who has been gradually persuaded into buying the product.

The use of marketing strategies in sales promotions is thus a typical feature of the market economy (Vestergaard & Schroder 1985). The sociocultural environments, in turn, accelerate the AIDA model, and that is why this model has been prevalent in the west. Both the social and cultural environments constitute the major components of the world schemata for writing sales letters, and sales-letter writers have to equip themselves with appropriate knowledge in order to promote the product.

The contexts and world schemata for Chinese sales letters

Great changes have taken place since the economic reform in 1978 in China, which used to be averse to business practices. I will briefly review the history of the past fifty years since the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 as essential background knowledge for writing Chinese sales letters. Relevant sources of literature (de Mente 1989; Tian 1996; Zhu 2000b) are discussed and summed up in this section from a historical perspective.

During Mao's leadership between 1949–1976, capitalism was severely condemned and the market economy was seen as unethical and unacceptable. Only a planned economy and public ownership were practised. Economic growth of the country was extremely held back by the anti-capitalism attitude rampant at that time. Products were promoted and distributed under the umbrella of a hierarchical system with at least four organisational layers: the Ministry of Commerce, the Provincial Commercial Bureau, the Municipal Bureau and the Town's Bureau. The Ministry of Commerce in Beijing would design policies and strategies for the wholesale and distribution of products for all the subordinate organizations at various levels. The subordinate organizations would have to approach a higher level for product distribution. They would also have to put up a request to a higher-level organization if the demands from the market of commodity exchange exceeded the supplies. In this way, the Chinese government had complete control over the limited consumerism and business practice. Business writing at that time reflected this type of hierarchical relationships. According to Zhu (1999b), business letters were very often written between superiors and subordinates. The latter would make a request for the distribution of goods and the former would write back to approve or reject the request. This period was characterised by the popularity of *shangxing* 上行 (subordinate writing to superior) and *xiaxing* 下行 (superior writing to subordinate) business letters as a major means of business communication in the process of wholesaling and retailing.

As a consequence, "free market economy" remained an unacceptable practice in China until 1978 when China started to introduce economic reforms. Deng Xiaoping changed China from its long traditions of government operation and started the reform within the boundaries of the economic system. Accordingly, a reform program based on decentralization was installed in the Chinese economic system. The economic reform and opening-up to the outside world thus marked the start of China's transformation from a planned economy to a market-oriented economy. Economic reforms, in general, provided greater independence for entrepreneurs and created new economic and

business opportunities. The government continued to adopt market-based policies and increasing levels of privatisation. As a result, both state-owned and non-state-owned enterprises, including small businesses and joint-ventures co-exist along side of each other, participating in competition of both domestic and overseas markets. All this offers an appropriate environment for the use of marketing strategies in China.

At this juncture, sales letters were first introduced in order to meet the needs of the new economic developments. The majority of sales letters belong to *pingxing* 平行 (equals writing to each other) genres, and marketing strategies are also accepted as a matter of course as part of the market economy prac-tice. These strategies are evident in Chinese textbooks, and a similar concept to AIDA can be found in Chen (1991:260), who explains, "Sales letters have to arouse the buyer's interest, and stimulate his/her desire to buy the prod-ucts". In this quote, essential marketing elements such as interest and desire are clearly explicated. Although China is not a capitalist country, business circles employ western marketing strategies in order to promote products and enlarge their own markets. The growing market demand and technology push in re-cent years in China have intensified such a writing practice in Chinese business communication.

However, the free-market economy is accepted together with traditional cultural protocols in which Confucius' five relations still play an important role. Relationship building is considered a key to business successes. However, it needs to be noted that the reader-writer relationship is different from that of the English letters. The writer often represents one business organisation and the reader represents the other. In other words, the reader-writer relationship reflected in Chinese sales letters is very much an inter-organisational relation-ship and the voice can be less personal than the English letters. In spite of this, the writer still wants to establish a personal link with the reader in addition to the seller-buyer relation. As Gao and Ting-Toomey (1998) point out, Chinese businessmen tend to promote their business through *guanxi* 关系 or "connec-tions". In this way, sales letters may encompass both levels of organisational and interpersonal relationships within the Chinese business mentality. Relationship building can be seen as a characteristic of a collectivist culture (Hofstede 1991) as discussed in Chapter 2. This cultural practice also ties in well with Hall's high-context cultures that stress the importance of not only group harmony but also long-term relationships.

The need for long-term relationship building can also be explained from the culture-specific perspective. As discussed in Chapter 3, the reader-writer relationship and cultural protocols represent the major components of tra-

ditional Chinese writing conventions. One strategy is related to adopting the appropriate level of politeness and respect towards the reader. In the Chinese culture, politeness is often associated with respecting others. Since the writer wants the reader to buy the product, the writer tends to use a high-level of politeness and respect.

According to the above sociocultural, organisational and interpersonal factors, the discourse community using sales letters may find the following three types of world schemata essential for effective writing. They include understanding of the marketing strategies, cultural protocols and relationship-building.

Tian (1996) sets the year of 1978 as the demarcation line for studying modern Chinese business communication. 1978 saw the beginning of an introduction to the market economy while before that time business was conducted under strict government control. Chinese business was conducted in a very different way before the economic reform (from 1949 to 1978) than it has been since the reform period (1978 to the present).

Before, 1978, there was no need to promote products. As a consequence, no sales letters were actually written. Only sales documents such as sales requests, sales replies, and sales circulars were employed to carry government orders. The period 1978 to the present represents a connection to the market economy. Also during this period, Chinese business corporations began to adopt the use of sales letters. A historical review of business language use can offer a perspective about the dynamics of business writing (Locker 1985). The development of genre use in China also coincides with Fairclough's (1992b) claim that discourse changes alongside the social change.

Communicative purposes and persuasive orientations of sales letters

This section compares the communicative purposes and persuasive orientations of English and Chinese sales letters. On the one hand, the previous discussion on sociocultural knowledge can be used to identify the communicative purposes of each genre. For example, the stress on promotion and politeness protocol will be manifested as purposes in both genres. On the other hand, communicative purposes need to be examined in relation to persuasive orientations as indicated in Chapter 2. In English letters, the logical approach is particularly stressed in marketing, while *pathos* is related to the informal relationship with the customer. In contrast, Chinese concepts relating to persuasive orientations encompass *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" as well as *li* 理 or "log-

Table 1. Communicative purposes (CP) of English and Chinese sales letters

CP of English sales letters	CP of Chinese sales letters
	To establish a long-term agent-client relationship with the reader
To achieve a positive public image	To achieve a positive, polite and cooperative public image
To attract the reader's attention	To attract the reader's attention
To give positive appraisals of the product	To give positive appraisals of the product
To persuade the reader to buy the product	To persuade the reader to buy the product
To solicit a positive response and encourage further communication	To solicit a positive response and encourage further communication

ical approach", so both will be applied to Chinese sales letters. Specifically *li* 理 refers to two kinds of knowledge relating to marketing and appropriate business practice in China, and *qing* 情 is related to politeness principles based on reader-writer relationships which may involve some specific relationship such as salesman and customer.

The above persuasive orientations have a strong influence on the components of communicative purposes of both English and Chinese genres. Based on Bhatia's (1993) analysis of English sales letters and texts on Chinese writing (such as Chen 1991), the relevant purposes identified in the corpus are shown in Table 1.

As can be seen from Table 1, the communicative purposes of these genres reflect the persuasive orientations in the relevant cultures. The *li* 理 pr "logical approach" in both genres is shown in the shared purposes relating to the AIDA model. "Attracting the reader's attention" is related to "attention" and "interest"; "giving positive appraisals" and "persuading the reader" are related to "desire"; and "soliciting a response" is related to "action". Chinese sales letters share exactly these four purposes with the English letters. This indicates that Chinese business writing is strongly influenced by western marketing strategies and business practice, and so a similar logical approach is used in persuasion.

The influence from *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" is quite evident in the Chinese letters by having one extra purpose of establishing a long-term relationship with the reader. This finding also corroborates Hall's (1976) observation on the value of long-term relationships stressed by high-context cultures. Related to this emotional approach is the respectful image as part of the cultural protocol that the Chinese letters intend to achieve, which poses a contrast with only a positive image with the English letters.

Comparing texts of sales letters

This section evolves around two areas of discussion which include intertextuality and rhetorical structure in the English and Chinese sales letters. As discussed in Chapter 3, these were chosen as they can best reflect the conventions and dynamics of each genre and are also feasible for contrastive purposes. The two topic areas, however, are closely interrelated and will be cross-referenced in the discussion. For example, specific ways of genre intertextuality will be also further detailed in the rhetorical structure section where relevant.

Intertextuality and rhetorical structure in sales letters

Four types of genre intertextuality are identified in the corpus, which include genre referential, genre embeddedness, genre mixing and genre conflicting/harmonising (see Table 2). The first three types were defined in Chapter 3 and only genre harmonising needs a further note, which refers to the use of two seemingly conflicting textual features within the text – a situation Bhatia (2000) would possibly name as genre in conflict. Genre conflicting/harmonising is mainly found in Chinese letters and in this case, a sales letter, as a type of *gongwen* 公文 or "official letters", which also exhibits the features of personal letters. The specific types of intertextuality and frequency of occurrence in the number of letters are shown in Table 2.

As shown in Table 2, the English letters refer frequently to telephones and faxes and 18 letters include phone or fax numbers and 5 include Internet addresses as a means of encouraging further communication. Note that there is an overlap here and some letters include both a phone number and an Internet address. They also show the frequency (11 letters) of embedding postscripts such as emphasising the incentives or special offers. The genre referential and genre embeddedness can be largely seen as generic intertextuality

Table 2. Intertextualiy identified in sales letters

Intertextuality types Genres	Referential	Embeddedness	Mixing	Conflicting/ Harmonising
English sales letters	20 phone, 18 faxes and 5 Internet	11 (poscripts)	0	0
Chinese sales letters	20 phone, 13 faxes and 2 meetings	14 (cooperation)	6 (*pingxing* & *shangxing*)	12 (*gongwen* & personal)

in Fairclough's (1992a) terms as they are an integral part of sales letters as discussed by Bhatia (1993).

In contrast, Chinese sales letters are a new genre (Zhu 1999b), which derived from a more complicated sociocultural context involving both new economic changes and specific types of organisational and interpersonal relationships. Accordingly, more types of genre intertextuality are identified, which also confirms the argument that intertextuality is a reflection of genre dynamics as detailed in Chapter 3.

The most obvious type of intertextuality is the genre conflicting/harmonising between *gongwen* 公文 or "official letters" and personal letters. According to Chen (1991), sales letters are listed in Chinese textbooks as part of *gongwen* 公文 or "official letters". The writer and the reader are often the representatives of the business organisations concerned representing the organisational voices, rather then the individual's. In spite of this, Chinese sales letters incorporates features from personal letters. Altogether 12 letters indicate this kind of intertextuality using personal salutations and greetings which are characteristic of personal letters (Chen 1991). As discussed in Chapter 3, *gongwen* 公文 "official letters" are seen as more formal and functional at the organisational level. In spite of this, genre mixing with personal letters is evident in particular at the beginning and the closing of the letter to indicate politeness rituals. The writers use these linguistic strategies to add a personal tone in order to dilute the formality of organisational communication. This kind of genre harmonising can be seen as part of the generic or constitutive intertextuality (Fairclough 1992a) as they encapsulate the movement or dynamics of a new genre in formation and creation.

Chinese sales letters, however, indicate a similar kind of referential intertextuality to the English letters. For example, all 20 letters refer to telephones and the majority of both genres refer to faxes, which also show that telephone and faxes are the common channel for further business communication correspondence. However, the two genres also differ in the use of Internet: 5 English letters include Internet information about their product and no such information is found in the Chinese letters. This difference can be related to the development of Internet marketing which has been popular in Australia and New Zealand and was not so evident in China at that time.

Genre embeddedness needs some further discussion since 14 Chinese letters enclose messages on cooperation, which clearly differ from English letters. This kind of embeddedness can be related to the collectivistic values within the Chinese society. On the other hand, the concept of *guanxi* 关系 or "connections" can play an important part here.

Table 3. A breakdown of structural moves in sales letters

The English sales letter		The Chinese sales letter	
Moves	Steps	Moves	Steps
Headline	Headline	Headline (Rare)	Headline (Rare)
Salutation	Salutation	Salutation	Salutation
None	None	Greetings	Greetings
None	None	Introductory move	Background information
Establishing credentials	Specific credentials	Establishing credentials	Specific credentials
Introducing the product	1 Offering product 2 Essential detailing of the product 3 Evaluating product	Introducing the product	1 Offering product 2 Essential detailing of the product 3 Evaluating product
Offering incentives	1 Special a price 2 Indicating the benefit	Offering incentives	1 Special a price 2 Indicating the benefit
Soliciting a response	1 Making a request 2 Using pressure tactics	Soliciting a response	1 Making a request 2 Using pressure tactics
Closing move	1 Good-wishes 2 Signature and date	Closing move	1 Good-wishes 2 Signature and date
Postscript	Stressing benefits and/or pressure tactics	None	None

All these features of intertextuality can occur at various levels of rhetorical structure as well. The rhetorical structures, including both the formulaic and content moves, identified in both genres are shown in Table 3.

As shown in Table 3, some moves consist of more than one step, while others consist of one, indicated by reiterating the name of the move. The table also shows that each genre has certain moves that the other does not have. For example, Headlines and Postscripts are typically English. Bhatia (1993) also substantiates their frequent use in his analysis of English sales letters. Greetings and introductory moves have been found only in Chinese sales letters. According to Chen (1991), these are general features of private letters; their frequency in sales letters may indicate a new tendency of stressing relationship building in business letter writing.

English sales letters seem to follow a linear style if we take into consideration the AIDA as the major task of a sales letter. All the moves employed in the letters seem to contribute to the realization of these purposes.

Chinese sales letters may appear to contain circularity or extraneous information because of the inclusion of greetings and an introductory section which are not directly related to the AIDA model. However, a careful look would tell us that it is neither of these patterns, because these moves are closely related

to the purpose of relationship building. This is in alignment with Hall's (1976) view of the importance of long-term relationship building.

Chinese letters, however, do share many moves with English letters, which include salutations, closing move, establishing credentials, introducing the product, offering incentives and soliciting a response. The first two moves are formulaic requirements of letter writing. The last four moves are in fact the further realisation of the AIDA-related purposes. The differences and similarities in move, steps and linguistic forms will be further discussed below. The frequencies indicated in the table will be referred to as well where necessary.

Different moves employed by English and Chinese sales letters

English moves

First of all, a striking difference between English and Chinese letters is seen in the headline move. This move is very rarely used in Chinese letters; only one letter includes it. However, it happens quite frequently in English letters, thirteen (65%) employing it. Since the number that appears in Chinese is insignificantly small, only the English headlines are discussed. In the headline, which may assume a similarity with print media forms, English sales letters tend to focus on the immediate value and benefit the reader may obtain by reading the letter. Take the following two headlines from two separate letters as an example:

> Letter 1:
> *Great New Idea for the Season Ahead*

> Letter 2:
> *The Latest Appliance on up to 18 Months Interest Free Credit – For One very Special Night Only!*

The first headline is taken from a letter promoting summer sales of clothes. The writer is trying to stress the innovative fashion ideas in the coming season as indicated by *Great New Idea* and *the Season Ahead*, and the headline captures this well.

The second headline advertises a one-day special sales offer for electronic appliance. As indicated above, three essential elements have been stressed: *latest appliance*, *18 months interest free*, and *one special night only*. Perhaps 18 months interest free would be the most appealing to the reader and without reading the rest of the letter, the reader already knows what this letter is about.

Using this strategy, both examples contribute very well to achieving the purpose of attracting attention by the headline's most conspicuous place in each letter, and by emphasizing the benefits the letter may bring. The benefit stressed in the headlines can be explained in the light of low-context cultures in which the writer tries to achieve the immediate goal of sales.

The inclusion of the postscript move is another typical feature of English letters and eleven (55%) employ it. This is also one type of embedded intetextuality as noted earlier. One typical example goes:

> *P.S. Don't forget that we'd love to send you a free gift. Just place your order promptly to receive an Innovations Chrome Pen with our compliments.*

In the above postscript, the writer stresses once again at the end of the letter the incentive of a free gift by saying: Just place your order promptly. It is a reminder of the immediate benefit if the reader responds quickly, thus reinforcing the purpose of urging the reader to act quickly.

The use of headlines and postscripts may be reflective of English letter writing in general. The inclusion of these moves can help attract the reader's attention with a clear focus on sales because of their conspicuous positions. These two moves are, however, missing in most of the Chinese sales letters; this culture may stress different values and resorts to other types of intertextuality as shown in the following typical Chinese moves.

Chinese moves
Compared to English salutations, which are often personal such as "Mr. Jones", Chinese salutations represent a case of unique type of intetexuality and both personal and *gongwen* 公文 (official letter) types are at work. Specifically, seven types of salutation were used in Chinese letters and the translated version is shown in Table 4.

As shown in Table 4, both *gongwen* 公文 (official letter) salutations and personal letter salutations are used thus further indicating a mixture of genre conflicting/harmonising.

Among the salutations being used, *xing + zhiwu* 姓+职务 or "surname + title" and *fuze ren* 负责人 or "person in charge" were found to be the most popular address terms, each being used in six letters. These two address terms may have two connotations. First the writer shows respect for the reader by naming her/his title or responsibilities at work; second, because the letter is related to promotion, the writer wants to direct this letter to the reader who is responsible for sales matters, which is also typical of *gongwen* 公文 (official letter) writing.

Table 4. Salutations used by Chinese sales letters

	Salutations	Frequency of letters
Gongwen 公文 (official letter) salutations	Mr. + Surname + Title/Surname + Title 姓+职务	6
	Person in Charge 负责人	5
	Company Name 公司名字	2
Personal letter salutations	Dear Friend 亲爱的朋友	1
	Dear Customer 亲爱的顾客	3
	Ladies and Gentlemen 女士们先生们	1
	Respected Reader 敬启者	2

Gongsi mingzi 公司名字 or "Company name" is another address term referring to the reader as a company. This address term has an impersonal tone, and is preferred in textbooks for *gongwen* 公文 or "official letter" genres, but is not significant in this corpus and only two letters use this salutation, perhaps because company names are a bit too impersonal and is not very appropriate for relationship building.

Qingai de guke 亲爱的顾客 or "Dear Customers" and *nushimen xiansheng-men* 女士们先生们 "Ladies and Gentlemen" are fashionable address terms that have been used since the economic reform in recent years. *Qinaide* 亲爱的 or "dear" is a westernised salutation and is mainly reserved for lovers or intimate friends. But nowadays, under western influence, more and more people are beginning to use this address term in public, both to show the speaker's or writer's friendly attitude, and reduce the linguistic social distance between the addresser and addressee. Three letters use *qinaide guke* 亲爱的顾客 or "dear customers", which is the third most frequent address term, because it can show both respect and indicate the purpose of promotion by calling the reader "customer". *Pengyou* 朋友 or "friend" is a new address term used to replace the old-fashioned *Tongzhi* 同志 or "comrade" among males, and can be used in public as a friendly address term in conversation. Despite its friendliness, this address term is the least used (only once) in the corpus, probably because it is too informal and does not indicate the appropriate level of respect.

Jing qizhe 敬启者 or "Respected reader" is an archaic and formal address term that was used in classical business letters. It is used only twice in the 20

sales letters. This address term is respectful as indicated in the word *jing* 敬 (respected) and may be good for achieving respect or politeness. However, it appears to be too formal in this context.

Generally speaking, as shown in the above discussion, the specific uses of formulaic components indicate the writer's preference for the reader-writer relationship. They also reflect the forms used in *pingxing* 平行 genre where people of equal social status can show politeness and respect through address terms. More importantly, they further confirm the types of intertextuality used here and both personal terms and company names have been employed, which indicates a kind of genre mixing of both *gongwen* 公文 or "official letters" and personal letters.

Genre conflicting/harmonising can also be seen in the inclusion of greetings also briefly noted earlier (see Table 3). The Chinese sales letters have two distinct moves of their own, which are greetings and the introductory move. According to Chen (1991), greetings should not be encouraged for *gongwen* 公文 or "official-letter" writing. In spite of that, greetings are used in twelve letters (60%) and are very often expressed as:

> 您好!
> *Nin Hao!*
> you (H)-well
> How are you?

The above greeting is frequently used in personal letters to indicate formal politeness by using the honorific *Nin* 您 or "you" (H). Other types of greeting are also found, such as:

> 本公司全体职工向您致意!
> *Ben gongsi   quanti zhigong   xiang nin   zhiyi!*
> this company all   staff-member to   you (H) greetings
> All the staff members of our company express our greetings to you!

The second example also indicates a formal register by employing the verbal phrase *zhiyi* (greetings). In addition, the use of *nin* or "the honorific 'you'" adds to the already existing formality and respect. Both of these greetings are frequently used in the corpus. The seeming irrelevance to sales is, in fact, related to the purpose of helping build a long-term relationship and creating a polite image as discussed earlier.

The "Introductory Move" is another typical Chinese move, and eight letters (40%) in the corpus include it. This move does not directly relate to sales,

but prepares the way for the subsequent section(s). However, it should not be considered as subordinate or circular at the text level as it introduces the sales:

> 为进一步完美地为您服务,特向您汇报 Allbest 电器公司的各种情况,
> 请给予大力支持为盼.
> *Wei   jinyibu wanmei de   wei nin   fuwu, te   xiang*
> in-order-to further perfect   GNE for you (H) serve specially for
> *nin   huibao Allbest dianqi   gongsi   de   gezhong*
> you (H) report Allbest electricity company GNE various
> *qingkuang, qing   geiyu dali zhichi   weipan.*
> thing   please give   full   support as-wish
> In order to offer you better services, (we) would like to report our com-
> pany's (Allbest Electricity Co.) sales to you. (We) hope that you will give
> us your full support.

The above move can be seen as an important strategy to achieve the purpose of building a relationship, and is expressed in a subordinate-main structure at the sentence level. This structure is often used to begin a formal letter. In this case, by saying *wei jinyibu wanmei de wei nin fuwu* 为进一步完美地为您服务 or "offering you better service", the writer shows cordiality or politeness to the reader, and points out the good-natured objective of serving the customers in the long run. *Wei(le)* also has a further function of signalling that something important will happen in the main clause, which is *xiangnin huibao* 向您汇报 or "reporting this to you" in this case. We may notice the way the reader is addressed respectfully in the form of *huibao* 汇报 or "report" which is often used by an inferior reporting to a superior. Its occurrence here in the *pingxing* 平行 (equals writing to each other) genre represents another type of genre mixing. *Nin* 您 or "you" (H) is written in the honorific form, which increases the level of politeness and respect – an important component of an ideal image.

The term *dali zhichi* 大力支持 (full support) needs to be further explained in the context of Chinese culture. *Zhichi* 支持 or "support" here may not denote the financial assistance as understood in English. Instead it is often used to indicate a wish for collaborative effort. In the case of the sales letter, the writer expects this kind of effort from the reader by reading and responding to the sales offer.

The preference of these two moves in Chinese sales letters can also be explained from another perspective. Although Chinese sales letters belong to *gongwen* 公文 (official letters), there has been a clear effort on the writer's part to make them more personal. Greetings and introductory moves are some of

the strategies to indicate such an effort, which is also an indication of intertextuality of using personal letter styles.

Both the above moves illustrate how the specific communicative purposes of sales letters in Chinese are determined by specific social and cultural factors, and that is also where their uniqueness lies and therefore no similar moves have been used in English sales letters. In addition, both moves can be quite impressive to the reader because of their adequate level of politeness and personal letter tone.

Similar moves employed by English and Chinese sales letters

As discussed earlier, both English and Chinese sales letters have a number of similar moves as a response to the practice of market economy at various levels in the countries concerned. However the specific realization of these moves may differ. Some of the important moves such as "Offering the Product" will be exemplified in detail in the following discussion.

First of all, "Establishing Credentials" is a move shared by both genres. In a similar way, both tend to include whatever the writer thinks of as an advantage to attract the reader's attention. For example, they use sales experiences such as *we have twenty years' sales experience*, or *we are the expert in producing this product*, as a common strategy. This can be seen as a shared business value since attracting attention is such an important step in sales promotions.

Introducing the offer
In both genres, "Introducing the Offer" is composed of similar steps: offering the product, essential detailing, and evaluating the product. In the first step, the offers are, however, introduced in slightly different ways. The offers in English sales letters tend to be indicated by either the "you" or "we" approach:

> *We are pleased to provide you with the 16-section Material Safety Data Sheet which has gained international recognition and acceptance.*
>
> *You can trust your new Innovations catalogue to keep you well covered with a selection of smart yet very comfortable fashion for every occasion.*

The first example uses the "we" approach and begins with *we are pleased to provide you with. . . ,* showing the writer's appropriate and willing attitude to offer the service. In addition, the writer also tries to persuade the reader by mentioning the value of the product s/he is able to offer, in this case by claiming that it has *international recognition and acceptance.*

The second example uses the "you" approach by placing the reader at the centre of attention. This approach has been found to be more frequently used in English, and is considered to be an important strategy for winning over the reader (Murphy, Hildebrandt, & Thomas 1997). As a matter of fact, this has been a consistent strategy in business writing history. As early as forty years ago, Aurner (1958:65) stressed the "you-attitude" as a means of winning the reader's willing and cordial fellowship. This cordial attitude can be conducive to realizing the immediate goal of selling the product.

Chinese letters tend to offer the product with the "we" approach:

> 现诚意向贵公司推荐一种聚丙烯中空胶片.
> *Xian chengyi xiang gui   gongsi   tuijian   yizhong*
> now sincere for   your (H) company recommend one type Class
> *jubingxi zhongkong jiaopian*
> PP[1]   hollow   rubber
> Now (we) sincerely recommend to your (H) company a type of PP hollow rubber.

The above offer is made using a "we" approach, as the majority of the letters do. In the corpus only one letter uses a "you" approach. This may seem inconsistent with English textbooks which stress that the "you" approach attracts attention. However, the "we" approach can also achieve a similar purpose by employing other lexical terms. For example, in the above example, *chengyi* 诚意 or "sincerely" is used to achieve this purpose. The infrequent use of the "you" approach can be related to the avoidance of informal style in Chinese. Addressing the reader directly as "you" can be an indication of a conversational tone and may not fit in with the desired level of respect and formality. The above example shows the writer's respect and sincerity by using *chengyi* 诚意 or "sincerely" and the honorific pronoun. This style may help realize the AIDA process. According to Zhu (1999b), Chinese managers found that a high level of respect could be a strategy to attract the readers' attention.

In the next step of "Essential Detailing of the Product", English sales letters seem to provide extensive details about the product to those who may be interested. Those who are not may not even read this section, as the headline is informative enough to attract the reader's attention. The comparatively fewer details in Chinese letters may be related to the relationship building stressed in Chinese sales letters. In Zhu's (1999b) discussion of the Chinese managers' views, she found that the first sales letter often intends to establish a business relationship rather than to make a one-off deal.

In the third step of "Evaluating the Product", both English and Chinese letters tend to follow similar strategies such as using superlatives or other forms of adjectives. For example, one English letter thus evaluates the product:

> *You will find more exciting new products in the catalogue, along with some of our most popular items.*

The adjectives or their comparative and superlative degrees e.g. *more exciting* and *most popular* are sometimes called "lexical boost" or forms of positive evaluation (Teh 1986; Bhatia 1993) and are used to achieve the purpose of appraising the product.

In a similar way a Chinese letter writes:

> 该轿车垯适合丁家庭,也足出租公司的理想用车.
> *Gai jiaoche zui   shihe   yu jiating, ye shi chuzu gongsi   de*
> this car   most suitable for family also is taxi   company GNE
> *lixiang yongche.*
> ideal   use car
> This car is most suitable for families and also ideal as a taxi.

In the above example, the superlative degree *zui shihe yu* 垯适合丁 or "most suitable" is used to indicate the advantage of the product. *Lixiang yongche* 理想用车 or "ideal car" is a four-character expression which can be considered as a language-specific form of lexical boost (Teh 1986). This form derives from classic poetry, thus indicating a formal register.

Another strategy shared by both genres is the introduction to testimonials and awards the advertised product may have gained. These are included as evidence to substantiate the qualities described by the lexical boost.

Offering incentives

"Offering Incentives" in both genres consists of two steps: "Offering a Special Price" and "Indicating the Benefit". These steps follow some similar strategies. However, there is once again no lack of difference. An English letter advertising a bankcard introduces the first step this way:

> *Free Citibank Rewards program for free rewards simply by using your card.*

The above example offers a free reward if the reader accepts the offer by "using the card". A free reward is very commonly used as an incentive. Other types of incentives are found to be related to special offers, such as 20% off all cellphone accessories.

Chinese letters, however, often indicate non-specific incentives. For example, *wu mei jia lian* 物美价廉 or "good quality and cheap price" is frequently found in the twenty-letter corpus, and it is also frequently used in Chinese advertising language (Han 1991). This expression only mentions that the price is low, and does not indicate the specific amount of money a customer can save. But sometimes the writer also says, *Please contact us to get detailed special offers*. The tendency to avoid detailed prices can be explained this way: in Chinese culture, a low price is often associated with bad quality. There is a common saying: "cheap goods indicate bad quality". In the above example, cheap price is cleverly accompanied with good quality, thus avoiding the suspicion of poor quality.

The second step, "Indicating the Benefit", is frequently used by both sets of letters. Again the English letters tend to indicate a more detailed benefit such as offering a quality service. In this way, a specific incentive is identified which corresponds to the immediate goal. In Chinese letters, however, *jingji xiaoyi* 经济效益 or "economic profits" in general is often stressed as an incentive. This preference may correspond to the tendency to give a less detailed introduction to the product. This may indicate that the stress is more on contacting the reader than on a one-off sale.

Soliciting a response

"Soliciting a Response" is realised in two steps: "Making a request" and "Using Pressure Tactics". The similarity in both types of letters lies in the position of this move, which is found towards the end of the letter, corresponding to the AIDA model with action as the final strategy. However, the letters seem to make the request through different forms of persuasion. One English letter thus introduces this move:

> *It is easy to receive your special phone card: simply complete and return the enrolment form in the envelope provided. Hurry – This offer expires 31 August 1999!*

The above use of the imperative coupled with a deadline seems to be quite a straightforward means of calling for an action. Six letters in the corpus use this form. The simple and clear expression may once again be related to the stressed immediate goal of sales in a low-context culture. The idea that time and action mean business is conveyed unmistakably. Since requests are a directive speech act which may be interpreted as an imposition, the writer is faced with the task of reducing it. The writer has tactfully reduced the imposition in the request by making the task of getting the special offer easier when he writes, "It is easy to receive your special card". In addition, the incentive indicated by "your special

phone card" is obviously there to make the request more acceptable. The above request is made in a seemingly direct manner with an imperative sentence. In illocutionary force (Austin 1962; van Dijk, Ting-Toomey, Smitherman, & Troutman 1997), however, it is still an indirect request. Note that the request also employs the "you" approach, which may explain its rarity in Chinese letters. Writers can also use other linguistic strategies to further reduce the level of imposition. For example, in some letters similar requests are also followed by the writer's wish for a prompt response.

Chinese sales letters seem to use a more formal approach to make a request. In order to lighten the resulting imposition, nine letters (45%) use a subordinate-main sentence structure for the request. One Chinese letter indicates the request in the following way:

> 若蒙垂询, 请赐电.
> *Ruo meng chuixun,   qing   ci   dian.*
> if   meet inquire (H) please favour phone-call
> If we have the honour of having your kind inquiry, please favour us with a phone call.

In this example, the softener *qing* 请 or "please" is used to indicate politeness. The conditional sentence reduces the imposition of the request in the imperative, and the request only relates to the readers who meet the conditions expressed in the subordinate clause. This conditional structure can also be explained in the light of negative face (Brown & Levinson 1987). The conditional clause can be seen as a politeness strategy to give the reader options, and thus save the reader's negative face.

In addition, honourific forms such as *chuixun*, 垂询, and *ci* 赐 are used here to show respect in this request. *Chui* 垂 has the connotation of lowering oneself when speaking to a superior. In this context, it means the writer has to lower himself/herself to speak to the addressee, thus indicating a *shangxing* 上行 (subordinate writing to the superior) or a very respectful tone. Note that this is another instance of genre mixing of using *shangxing* 上行 register in the *pingxing* 平行 (equals writing to each other) sales letter. *Ci* 赐 or "grant or bestow" is often used to indicate the granting of a gift or award by a superior. In a collectivist culture, it is very important to know one's position in a group and it is also quite common to raise the addressee's position as a means of showing respect. These honourific forms are employed to achieve this purpose.

A conditional request like the above is frequently used in the Chinese corpus. The reason may be that this form can express a more respectful tone by emphasizing an option. It may also include more honourifics, as indicated in

the above example. This may once again show consistency of sticking to a similar level of formality and respect throughout the letter. At the same time, the writer may also resort to genre mixing of using a subordinate tone as shown in the above example which is also evident in some of the other letters.

Furthermore, the imposition of request can also be reduced by linguistic forms relating to hopes and wishes, and this strategy is shared by both English and Chinese letters. One English letter goes,

> *I look forward to welcoming you as an investor in Franklin Forestry Trust No. 1.*

Note that the request is cleverly indicated by *looking forward to welcoming you as an investor*, thus reducing the imposition of a direct request. This form seems to be very popular in the English letters, and 12 letters (60%) employ it. In a similar way, *xiwang* 希望 or "hope" or *huanying* 欢迎 or "welcome" are found to be used in eleven (55%) Chinese letters.

The second step is expressed by stressing the deadline of the offer, a common strategy used in English sales letters; 13 of the 20 letters (65%) include it. This is especially common when the letter includes a special offer, and the end is obviously the right time to urge the reader for a prompt response. This step, however, is not very common in Chinese letters; only three (15%) employ it. Its infrequency is related to the aforesaid reason regarding non-specific details or prices.

Closing move

The closing moves in both types of letters are also slightly different. Firstly the good-wishes are more varied in Chinese letters. English letters tend to use forms such as "Yours faithfully" and similar forms which indicate the tone of a business letter. But a more respectful tone in Chinese letters sometimes is preferred such as *zhu da an* 祝大安 or "wish you good health", a term used to address seniors and also an instance of genre mixing. Business-related forms such as *zhu hezuo chenggong* 祝合作成功 or "wish for successful cooperation" are also common, and the emphasis for reciprocal relationship is self-explanatory.

Summary of the textual analysis

As shown in the above analysis of intertextuality and rhetorical structure, the most salient difference between English and Chinese sales letters lies in the unique moves used by each genre which also represent some of the important types of intertextuality. English letters prefer to use headlines and postscripts,

while Chinese letters tend to use greetings and introductory sections. This different use of moves is largely due to the specific communicative purposes and persuasive orientations stressed by the genres concerned. For example, *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" is reflected in the inclusion of greetings and introductory moves in Chinese letters. In addition, a clear stress on *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" can be seen in requests involving negative face and the "Closing Move" which also employs intertextuality such as genre mixing and embeddedness. In all, these moves coupled with appropriate types of intertextuality can serve as a strategy for developing interpersonal connection or *guanxi* 关系 or "connections". Other than that, both English and Chinese sales letters seem to stress the purposes of promoting products. In other words, both genres stress the *logos* or *li* as an important persuasive orientation. Bhatia (1993) tends to call these moves universal rules relating to promotions. I very much see them as a reflection of market economy in the business world in which China is trying to catch up with the marketing practices.

The most effective English and Chinese sales letters

In order to further illustrate the above findings at the text level, the most effective English and Chinese letters are analysed below. As mentioned earlier in this chapter as well as in Chapter 4, these two letters were rated by the business managers, and therefore represent the expert members' view in terms of effective communication. Note that only the English translation of the Chinese sales letter is provided. The original is provided in Appendix 1.

The English letter

October 27, 1997

Headline	**Introducing the only credit card to give you $60 to spend on Innovations – FREE!**
Salutation	Dear Mr. Smith,
Establishing Credentials	Since you're one of our important customers who appreciates convenience and value, I am writing to share an opportunity to enjoy both!
Offering the product	For example, would you like to choose $60 worth of Innovations merchandise – absolutely FREE?
Essential detailing	And could you benefit from a very convenient credit card – one that offers you a free Rewards program, unsurpassed card protection, free PhotoCard, free Purchase Cover, personal customer service – and is accepted at over

	400,000 locations in Australia, more than 14 million establishments worldwide, and gives you cash access at over 341,000 ATMs?
Evaluating the product	Realistically, how could you pass up these attractive opportunities? They each represent the very practical (and innovative!) reasons for you to apply for a Citibank Visa or MasterCard.

<div align="center">

$60 and Double Points from Innovations

</div>

Pressure tactics	Because I feel so confident that you will truly appreciate a Citibank Credit Card, I would like you to have two $30 vouchers for anything in your Innovations catalogue. Use them separately or together, they are valid until 28 February 1998 on your choice of items but you must reply to this very special offer before 28 November 1997 to receive your vouchers.
Offering incentives	What's more, purchase anything from our catalogue with your new Citibank Credit Card and earn Double Rewards points until 28 February 1998. This can certainly boost your points toward achieving the reward of your choice. The enclosed brochure explains details of Citibank's Rewards Program.

<div align="center">

If you already have a bank credit card. . . read on!

(More incentives omitted) . . . . . .

</div>

Soliciting a response Request	I hope you'll take a moment to complete and mail (or fax) the enclosed Application for your Citibank Credit Card today. I'm certain you'll enjoy its many benefits – as well as the $60 of vouchers to use for Innovations merchandise with our compliments. Happy shopping!
Closing Move	Yours sincerely, Judy Powell Managing Director
Postscript	P.S. We can only reserve this exclusive offer until 28 November 1997. So apply for your Citibank Visa or MasterCard today and once you are approved, you will receive $60 of Innovations vouchers shortly after your new Card. And for Double Rewards points, use your Card on any Innovations purchase until 28 February 1998!

As indicated above, the letter has eight moves (in bold in the left-hand column, the non-bold items indicating the specific steps). Many of the moves consist of one step only. Only "Introducing the Product" is composed of three steps and "Soliciting a Response" is composed of two steps. The letter on the whole strives to achieve the targeted communicative purposes relating to sales promotion.

The *logos* and the focus on sales is also a consistent theme throughout the corpus, and this letter is a representative of the findings of the English corpus in that it demonstrates the typical moves of headline and postscript. In the headline the writer tries to include the most appealing information about a special credit card offer to attract the reader's attention. The postscript reiterates the request, the pressure tactics, and various types of incentive the letter offers. It is

also an instance of genre embeddedness and all the embedded points are meant to arouse the reader's desire to own the product and encourage action.

The rest of the letter exemplifies the moves generally found in the English corpus. For example, the letter begins with "Establishing Credentials" by offering both *convenience and value*. The offer is introduced through a "you" approach. "Essential Detailing" and "Evaluating the Product" are placed after the offer, the latter being mixed with the former as some of the forms used to evaluate the product in fact happen in the detailing section. The mixing of moves and steps is a common feature of genre (Bhatia 1993). Incentives such as point awards and vouchers are stressed at length in the letter, and the writer attempts to make sure various readers may be attracted.

"Soliciting a Response" can be seen as a split move - another phenomenon of genre according to Bhatia (1993). "Making a Request" is placed towards the end while "Using Pressure Tactics" occurs after the step of "Evaluating the product". The reason for this is that this letter involves a special offer restricted by a deadline. However, the writer does indicate the pressure tactics again towards the very end in the postscript.

In addition, there is a strong focus on the "you" approach throughout the letter in most of the moves, which can fit in with the approach constantly stressed in English textbooks. However, the letter does vary this tendency by using a "we" approach in "Soliciting a Response" and in the postscript.

Both the NZ and Chinese managers' views on this English letter are discussed to indicate different types of expectations for effective writing. A detailed introduction about how I solicited managers views were given in Chapter 4. First, NZ managers' views towards this letter are summed up here as substantiation of the above analysis:

1. This is a typical English sales letter in which the writer tries to attract the reader attention and offer incentives. Attracting reader's attention is essential as we receive so many sales letters everyday.
2. The letter is clear and to the point and provides all the information with no waste of words.
3. This letter focuses clearly on promoting the credit card and adequate strategies are used as well.

As shown in their comments, the managers tend to stress similar persuasive strategies relating to *logos*. For example, clear writing style and focal purposes are regarded as important reasons for rating this letter as effective. They should be seen as essential criteria for English sales-letter writing. In addition, they also view attracting the reader's attention as essential and the initial step to-

wards persuasion. The Chinese managers' views seem to conflict some of the NZ managers' views although they also share some degree of consensus. The Chinese managers' comments are summed up below to indicate their understanding of writing English sales letters:

1. The letter should start with some warming-up introduction such as a greeting. The letter is too direct with the business values.
2. I would like to know more about the credibility of Citibank before making the decision to join or not.
3. The letter is well-structured and the discussion of many advantages is also clear. But it is a bit too long and too detailed.

As shown in their first comment, the managers think it is necessary to include a greeting or some introduction before the issue is raised which echoes with the writing conventions of Chinese letters. The second point is about the credibility of banks and the managers here apply their knowledge structures relating to banking and marketing. In China, there can be many banks of different natures such as private, government-owned being set up as part of the process of privitisation and internationalisation. Writers are expected to provide sufficient credibility as an important priority to convince the reader. That is why Chinese managers seem to be sceptical and may want to find out more information about the bank rather than the reward. The Chinese mangers, however, did see the letter as being well-structured and clear in style, which seems to be a criterion shared by readers from different cultures. But they also pointed out that the letter was a bit too long, which may be related to the fact that the details were beyond what they were more interested in. This may have some implications as to what can be attractive to customers from different cultures.

The Chinese sales letter

Salutation	Honored company,
Greetings	How are you (H)? You must be very busy with your work.
Establishing Credentials	As a branch of No. 1 Motors Group of China, Xuzhou Shunda Motors Company Ltd was established in September, 1990. It is located in the ancient city – Xuzhou. With seven years of hard work and immense efforts, this company is taking on a brand new look.
Introducing product Essential detailing	Our consistent goal is to produce comfortable and luxury cars of high standard and good quality. We have all the expertise in manufacturing skills. The cars we produce are equipped with advanced assembled imported engines, air-conditioning, electric windows, a modern and novel

Evaluating the product	dashboard, and a unique ABS braking system. Our cars are characterized by powerful engines, quick acceleration, low-noise motors, low petrol consumption, spacious seating, stylish shapes and low price. Our cars enjoy a high reputation for their performance and quality in Huaihai Economic Zone, and even in the northern and middle parts of China.
Offering incentives Soliciting a response	Shunda Co. Ltd. has developed today into a large enterprise in the Huaihai Economic Zone, and is the envy of the motor manufacturers of modern and luxury cars. We are offering various kinds of special prices. If you are interested in our products please contact us. We are going to hold a marketing day of the latest car models (the specific time for this will be informed later). Welcome you to come and place an order, or hold trade talks with us. We will offer you warm-hearted service.
	Looking forward to hearing from you soon.
Closing move	Thank you for your cooperation!

<div align="right">

Sales Department
Xuzhou Yada Motor Co. Ltd
Date

</div>

As shown above, the letter has seven moves: "the Salutation", "Greetings", "Establishing Credentials", "Introducing the Product", "Offering Incentives", "Soliciting a Response" and "the Closing Move". Note that the salutation indicates a formal mark of respect by referring to the reader as *honoured*. Greetings are used to achieve the purpose of relationship building, which may help the writer build a personal contact with the reader. The use of the company name as a salutation and the greetings are an example of genre conflicting/harmonising as discussed earlier. The combination here well captures the complex nature of organisational and interpersonal relationships between the writer and reader.

The company establishes its credentials by referring to itself as a branch of a big national motor enterprise. This may imply better skills and equipment as compared to small motor enterprises. Products are offered by using the "we" approach, which indicates a sharp contrast to the English letter, and also coincides with the general findings of the Chinese corpus. The steps of "Essential Detailing" and "Evaluating the Product" are intermingled with lexical boost and the use of adjectives throughout the product details. As mentioned earlier, this mixture of steps is also common in English sales letters. Incentives are offered with a non-specific special price. "Soliciting a Response" is composed of a request. The request is introduced by a conditional clause. Note that the writer also calls on the reader to act by inviting him/her to the marketing day, and therefore "welcome" is used as a further request. Providing a better service is mentioned as an additional incentive for further communication. The ex-

clusion of pressure tactics fit in with the general tendency in the finding which may show that the writer does not want to sound pushy.

The closing move is indicated by thanking the reader for his/her cooperation, which is also an instance of genre embeddedness. Thanking as polite behaviour is a common closing in Chinese business letters. The reasons for its use are dual. The writer appreciates the reader's reading the letter, which is already taken as a kind of cooperation. The writer also thanks the reader for the possible long-term cooperation in the future.

Chinese managers' views on the most effective letter are summarised below:

1. This letter is a typical Chinese sales letter. It is brief but polite. It gives sufficient information about their products as a first letter. On the other hand, it has a courteous and warm tone.
2. The description of the product performance appears professional. However, such description is not too technical to block understanding.
3. It is brief and the introduction on the performance of the car is comprehensive.
4. It offers an opportunity for further contact and communication.

As shown in their comments, the Chinese managers' criteria for rating an effective letter are related to both *qing* and *li*. For example, both relationship building and sales promotion are discussed as essential for Chinese sales-letter writing. According to them, this letter indicates a good combination of using politeness and sales promotional strategies. In other words, they seem to have accepted the practice of intertextuality involving both *gongwen* 公文 (official letters) and personal letter styles. The NZ seem to have different views shown in the following comments:

1. "Honoured Co" is too formal and the writer should address only the person.
2. Greetings are not appropriate.
3. I would be interested in your company's capacity and production but not your region.
4. It takes too long to get to the point. The letter should start off with the sentence explaining what it is about.
5. The writer shouldn't assume cooperation at this stage.

Basically, the NZ managers seem to have a lot of doubts about the appropriateness of this letter. The first two comments are concerned about the formulaic features used by Chinese letters, and the NZ managers are not very comfort-

able with 'Honoured Co' as a salutation. As discussed earlier, Chinese sales letters are often sent to companies which differ from English letters of an interpersonal nature. The second comment apparently disagrees with the Chinese greetings in the letter. The first two comments also point to the inappropriateness of the genre conflicting/harmonising phenomenon in the Chinese letters which apparently differ from the beginning of the English letters. The third and the fourth comments point to the irrelevant information included prior to the introduction of the products. The NZ managers would like to have a more direct style. Finally, they don't think it is appropriate to discuss cooperation in this initial letter as it may indicate a threat or imposed obligation. Their view clearly indicates a difference from the Chinese managers who think that it is feasible to do so to further develop relationships. Hofstede's collectivism may lend further interpretations here regarding this point.

Conclusion

This chapter has used the theoretical framework proposed in Chapter 3 to analyse and compare English and Chinese sales letters. As shown in the analysis, the strength of this model lies in that it goes beyond the study of patterns of textual organisation, and examines communicative purposes and persuasive orientations as a starting point. More importantly, it offers insight to study intertextuality as a dynamic textual phenomenon.

With this approach, the relevant genres were compared and analysed. To be specific, the similar purposes of both genres relating to the AIDA model lead to similar choices of moves, steps and linguistic forms, such as indicated in "Introducing the Product". The prerequisite for the employment of these strategies lies in the development of a market economy and mass production. The recent economic reform in China may account for their usage, and also accounts for the persuasive orientations in relation to the *li* 理 or "logical approach" relevant to the market economy influence.

The differences in the purposes of English and Chinese sales letters were further shown in moves, steps and linguistic forms, which is also related to the use of *qing* 情 or *pathos* as part of the persuasive orientations. The short-term goal in English letters and long-term goal in Chinese letters were shown in the use of the unique moves of each genre. As noted earlier, English letters tend to use headlines and postscripts to stress the offer and the incentives. Chinese letters tend to include greetings and introductory sections to emphasize relationship building. In addition, both genres resorted to intertextuality to express

some of their unique moves such as embedding postscripts in the English letters and including conflicting genres features of *gongwen* 公文 (official letters) salutations and personal-letter greetings in the Chinese letters.

The public images were also expressed with significant differences. The respectful image stressed by Chinese letters is realised in the use of polite beginning as well as genre mixing to indicate a *shangxing* 上行 (subordinate writing to superior) register. Since English sales letters do not share the above purpose, they stress a personal tone, and respect or formality was not as much emphasized. Therefore, the "you" approach as a linguistic strategy is more often used.

Intertextuality appeared to play different functions across the two genres. For example, the use of referential type of embedded postscripts intended to help promote the products while the genre-harmonising or genre mixing in Chinese letters intended to develop interpersonal relationships or *guanxi* 关系 or "connections". However, business-related intertextuality was found in Chinese letters such as using the embedded message to solicit cooperation, but with Chinese-specific features of a collectivistic nature.

The comparison of the most effective letter in each genre further confirmed the above findings. Besides, they also represented the business managers' views about what can be effective communication. As shown in the comparison, an effective English letter focused on the major communicative purposes and followed a clear structure throughout. The Chinese letters, however, followed both the *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" and *li* 理 or "logical approach" and indicated the dual objective of both promoting the product and the long-term or personal relationship with the reader. These different types of expectation for writing sales letters across cultures have also been further confirmed by the Chinese and NZ managers' views. Their views further pointed to the importance of increasing cultural awareness about the customer needs for promoting products across cultures.

Note

1. A kind of chemical synthesis.

Comparing English and Chinese
sales invitations

In the previous chapter, I analysed and compared English and Chinese sales letters, which are also the most frequently used genre for product promotion. In this chapter, I will examine another sales genre – sales invitations. I will apply the model proposed in Chapter 3 to comparing English and Chinese sales invitations, which are invitations to trade fairs sent to prospective attendees, and are another popular form of promotion prevalent in both English and Chinese business practice. Understanding the different persuasive strategies employed in sales invitations is essential for the encoding and decoding of sales invitations.

This chapter will detail the sociocultural environment first, and only genre-specific context will be discussed since the previous chapter has already convered extensively the overall contexts for business writing. In the light of the theoretical framework, persuasive orientations and communicative purposes are compared as focal points followed by a series of other types of genre comparison including intertextuality, rhetorical structures and linguistic strategies. In addition, in a similar manner indicated in Chapter 5, the NZ and Chinese managers' views will be discussed and incorporated into the analysis to further substantiate the findings, in particular, relating to effective communication.

The data for analysis is composed of forty authentic sales invitations: twenty have been collected from Australia and New Zealand, and twenty from mainland China. Using authentic data is a tradition in discourse analysis or genre study such as in Bhatia (1993) and Kirkpatrick (1993). The forty sales invitations were selected based on the following criteria:

Firstly, the texts had to be invitations, with the term *yaoqingxin* 邀请信 or "invitation" or the name of the Expo written in the headlines for the Chinese corpus, and the name of the trade exhibition (or Expo) in the headlines of the English corpus. Second, all texts should have headlines because they are an important characteristic for an invitation. This criterion rules out business correspondence that does not have headlines even though the intention of inviting

may be expressed in the content. It also excluded a large number of promotional brochures which may also be related to exhibitions. Third, they had to be invitations written to equal enterprises, which particularly apply to the Chinese corpus. Some Chinese invitations indicated *xiaxing* 下行 (the superior writing to the subordinate) or *shangxing* 上行 (the subordinate writing to the superior) relationship with the writer. Such invitations were not selected.

The data also includes the most effective sales invitation from each genre. I again followed the specific rating procedures discussed in Chapter 5 and had the NZ and Chinese managers rate the invitations respectively from 1–5. As noted in Chapter 5, grade 5 represents the highest scale and grade 1 is the lowest. Consequently the two most effective invitations were those that got the highest scores; the highest rated English invitation received a mean score of 4.25, and the Chinese had a mean score of 4.05. The reasons and explanations for the rating were also solicited from the raters.

Contexts for writing sales invitations

Appropriate comparison of contexts including both sociocultural and interpersonal to an extent can help understand the persuasive orientations and writing conventions. The relevant environments in both English and Chinese contexts are compared in this section. As before, these contexts will help to explicate the use of different persuasive strategies in English and Chinese invitations.

The sociocultural environment for writing English sales letters also applies here since sales invitations are employed currently alongside sales letters and other types of business writing. Reference can be made to the previous chapter for a detailed introduction of the sociocultural environment. To reiterate, characterised by the overwhelming competitions to sell similar products, the prevalent strategies employed in sales invitations are also related to the AIDA model as discussed in Chapter 5. Basically the strong business orientation reinstates the need to use the AIDA model as a major persuasive strategy.

At a more micro-level of reader-writer relationships, the writer and reader are often individuals and the writer is the organiser while the reader is often part of the writer's networks such as the exporters' associations. Just like the English sales letters, English sales invitations very often reflect a kind of interpersonal relationship. The Chinese sales invitations are very often sent to organisations with the writer representing the seller's organisation and the reader representing the buyer's. The reader-writer relationship is very much a reflection of organisational communication and interaction to a large ex-

tent, although interpersonal relationships such as *guanxi* 关系 or "connections" discussed in Chapter 5 are also reflected in sales invitation writing.

On the other hand, the cultural environment has a great impact on the writing of sales invitations. As with sales letter, relationship building is seen as of paramount importance for sales invitations in China. As Lu, Zhang and He (1993: 189) explain, the purpose of sales invitations is to "increase friendship and develop trade". While Lu, Zhang and He note the importance of developing trade, sales invitations also pay attention to "friendship", which goes beyond a business partnership, and an intention for a long-term relationship is thus more emphasised as compared to sales letters. This is also related to the politeness behaviour shown in invitation which belongs to a more polite genre of *liyi xin* 礼仪信 or "letters of social etiquettes" – a concept I will come back later in this chapter. Politeness behaviour may also shed light on the general cultural differences between English and Chinese sales invitations. Since an invitation is a directive, politeness behaviour in the light of speech act theory (Austin 1962; Brown & Levinson 1987; Searle 1969; Leech 1983), as discussed in Chapter 2, can be applied here. The politeness perspective will be further discussed in the following section.

As a further note, the Chinese sales invitations are very much in the transitional stage of evolution. According to Zhu (2002a), unlike sales letters, Chinese sales invitations did exist prior to the economic opening-up in 1978, but they have gone through a lot of evolution and changes since then. Before 1978, sales invitations tend to be written in the *xiaxing* 下行 (superiors writing to subordinates) genre, in which the superior organisations invited the subordinates to exhibitions for product distribution as part of the planned economy practice. The fundamental changes in the structure of selling as discussed in Chapter 5 also apply here. Business organisations of various levels can now organise their own exhibitions to promote products and wholesales and they are no longer confined to the hierarchical selling structure as before 1978. As a consequence, sales invitations now very often exhibit the characteristics of *pingxing* 平行 (equals writing to each other) genre although genre mixing or mixed rhetoric or genres (Chen 1947) may occur, which is also a key point to be detailed later in this chapter.

Other cultural factors: Politeness behaviour in invitations

According to Searle (1969), an invitation is a directive used to get the addressee to do something. Politeness behaviour in invitations, including sales

invitations, can thus be related to using appropriate language forms to achieve effective illocutionary forces.

The actions we do with words such as requests and invitations can be potentially face-threatening. The addresser is thus often confronted with negative face and has to address this by applying Leech's (1983) politeness principles by maximising the addressee's benefits as an important strategy.

Different cultures tend to follow different face value and politeness principles. Just to reiterate Gao and Ting-Toomey's (1998) findings, people from low-context cultures such as the United States, Australia and New Zealand stress an individual public self-image, while people from high context cultures such as China tend to stress a collaborative public self-image. In the case of sales invitations, the Australian, or New Zealand writers tend to stress individual autonomy, so reducing imposition upon the invitee is likely to be the major persuasive strategy. The Chinese writers, in contrast, prefer to be seen by others as collaborative, host-like, sincere and respectful. Accordingly, they may adopt relevant persuasive strategies, such as showing respect and establishing host-guest relationships, besides imposition reduction, which can be seen in congruence with the emphasis on "*qing*" 情 or "emotional appeal" or *guanxi* 关系 or "connections" (Gao & Ting-Toomey 1998).

Chinese textbooks which discuss the writing of sales invitations (also referred to as "Expo letters") indicate a strong combination of both *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" and *li* 理 or "logical approach". Invitations are often described as a type of *liyi xin* 礼仪信 or "letters of social etiquettes", or *shejiao xin* 社交信 or "letters of social etiquettes". The meaning of *shejiao* 社交 or "social networking" is readily apparent, however, *liyi xin* 礼仪信 or "letters of social etiquettes" needs some explanation. According to Zhuge and Chen (1994: 361), *liyi* 礼仪 means etiquettes and ceremonies. Accordingly, Chinese sales invitations are treated as a form of etiquette for building relationships in which *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" plays an important role, indicated for example by the honorific address term such as *jing qizhe* 敬启者 or "Respected Reader". The categorisation of sales invitations into *liyi* 礼仪 or "social etiquettes" genres may also further complicates the inter-organisational relationships by adding a personal flavour into this type of *gongwen* 公文 or "official letters". The overlapping of genres may serve as a platform for a likelihood of intertextuality and genre mixing in particular, and it can also have an impact of using specific strategies for developing reader-writer relationships.

English
Invitations

→ To invite the reader to attend the Expo, and encourage further contact
→ To attract the reader's attention
→ To give positive appraisal of the Expo
→ To persuade the reader to attend the Expo
→ To achieve a positive image

Chinese
Invitations

→ To invite the reader to attend the Expo, and encourage further contact
→ To attract the reader's attention
→ To give positive appraisal of the Expo
→ To persuade the reader to attend the Expo
→ To achieve a positive, collaborative and respectful image
→ To build a host-guest relationship with the reader

Figure 6. Communicative purposes of the English and Chinese sales invitations

Communicative purposes and persuasive orientations of sales invitations

Both the English and Chinese sales invitations tend to have multiple communicative purposes. Based on the appropriate knowledge structures discussed earlier, and by examining the data, one can ascertain the purposes and persuasive orientations as shown in Figure 6.

In Figure 6, the similarity exhibited in English and Chinese sales invitations lies in the fact that purposes can be divided into two kinds: inviting the reader to the Expo or show, and advertising the products. These two types of purposes are also related to "*logos*", and therefore they share the basic logical appeals as part of the persuasion.

As can be seen from Figure 6, the shared purposes of both English and Chinese sales invitations are largely reflective of the AIDA model. "attracting the reader's attention", is related to "attention" and "interest"; "giving positive appraisals" and "persuading the reader" are related to "desire"; and "inviting the reader" is related to "action". This is similar to the findings about sales letters in Chapter 6, and is another indication that western marketing strategies and business practice have been accepted and implemented as a matter of course in mainland China.

The "*ethos*" orientation can be related to the purpose of promoting a positive image in these two genres, which also indicates a difference. The English genre seems to stress a positive image as a sales company, while the Chinese genre has additional features stressing collaboration, which may be seen as consistent with the cultural values and a high-level respect required by sales invitations as a specific *liyi* 礼仪 or "social etiquettes" genre.

Chinese sales invitations seem to have one extra purpose, which is to establish a host-guest relationship with the reader, which exhibits stronger "*pathos*" as compared to the English invitations. In Chinese culture, a host is supposed not only to show hospitality and kindness, but also extend this to a long-term relationship, which will help the promotion of the product. This finding corroborates Hall's (1976) observation on the value of long-term relationship stressed by high-context cultures.

Analysing the English and Chinese sales invitations

Both intertextuality and rhetorical structure are examined and general findings on both accounts are provided first.

Intertextuality reflected in sales invitations

The various kinds of context and communicative purposes may set the tone for possible intertextuality in both the English and Chinese texts. Specific types of genre intertextuality are shown in Table 5.

As shown in Table 5, the English sales invitations share some intertexual features with the promotional text as discussed in Chapter 5. However, different from sales letters, these invitations letters refer to Internet address more often than the sales letters, which shows the different types of interaction in sales invitation writing. As a matter of fact, Expo organisers tend to post their information online, which is accessible via Internet. So in all, 12 (60%) sales invitations include this information. As another type of generic intertextuality (Fairclough 1992, 1999), embedded postscripts are found in five English invitations.

Similar to the findings discussed in sales letters in Chapter 5, Chinese sales invitations also have four types of intertextuality including genre referential,

Table 5. Intertextualiy identified in sales invitations

Intertextuality Genres	Referential	Embeddedness	Mixing	Conflicting/ Harmonising
English invitation	14 (2 earlier contact & 12 Internet references)	5 (Poscripts)	0	0
Chinese invitation	10 (8 cards & 2 meetings)	5 (Inviting)	10 (*pingxing* & *shangxing*)	15 (*gongwen* & *liyi xin*)

genre mixing, genre conflicting/harmonising and embeddedness. Referential intertextuality is quite straightforward as in the English invitations. However, there is one minor difference with the referential intertextuality, that is Chinese letters tend not to refer to the Internet, which may not be a cultural difference but rather to access of technology. There is one cultural difference though: eight sales invitations include an invitation card which shows their formality and cordiality of an invitation. What is more interesting is that the embedded messages about inviting occur in five invitations. Repeated invitations show warmth and sincerity from the host, which is seen as essential for *liyi xin* 礼仪信 or "letter of social etiquettes".

Genre mixing and genre conflicting/harmonising are also found in the Chinese corpus. As shown in Table 5, the former occurs in 10 and the latter in 15 invitations. The mixing often takes place in the opening and closing to indicate politeness to do with inviting behaviour. Genre harmonising as identified in Chapter 5 also applies here. However, sales invitations show a different type of genre conflicting/harmonising and the two genres involved are *gongwen* 公文 (official letters) and *liyi xin* 礼仪信 (letters of social etiquettes) which requires a higher level of politeness as compared to personal letters. Therefore a more formal and respectful register can be adopted accordingly which will also be substantiated by detailed analysis in this chapter. In general, with reference to both letters of social etiquettes and *gongwen* 公文 or "official-letter" styles, sales invitations reflect the polite social distance between the reader and the writer representing two organisations, but with an intention to develop a possible salesperson and client *guanxi* 关系 or "connections" eventually.

Intertextuality and rhetorical structure of sales invitations

All the above types of intertextuality will also be further illustrated in the specific analysis of rhetorical structure where appropriate. A breakdown of rhetorical structure from the sales-invitation corpus is shown in Figure 7.

In Figure 7, the percentage in the brackets represents the proportion of invitations in the corpus that have employed the relevant moves or steps. Both "moves" and "steps" are indicated in each of the two columns: most of the moves contain only one step and a few have more than one. For example, the headline, introducing the Expo and advertising the Expo have two steps. Both English and Chinese sales invitations appear to have very similar moves at the text level except that Chinese invitations have an extra move – Move 5: inviting the reader again, which is a type of genre embeddedness as noted earlier. English invitations sometimes also embed postscripts but not as often as found

English sales invitations

Formulaic moves	*Steps*
1. Headline ⟶	Name of Expo (100%)
⟶	Place and time (60%)
2. Salutation (95%)	
3. Date and signature (100%)	

Content moves	*Steps*
1. Introducing (100%)	
2. Inviting (100%)	
3. Advertising ⟶	Detailing (100%)
⟶	Evaluating (100%)
4. Offering incentives (80%)	
5. Inviting again: (0)	
6. Registration details (100%)	
7. Encouraging further contact (80%)	
8. Polite closing (100%)	
9. Postscripts (20%)	

Chinese sales invitations

Formulaic moves	*Steps*
1. Headline ⟶	Invitation (90%)
⟶	Name of Expo (45%)
2. Salutation (85%)	
3. Date and signature (100%)	

Content moves	*Steps*
	Background
1. Introducing	information (45%)
	Expo details (100%)
2. Inviting (100%)	
3. Advertising ⟶	Detailing (100%)
⟶	Evaluating (100%)
4. Offering incentives (60%)	
5. Inviting again (40%)	
6. Registration details (100%)	
7. Encouraging further contact (60%)	
8. Polite closing (100%)	

Figure 7. A breakdown of moves in sales invitations

in sales letters. However, other lower-level differences may exhibit themselves later as analysis is given to each move in detail. Generally speaking, there are two types of moves (see Figure 7): formulaic and content moves. The former refers to those components required as part of the format of sales invitation writing, and the latter refers to the main body of the text where major information about the invitation is given. Both of these two kinds of move will be illustrated in detail later.

The formulaic moves are composed of headline, salutation, date and signature and postscripts. The headlines are employed in different manners in English and Chinese sales invitations. English invitations mainly include factual evidence such as the name, time and venue of the event, as indicated in the exemplar sales invitation, and none have "Invitation" as a title. This finding seems to be in accordance with the logical appeal preference. As indicated in Figure 7, only nine headlines in the Chinese corpus include the name and venue of the Expo, while the majority use the title of *Yaoqing Xin* 邀请信 or "Invitation". Here the formal schemata of the Chinese invitation vary from that of English. As discussed earlier, invitation also involves respect in addition to *yaoqing* 邀请 or "inviting" in the Chinese context. This may be the reason why some invita-

Table 6. Salutations used by Chinese sales invitations

	Salutations	Frequency
Gongwen 公文 (official letters) salutations	Mr. + Surname + Title/Surname + Title 姓+先生+职务/姓+职务	5
	Person in Charge 负责人	1
	Company Name 公司名字	7
Liyi-related salutations	Ladies and Gentlemen 女士们先生们	1
	Respected Reader 敬启者	6

tions even use *jingyao/chengyao* 敬邀/诚邀 *or* "Respectfully/Sincerely Inviting" as a headline.

The use of salutations in these two genres also indicates some difference in formality. The English sales invitations tend to include the reader's names such as "Mr. + Surname" or simply the first name.

The Chinese invitations, however, seem to use a number of salutations. Specifically, these five types of salutation are used by the Chinese invitations, see Table 6.

As shown in Table 6, both *gongwen* 公文 (official letter) salutations and personal letter salutations for *liyi xin* 礼仪信 (letters of social etiquettes) are used, which shows a certain level of genre conflicting/harmonising just like in the Chinese sales letters.

Among the salutations being used, *jing qizhe* 敬启者 or "Respected Reader" and *gongsi mingzi* 公司名字 or "Company Name" are found to be the most popular address terms, each being used by six or seven invitations respectively. The high frequency of "Respected Reader" is an archaic salutation which fits in well with invitations. It is an indication of a specific type of genre harmonising between *gongwen* 公文 or "official Letters" and *liyi xin* 礼仪信 or "letters of social etiquettes" and this address term can help express the respectful attitude. In addition, it can help the writer reduce the organisational distance by addressing the reader as a person rather then an organisation. On the other hand, genre conflicting/harmonising is also at play as shown in the frequent use of *gongsi mingzi* 公司名字 or "Company Name" with which the writer may intend to invite the company as a whole or invite more than one person.

Fuze ren 负责人 "Person in Charge" and the more formal address term *nushimen xianshengmen* 女士们先生们 "Ladies and Gentlemen" are only used

by one invitation each and are apparently not the popular salutations for sales invitations. The reason for this phenomenon can be that *jing qizhe* 敬启者 (Respected Reader) and *gongsi mingzi* 公司名字 (Company Name) can more reflect the nature of the Chinese sales invitations, and in particular, the combined nature of *gongwen* 公文 (official letters) and *liyi xin* 礼仪信 (letters of social etiquettes).

A slight variation in date and signature from English sales invitations is that the date of the Chinese invitations is placed at the end. This rule also applies to letter-writing in general.

Analysing the most effective sales invitations

First of all, the two most effective invitations will be introduced and reference will also be made to the entire corpora where relevant in the analysis with a focus on both the rhetorical structure and intertextexuality. The following English invitation is graded the most effective:

	(Date)
Headline	**COMPUTER WORLD EXPO 2000**
	New Zealand's Only Business Technology Event
	April 4–6 at Expo Centre, Greenlane, Auckland
Salutation	Dear Mr. McDonald,
Introducing Inviting Offering incentives	It is our pleasure to remind you of your wish to pre-register for the 2000 event – as indicated when you registered last year. As you know, pre-registering for Computer-world Expo gives you the first opportunity to secure your place in cutting edge technology workshops.
Advertising	This Computer-world Expo promises to be bigger and more influential than ever and we've made pre-registration easy for you. We have
Registration details	reactivated the registration information you gave last year and when you arrived at Computer-world Expo, and if you are attending the exhibition only, all you have to do is go to the PRE-REGISTERED desk at Registration to collect your card. At that time you may correct any details that have changed since last year.
	If you would like to go to one of the high-value, low-cost workshops you will need to complete the registration form in the brochure I have enclosed. It gives you the highlights of what is happening at Computer-world Expo this year.
Encouraging further contact	For further details on Computer-world Expo exhibitors, seminars and workshops, check our web site. It will be updated regularly as the event gets closer.

Polite closing	We look forward to seeing you again at the most influential business technology event in New Zealand.
Signature	Yours sincerely Alison Smith Events Manager

The following Chinese invitation is graded the most effective in persuasion. Only the English translation is provided here with the original text in Appendix 1.

Headline	Banking China China Computer Show (date)

<div align="center">

Invitation

</div>

Salutation	Respected Reader
Background information Introducing Inviting	The Chinese economy is developing rapidly. Every industry or business has to promote its technology so as to increase its competitiveness. In order to meet the needs of the industries and businesses concerned, Banking China and China Computer Show (this year) are to be held in December in Beijing. We sincerely invite your (H) company to participate.
Advertising	This show is to be held on a grand scale. (Names of the participating countries omitted). Internationally well known companies dealing with bank security, computers, tele-communication and automation equipment will exhibit their latest advanced equipment for financial, banking and other industrial and commercial enterprises. Please find enclosed information about the exhibitors. This show will exhibit all kinds of latest equipment and systems used in banking and financial enterprises. (The detailed exhibits omitted).
Incentives	Through participating in this exhibition, your (H) company can meet more than seventy producers or suppliers from more than ten countries and districts, and talk about co-operative plans with them. (You are) welcome to leave your on-site exhibited products for sale. In addition to this, many technology exchange discussions will also be held so that visitors may have a further understanding of all the participants' advanced products.
Inviting again Registration	Our company sincerely invites managerial and technical representatives from your (H) company to visit (H) this Exhibition. Enclosed is an invitation card. Please bring this invitation card with you when you come to the International Exhibition Centre to go through admission formalities.

Further contact	If you need further details, you can contact the Beijing agency of Exhibition Services Ltd:
	      Miss He
	      Contact details (Phone number and mailing address omitted)

Polite closing   Wish (you) good health (H)!

Signature and   XXX Exhibition Services Ltd.
Date   (Date)

First of all, the formulaic moves of the headline and the salutations are very much reflective of the findings in the overall corpus as discussed earlier. So the analysis will therefore focus on the content of the invitation.

Introducing the Expo and inviting the reader

The first two content moves, "Introducing the Expo" and "Inviting the Reader", occur at the beginning in both invitations. However, there seems to be a structural difference. The English invitation starts with an introduction to the Expo:

> *It is our pleasure to remind you of your wish to pre-register for the 2000 event – as indicated when you registered last year.*

In this example, only "the event" is mentioned as an introduction because the Expo details have already been given in the headline. The invitation is made by referring to *your wish to pre-register* without using the lexical items *inviting* or *invitation*, which is not uncommon in the English corpus. This type of inviting suits well the personal tone – the type of *pathos* stressed by English business letters. In addition, the writer refers to an earlier contact as part of intertextuality in order to continue this type of already established network with the reader, which also indicates a relatively close reader-writer relationship. The personal touch is also shown in the use of the "you" approach, which is often emphasised as an effective strategy in English textbooks (e.g. McLaren & Locker 1995). On the whole, the above quote is a straightforward introduction to what this invitation is about.

The first two moves in the Chinese corpus seem to be more complicated, and Move 1, Introducing the Expo, sometimes has two steps as shown in the exemplar sales invitation:

Step 1   Providing background information
Step 2   Introducing the exhibition

The first step provides background information regarding the economic context in China, which exhibits an urgent need to raise competitive ability. The Expo is introduced this way:

> 为满足有关工商业之要求,国际银行金融技术及设备展览会, 及国际电脑, 仪器仪表展览会将于十二月在北京举行.

> *Wei   manzu youguan   gong   shangye zhi   yaoqiu,*
> in order to meet   concerned industry business GNE   need
> *guoji   yinhang jinrong jishu   ji   shebei   zhanlanhui,*
> international bank   finance technique and equipment exhibition
> *ji   guoji   diannao, yiqi yibiao zhalanhui jiang   yu*
> and international computer, equipment, exhibition will ASP in
> *shier yue   zai Beijing juxing.*
> December in   Beijing hold
> In order to meet the needs of the industries and businesses concerned,
> Banking China and China Computer Show are to be held in December in
> Beijing.

Wei 为, or "in order to" is a formal written form often used in *gongwen* 公文 or "official-letter" writing (Chen 1991) and has two functions here. The first is to introduce the general aim of the Expo in the subordinate clause, which meets the needs raised in the previous step. The second is to link this with the main clause, which provides the focal information about the name, place and time of the Expo. This type of official-letter register is an example of genre conflicting/harmonising as noted earlier and also well captures the formality of sales invitations.

The above move may help achieve two kinds of purposes: attracting the reader's attention and achieving a collaborative positive image. Meeting the needs of raising competitive ability in a period of rapid economic development can be an attractive factor for the enterprises. The writer tries to achieve the desirable image in a collectivistic culture, which is related to the needs of industry and business in general, rather than an individual enterprise. Compared to the English sales invitations, the personal "you" approach is much less preferred in the Chinese invitations. This is because of the Chinese persuasive orientations towards formality and respect and the mentioning of "you" can be too direct a way for being polite.

Note that the move of inviting the reader is expressed explicitly and politely:

> 我司诚意邀请贵司派员前往参观.
> *Wo si   chengyi yaoqing gui   si   pai yuan qianwang*
> our Co. sincerely invite   your (H) Co. send people come
> *canguan.*
> visit
> We sincerely invite your (H) company to participate.

The lexical items *chenyi* 诚意 or "sincerely" and honorific second person pronoun are the key words for an invitation, which is quite common in all the sales invitations in the Chinese corpus. Using honourifics is often stressed in business writing textbooks (Chen 1991; Zhuge & Chen 1994) as a specific illustration of the use of *qing* 情 or "emotional appeal". This phenomenon can be traced back to ancient times when various kinds of honorific lexical items were used to address kings and the elderly. Their use further substantiates the claim that sales invitation is a type of *liyi xin* 礼仪信 or "letters of social etiquettes", which also reflect a certain level of genre harmonising as pointed out earlier.

Advertising the Expo

As indicated in Figure 8, the third content move of "Advertising the Expo" is composed of two steps: providing details and giving positive evaluations. This move in both genres is closely related to the AIDA principle, and helps create the reader's interest in the Expo. Once again, the specific strategies in achieving the intent are found to vary.

This move in the English sales invitation can be seen as a split move, and the Expo details are only mentioned briefly in the third paragraph by telling the reader where to locate further details of the Expo. This brevity in style is also true of the general findings in the English corpus. The preference for providing detailed information in an attached document can be related to the formal schemata of stressing clarity and conciseness.

However, there is no lack of positive evaluation throughout the sales invitation, and the most conspicuous examples can be found in the second and third paragraphs, such as:

> *This Comupterworld Expo promises to be bigger and more influential than ever…*
> *The high-value and low-cost workshops…*

The use of adjectives and their comparative or superlative degrees are effective advertising formal schemata, and similar forms also discussed in Bhatia (1993). Here *promising to be bigger and more influential than ever* serves this purpose well, and furthermore, it may well indicate the particular feature of this Expo, thus highlighting the *ethos*.

The Chinese sales invitations, however, tend to include as many details as possible, as shown in the exemplar sale invitation, which indicates that the specification of the AIDA model differs from the English sales invitations.

The first step in the Chinese example is realised in three paragraphs (from the second to the fourth), describing the scale of the exhibition and introducing various exhibits. For an exhibition, the scale and variety of products can be a very appealing factor to the reader. The major section of the second paragraph is discussed here as an example to indicate the main features of this step:

> 是次展会规模庞大。世界著名之银行保安，电脑通信，自动化设备将展出最新之金融银行及其他工商业的先进技术设备.
>
> *Shici zhanhui guimo pangda. Shijie zhuming   zhi   yinhang*
> this Expo   scale big   world well-known GNE bank
> *baoan, diannao tongxin,   zidonghua shebei*
> security computer telecommunication, automatic equipment
> *jiang   zhanchu zui xin zhi   jinrong yinhang ji   qita*
> will ASP exhibit latest GNE finance bank   and other
> *gongshang ye   de   xianjin   jishu   shebei.*
> industry and business GNE advanced technology equipment
> This show is to be held on a grand scale. (Names of the participating countries omitted.) Internationally well known companies dealing with bank security, computers, tele-communication and automation equipment will exhibit their latest advanced equipment for financial, banking and other industrial and commercial enterprises.

These details are introduced in a deductive manner, in which the idea develops from the general, *the grand scale*, to the specific including the names of the participating countries, which are used to support the idea of being on a grand scale.

The second step, "Evaluating the Expo", is scattered among the first step, a typical feature of evaluation in the corpus, which also shares many similarities with the English sales invitations. For example, the first sentence in the above example can be seen as a positive appraisal of the scale of the exhibition as being grand. Furthermore, the expression *shijie zhuming* 世界著名 or "internationally well-known" and the superlative degree of *zuixin* 最新 or "the latest" are used to give positive evaluations.

Offering incentives

Two kinds of incentives are found in the English corpus: (1) gifts and prizes; (2) benefits the Expo may bring. These incentives are used to push the reader to a quick decision, thus helping stimulate the reader's desire to attend the Expo.

The exemplar sales invitation uses the second type, which is to offer further opportunities of "*cutting edge technology workshops*" in the first paragraph. The position of this move seems to be quite flexible in the corpus, although it usually occurs at the end of the sales invitation.

The Chinese example seems to adopt a similar strategy to stimulate the reader's desire to participate. Offering incentives is expressed across two paragraphs – the fifth and sixth paragraphs of the sales invitation. This move details other incentives the writer promises the reader, including opportunities for sales and potential co-operation with foreign companies, as indicated in the fifth paragraph. Another incentive is the opportunity to leave on-site exhibited products for sale after the exhibition. This incentive is introduced by the verb *huanying* 欢迎 *or* "welcome", which echoes the writer's host-like attitude.

Inviting again

As shown in Figure 8, the fifth move of inviting the reader again, is only applicable to the Chinese corpus. The non-existence of this move in the English sales invitations reflects the different stresses on cultural values. Repeating invitations in Chinese is often seen as related to warmth and hospitality towards the guest (Chen 1991: 106). Additionally, this move can be seen as an embedded message as part of the generic intertextuality. The second invitation is indicated with more honourific lexical items in the Chinese sales invitation:

> 我司诚意邀请贵公司的管理及科技代表莅临参观是次展览.
> *Wosi   chengyi yaoqing gui   gongsi   de   guanli*
> our company sincerely invite   your (H) company GNE managerial
> *ji   keji   daibiao   lilin   canguan shici zhanlan.*
> and technical representative come (H) visit   this Expo
> Our company sincerely invites managerial and technical representatives
> from your (H) company to visit (H) this Expo.

Besides using the same form of *chengyi yaoqing* 诚意邀请 or "sincerely inviting" as the first invitation, the writer has shown more respect by using the honorific form of *lilin* 莅临 or "come". The repetition of inviting and the use of honorific lexis all contribute to a higher level of respect which is in alignment with the preferred strong *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" in the established host-guest relationship. As noted earlier, it is more welcoming and cordial for the writer to invite reader more than once.

Providing registration details

The sixth content move provides registration details. Both genres tend to provide clear registration details. The English sales invitation devotes most of the second paragraph and all of the third to these details. As a specific persuasive strategy, the writer starts to introduce the registration details with this line:

> . . . *and we've made pre-registration easy for you.*

This strategy of making things easy for the reader is frequently used in the corpus, and a similar strategy is also found in English sales letters as discussed in Chapter 5. The preferred formal schemata here can be related to the purpose of reducing the imposition in an invitation, which also helps to minimise the reader's cost in terms of time. This tendency echoes the *logos* of English business letters. The common saying "money is time" seems to be a dominant principle in persuasion in this low context culture.

The Chinese sales invitation also provides registration and contact details. Note that there is referential intertextuality of referring to the invitation card, which is appropriate for a sales invitation. Apart from that, the polite register indicated by a request with the softener *qing* 请 "please" in the last paragraph but one, matches the high respect level required by sales invitations.

Encouraging further contact

The seventh content move, Encouraging Further Contact, plays an important role in helping develop future business deals. The English sales invitation stresses the "updated" information provided by the web site details. The inclusion of similar high-tech information is quite common in the English corpus. This may show that technology has had a significant impact on the writing of English sales invitations.

In the Chinese sales invitation, giving further contact information is included in the last paragraph. It is written in a conditional sentence to express a polite and non-obligatory request, which is also in accordance with the polite and formal tone evident throughout the invitation.

Polite closing

Both genres include the final content move of polite closing. The English sales invitation ends with:

> *We look forward to seeing you again at the most influential business technology event in New Zealand.*

The lexical item *looking forward to* is a very common closing found in the English corpus. Note that the writer also takes a final opportunity to advertise the Expo as *the most influential business technology event in New Zealand*. In this way the text ends with clear-cut dual purposes stressed: inviting the reader as well as advertising the Expo, which is also the focus of the sales invitation.

Polite closing, in the Chinese exemplar, is explicated in an extremely respectful form *zhu da an* 祝大安 or "wishing great health". *Zhu da an* 祝大安 is often used to address someone much senior in position or age, and was even used by subjects to address the emperor in the ancient times. Therefore this expression can be seen as a *shangxing* (supordinate speaking/writing to the superior) expression. Note that the intertextuality also involves spoken genre here. Other cordial forms of closing found in the corpus include: *cheng yao guanling* 诚邀光临 or "inviting you (H) sincerely" and *jing yao guanling* 敬邀光临 or "respectfully anticipate your participation (H)". Polite forms are used here to lower the writer's position in order to achieve a respectful linguistic distance, which is also a typical feature of *liyi xin* 礼仪信 or "letters of social etiquette". These forms can be quite effective in achieving a high respect level in a collectivistic culture that places importance on social status.

Summary of findings on sales invitations

In sum, both genres have exhibited the *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos* in order to achieve the major purposes of inviting the reader and advertising the Expo. However, the stress seems to vary: the English sales invitations tend to stress the logical appeal, whereas the Chinese place the focus on both logical and emotional appeals, and the host-guest relationship is considered quite important throughout the corpus.

In addition, the two genres seem to vary in their method of achieving the company's image as part of the *ethos*. An individualistic image is stressed by English invitations. In contrast, collaboration is stressed in the Chinese corpus. This can be the reason why Chinese sales invitations, just like Chinese sales letters, tend to include "extraneous" information at the beginning of the text. It is also worthwhile to note that the English and Chinese sales invitations differ in their specific ways of expressing different kinds of *pathos*. The English sales invitations tend to have a personal and friendly tone while the Chinese invita-

tions frequently use honourifics to indicate respect and sincerity. The writers even try to invite the reader more than once to further indicate such an effort.

The similarities lie in the shared logical appeal relating to advertising the Expo, and the AIDA model is followed in both genres which is also part of the marketing strategies used in the market economy. However, there is a significant difference in terms of relevant quantity of information: More details about the Expo are found in the Chinese corpus, and less detailed information is given in the English corpus. As discussed earlier, the major reason for this difference can be that English sales invitations tend to leave the details in an attached document.

Comparing NZ and Chinese managers' views on sales invitations

In order to further substantiate the findings discussed earlier, Chinese managers and NZ managers' views towards both the English and Chinese letters are solicited and compared in this section.

Managers' views on the English invitation

It has been found that a strong emphasis on clarity and precision is evident in the NZ managers' comments on the English invitation as summarised below:

1. This is an excellent invitation which starts straight to the point.
2. This sales invitation is quite clear in structure, and the writer gives necessary details and provides relevant reasons for writing the invitation.
3. The style of the invitation is quite professional and yet calm. No flowery expressions and exaggerations are included.

The managers' comments further confirm the logical persuasive orientations uncovered earlier. The managers seem to like the style a lot, giving little indication that this type of rational appeal is "mistrusted". This can be related to current business practice which tends to focus on the clear purpose of promoting the Expo. The managers' attitudes may also indicate a general preference for the logical appeal in persuasion in New Zealand. In addition, no comments have been made in relation to the importance of emotional appeal, which may further indicate that the priority is given to *logos* as the persuasive orientation in sales invitations in New Zealand. However, they did comment on the appropriate "calmness" or the personal tone of the letter, which clearly indicates a different type of *pathos*, if any from the Chinese invitations.

The Chinese managers' comments, however, seem to express different views towards the English invitation in some areas although they also share similar views in some other areas:

1. The invitation does not have the *ketao hua* 客套话 or "politeness rituals" as would be expected of the Chinese invitations. They are important, but there is no problem accepting this kind of approach.
2. The purpose of the invitation is very clear and so is the information about the Expo. It is easy to understand and there is no exaggeration.
3. It is also polite using an informal but friendly approach towards the reader although it is unusual for first-time Chinese invitations.

The Chinese managers immediately identified that there was a lack of important politeness rituals as required of the Chinese *liyi xin* 礼仪信 or "letters of social etiquettes". However, they are flexible enough to accept different styles shown in the English sales invitations. This view corresponds with Kaplan's (1987, 1988) multiple forms of rhetorical structure and Hyland's (2000) pluricentricity of genre construction within cultures. This response may indicate that the most important thing is to communicate the information about the sales Expo. We can see the influence of business orientation here. Besides, the informal and friendly tone also adds to freshness to their knowledge of sales-invitation writing. To the Chinese managers, it is a matter of accepting another type of invitation of less formal nature, which they did. However, they also pointed out its difference from the formal Chinese invitations. They apparently bore in mind applying appropriate levels of language formality in context, which may also reflect their acceptance of reader-writer relationships in different cultures.

Managers' views on the Chinese invitation

The following are typical comments made by the Chinese managers about the Chinese sales invitation which, generally speaking, further support the findings discussed earlier.

1. This is a good example for writing sales invitations. The reader is sincerely invited and the exhibition is well advertised. In addition, the paragraphing is good and it is easy to follow the main ideas.
2. It represents a sincere and formal invitation to the reader, which is exactly what an Expo invitation should be like.

3. The invitation provides essential details to describe the exhibition, and there is no waste of words in order to keep the reader interested. These descriptions are also very persuasive.

The above comments, to a large degree, reflect the managers' knowledge structures and general expectations about writing sales invitations. The first comment gives a general impression of this sales invitation as being well organised. The second comment is about the formal and respectful register of inviting the reader as a guest. The last comment is about what is essential for advertising the exhibition. Compared with the comments on English sales invitations, these comments stress both the emotional and the logical appeals as persuasive strategies.

The NZ managers, however, expressed significantly different views from the above and are summed up below:

1. In general, the approach is too emotional and flowery and should not be encouraged.
2. Salutation 'Respected Reader' is not appropriate and the writer should be addressed to a real person. Good wishes are not appropriate since you are not the person's doctor.
3. The background information at the beginning of the invitation is not necessary.
4. The outline of the products is appropriate and the writer also discusses credibility of products. But the writer should give more details on indication of cost and deadline and cut to the chase.
5. The invitation is warm. However, the 2nd to last paragraph is a repeat of what the 1st paragraph about sincerely inviting...

The NZ managers seemed to disagree with the *pathos* expressed in the Chinese invitation. None of the politeness rituals relating to invitation such as salutation, good wishes and embedded invitations were acceptable to them. In particular, inviting the reader more than once was pointed out as being inappropriate and so were the good wishes asking about health. To a large extent, all these features are part of social etiquettes and politeness rituals commonly found in Chinese invitations. It seems that these features or types of intertextuality mainly cause problems for the NZ managers to understand and interpret the Chinese sales invitations.

In spite of the different comments given by the two groups, they shared some common understanding about sales Expo and would like to seek information about it. So the Chinese managers had no problem understanding the

English letters. It was the Chinese invitation that NZ managers found hard to understand because of its layers of invitation rituals which may water down the real intent of the invitation relating to sales.

Conclusion

Alongside the sales letters, this chapter has adopted the conceptual framework proposed in Chapter 3 to compare persuasive strategies used in English and Chinese sales invitations. It has again been found that the English sociocultural context and business practice indicate the need for strong *logos*, while the Chinese contexts distinctly pose a need for both *qing* 情 and *li* 理 or "emotional and logical appeals" in sales invitations. The logical stress realised itself in the English sales invitations through the focal communicative purposes of inviting the reader to attend the Expo and persuading the reader. The Chinese sales invitations, while sharing these goals, also have an additional purpose, which is to develop a cooperative image and a long-term relationship. As found with sales letters, this purpose arises from the needs of a collectivistic culture in the economic reform.

The different stress also has contributed to the use of different types of intertextuality. For example, English invitations made references to Internet websites and embedded postscripts as in sales letters. Chinese sales invitations, however, made references to invitation card, and included embedded invitation message in order to show a high-level of respect. In addition, a frequent genre conflicting/harmonising is found in Chinese invitations which involve both *gongwen* 公文 or "official letters" and *liyi xin* 礼仪信 or "letters of social etiquettes". The high-level intertextuality may indicate that the Chinese sales invitation is a genre in development and evolution. Interaction of rhetorical structure and intertextuality has also been identified in Chinese invitations. For example, intertextuality tends to take place where invitation is placed or where there is reader-writer interaction such as in the salutation and polite closings.

The above findings were further supported by the NZ and Chinese managers' views on their own genre conventions. However, their intercultural views also offered additional findings about acceptability of other criteria for writing sales invitations. For example, Chinese managers agreed to accept the informal style exhibited in the English sales invitation based on the reader-writer relationship. In contrast, the emotional approach commonly found in the Chinese sales invitations didn't seem to be favoured by the NZ managers.

Comparing English and Chinese business faxes

This chapter compares English and Chinese faxes and attempts to find out if the similarities and differences identified in the sales genres examined in previous chapters are also prevalent in faxes. Besides, it is also imperative to study faxes as they have become increasingly popular in business communication. Although research has been conducted on English faxes either as a first or second language (e.g. Akar 1998; Connor & Helle 1996; Louhiala-Salminen 1997, 1999; Yli-Jokipii 1994), very little has been done to compare faxes written in different languages. In this chapter, I will continue to use the same sociocognitive approach detailed in Chapter 3 as the major framework for analysis. In addition, I would like to incorporate technological considerations, as faxes are a product of modern technology.

Specifically, this chapter is organised in the following way. First it will discuss and establish business faxes as a genre with reference to existing literature in the study of fax. This is also to validate the comparative study of English and Chinese faxes. Second, the chapter will give an introduction to the data selected for analysis. Third, general findings from both the English and Chinese data will be discussed and analysed with significant differences highlighted. Finally, similar to the preceding chapters on genre comparison, the most effective faxes will be analysed and managers' views on the effectiveness of fax writing will be incorporated in the analysis.

The comparison will follow the model for cross-cultural genre comparison as proposed in Chapter 3 and persuasive orientation and communicative purposes will be the focus of discussion. They are still seen as the fundamental element influencing the rhetorical and linguistic choices for fax writing. However, intertextuality will also be studied in relation to other textual features throughout the chapter since faxes are a relatively new genre. It would only be appropriate to explore what constitutes of this genre in each of the target cultures.

Data of the English and Chinese faxes

Two kinds of data, which include faxes and NZ and Chinese managers' responses, were collected for comparison. The first set of data is composed of 100 English and 100 Chinese faxes collected from Australia, New Zealand and China from 2001 onwards. These 200 faxes were selected on a random basis from the 256 Chinese faxes and 308 English faxes collected from four Chinese companies, two Australian companies and two New Zealand Companies. All the companies were of a reasonable size dealing with both international and domestic businesses. Here are the criteria I followed in this selection. First, the writing had to indicate a clear format in order to be identified as a genre, as discussed earlier. The format included a cover page, formulaic moves to indicate a letter such as the use of salutation and signature. This criterion ruled out informal personal notes without any salutations. Second, the faxes did not include attached materials or documents of other genres such as sales brochures which were sent via fax in order to reach the reader quickly. Third, advertising faxes were excluded as they were found in the English and not in the Chinese corpus. Therefore it was not appropriate to include this type of faxes for comparison.

For ease of comparison, I tried to include a similar number of faxes for each type from both the English and Chinese corpora. A detailed breakdown of different types of fax is provided in Table 7.

As shown in Table 7, similar types of text have been found in both the English and Chinese genres. For example, order-related faxes were found in both the English and Chinese data. Very similarly, complaints were rare in both the English and Chinese faxes.

Table 7. Fax types found in the Chinese and English corpora

	English faxes	Chinese faxes
Sales faxes	13	5
Confirmation fax	20	25
Order related fax	40	40
Complaint fax	2	4*
Providing information	15	20
First-time contact	10	10
Total	100	100

*Note to the table: The four complaint faxes in the Chinese corpus are at the same time order-related faxes. In other words, they overlap, and thus the four faxes have been counted twice. This kind of genre mixing will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Although I tried to include an identical number of fax types in each corpus, it was hard to do so with some types of faxes because certain types are more frequently used in English than in Chinese. As shown in Table 7, more sales faxes were found in the English corpus, so more sales faxes were included in the English data. The difference in composition between the English and Chinese corpora roughly reflects proportionally the distribution of each type of fax originally found in the overall data.

The data is used in two different ways. Firstly, all 200 faxes will be used as data for the discussion of general findings and comparison of the English and Chinese faxes in this chapter. Secondly, a sub-set of faxes is examined. This second set of data is composed of order-related faxes, which is drawn from the 200 faxes. As shown in Table 3, order-related faxes outnumber the other types of fax; in all there are 40 English faxes and 40 Chinese faxes of this type. This sub-set of faxes will be used as the basis for discussion and comparison of the most effective faxes.

A similar procedure to that used for sales letters and invitations was followed to determine the most effective writing. It started with a pilot study in which all the 40 English and 40 Chinese order-related faxes were given to five Chinese and five New Zealand managers respectively to decide on the five faxes which were most representative of each corpus. The five faxes selected were then sent with a questionnaire to 100 managers in each group, and subsequently the most effective fax was chosen based on the five-grade scale. The English fax was graded 3.1 and the Chinese fax received an average rating of 4.0. As a set of further data, ten managers within each group were then interviewed to substantiate the grading, and a summary of the managers' views will be incorporated and discussed later in this chapter. In addition, intercultural review results such as the NZ managers' views on the Chinese fax and vice versa will be discussed for comparison purposes.

Technological and sociocultural contexts for fax writing

First of all, both sociocultural contexts and technological environments will be examined since fax is a technologically mediated form of communication. The sociocultural environments for faxes remain the same as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 since I am examining current business discourse, be it sales letters or faxes. Here adequate considerations are given to the technological environment. The influence of technology permeates our lives and has changed the way people communicate in business. The use of fax in business is a good example

of this. Fax became a popular means of communication only about twenty years ago, and its use in business started even later. However, its influence on business communication should not be underestimated. Many businesses are conducted via fax for its fast speed and its ability to send copies of original documents. These features, which are also advantages, apparently have revolutionised the process of information exchange, and made business communication easier. As a consequence, recent years, particularly the past ten years, have witnessed a rapid increase in the use of faxes in business transactions.

Louhiala-Salminen (1999) has researched the use of faxes in Europe. According to her, faxes are a popular medium of communication for business transactions. However, she also found that there was a tendency for companies to use faxes less frequently as they were being gradually replaced by emails, which are not only fast, but also more economical. Based on this, Louhiala-Salminen predicts that faxes may be transitory and short-lived as a form of business writing. Her findings are significant regarding the influence of technology on genre change. However, these findings so far are not entirely applicable to the Australian and New Zealand business contexts, at least, not to companies of reasonable sizes, although they might well be applicable in small companies. For example, all the four companies where I collected my data still use faxes as an important means of communication and receive faxes on a daily basis.

The sociocultural environments for fax writing in China are characterised by the increasing development of the market economy and level of technological influence. On the one hand, the social and economic contexts discussed in the previous two chapters apply here. China accepts the principles relating to a market economy and business successes as a matter of course since it is determined to carry forward its reforms in the direction of privatisation and marketisation. This tendency has become even stronger and more evident since China joined the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Western marketing strategies also apply to Chinese faxes to a large extent.

On the other hand, China is trying to catch up with technological developments in the West since they constitute an essential component of Chinese economic reform and modernisation. Just as it accepts the influence of the market economy, China is responsive to the use of new technology, and there have recently been a lot of new developments in technology-mediated forms of communication. As a consequence, faxes have become a popular medium for business communication, and have been widely used in business transactions in the past five years particularly in large cities as there is a strong need to communicate domestically and internationally. The popularity of faxes is

growing even in small cities, as business companies have to resort to faxes for the advantages discussed earlier.

Along with faxes, emails have also been introduced into Chinese business communication. Although emails are more economical as noted earlier, they are far from replacing faxes, even in small companies. As a matter of fact, emails have never become as popular as faxes. To many companies, emails are very much a personal medium of communication. Thus the issue raised by Louhiala-Salminen is not a relevant concern to Chinese business organisations. Whether emails will become just as popular or will replace faxes with more advanced technology is still open to question and deserves further research. On the whole, faxes are seen as a reliable and formal means of communication in China. Furthermore, my data indicate that companies tend to prefer to use faxes to send hand-written messages, which is generally beyond the capabilities of email.

It needs to be noted that the organisational and interpersonal context are slightly different from those of sales letters and invitation: there is, generally speaking, a closer relationship between the writer and the reader since many faxes are not the first-time correspondence which is often the case with sales letters. Many of the faxes reflect a continued business relationship. The other difference lies in the fact that the writer can be the seller or the customer and politeness strategies may vary accordingly when they write up the faxes. I will provide detailed context in this regard for analysing the faxes where relevant.

In sum, faxes, as a new medium of communication, are a product of the existing sociocultural and technological influences. A brief introduction to faxes as a genre is needed.

Introducing fax as a genre

Compared to business letters, faxes have a much shorter history. Researchers began to study this genre at a very early stage of its development (such as Connor 1988). However, it was not until recently that faxes were discussed as a genre as their use in business increased in frequency. Relevant findings on faxes are discussed here to highlight the features of fax writing.

Researchers who have analysed English faxes such as Akar (1998), Connor and Helle (1996), Louhiala-Salminen (1999) and Yli-Jokipii (1994) tend to agree that fax is an emerging medium for exchanging messages in business. However, they have different views regarding whether fax should be seen as a distinct genre. Yli-Jokipii (1994), in her study of requests in business discourse,

focuses mainly on requests strategies. She makes no distinction between letters and faxes and views both as a medium of text transmission. To her, faxes are unconstrained and diverse in form using pictures, elaborate graphs and handwritten notes, and therefore they do not indicate sufficient physical traits to be classified as a genre.

However, Louhiala-Salminen and Akar (1999) point out that Yli-Jokipii's (1994) claim may not be valid for the current situation since her research was conducted a few years ago. Faxes have since evolved and become more standardized in form and content. Louhiala-Salminen and Akar examined Finnish and Turkish faxes in both formal and content features and concluded that business faxes constitute a distinct genre. Their criteria to determine faxes as a genre are largely based on Orlikowski and Yates' (1994) claim that the identifying features of genre consist of proper forms and communicative purposes. Following these features, Louhiala-Salminen and Akar identified sufficient common formal features in the faxes they collected such as cover sheet, header and a range of communicative purposes. For example, in their research, order, request and complaint are seen both as purposes and strategies. However, this is only a minor issue regarding further detailed classification of the data. The strategies they listed are apparently related to the communicative intent of the writer.

As further substantiation, Hildebrandt and Zhu (2000) provide evidence of a distinct form English faxes employ. They found that English faxes absorbed the features of both memos and letters. For example, faxes follow the letter format of using salutations and signatures. They also use numerals and symbols to highlight main points. Based on this, Hildebrandt and Zhu call this kind of mixed feature a "memo-let", which forms part of the fax writing convention. Hildebrand and Zhu further point out that this kind of genre mixing is practised to achieve the objectives of business communication. Their views also confirm Orlikowski and Yates' (1994) argument that genre practice as an important means of meeting business needs. For example, the letter format is used to indicate a personal touch while memo features are adequate for expressing ideas in order to save space. As commonly known, faxes tend to be written within one A4 page. All these form-related features make faxes stand out as a distinct genre.

As far as I am concerned, no research has been done about specific development of the Chinese faxes such as exploring how existing business genres have contributed to the formation of this new genre. Based on the data I collected and my own research into the Chinese business writing, I have identified some significant features to indicate possible traces of influence from other types of business writing.

The Chinese faxes appear to share some formal *gongwen* 公文 (official-letter) features as well as personal letters. The former is shown in the use of serial numbers to list important items – a form frequently found in formal *gongwen* 公文 or "official documents or letters". However, they do not really involve the superior-subordinate relationships and most of the faxes are equals writing to each other. This may indicate the change of reader-writer relationships since after China started the economic reform in 1978. Concurrently, the inclusion of the *gongwen* 公文 (official letter) element indicates the *fa ding xing* 法定性 or "legal sense" as *gongwen* 公文 tend to have (He & Lu 1991) in order to keep a record what has been done or agreed on and very often a series of message can be included in one fax (see exemplar fax in this chapter). As a second distinct characteristic, personal-letter features include the adoption of a more informal tone as compared to other sales genres and use of personal greetings and good wishes. The combination of these existing genres is sufficient to indicate the hybrid nature of the Chinese fax as well.

However, the Chinese faxes very much represent a condensed type of hybrid genre because of the space limitations. Take the most successful fax in this chapter as an example. It would not be difficult to identify the resemblance to *gongwen* 公文 or "official letters" in its specific way of listing the items or embedded messages using serial numbers. The formulaic moves of personal letters such as greetings are significant evidence from personal letters. This is also reflective of the data in general.

However, faxes do have a feature of its own using a certain format such as fax letter-head with specific type of salutations. More importantly, English and Chinese faxes both resort to existing genres to form a new genre which can be seen as constitutive or generic intertextuality as discussed in Chapter 3.

As discussed above, the majority of researchers agree that faxes are a genre in both form and content. I will also closely follow Orlikowski and Yates' (1994) criteria for genre identification. Besides form and purposes, I will give consideration to persuasive orientations. In addition, the views of the relevant discourse communities will be incorporated to further justify my own findings where relevant. Accordingly, English and Chinese faxes are compared in order to reflect the general features of the writing conventions of each genre. In this chapter, faxes of various types such as order and sales faxes will be seen as one genre. At this stage, a sub-genre study of faxes seems to be premature as fax analysis is still in a preliminary stage of being identified as a genre. However, I am very much aware the existence of possible sub-genres such as requests and first contact faxes. A request fax can be very different from a first-contact fax. Adequate attention will also be given to the nuances of differences between

the fax types in the discussion. To reiterate, my focal point is to compare the writing conventions of English and Chinese faxes as a genre.

Persuasive orientations and communicative purposes of business faxes

The persuasive orientations discussed in earlier chapters still apply to business faxes. For example, Chinese faxes tend to indicate both the *qing* 情 and *li* 理 or the "emotional and logical approaches", while English faxes have a clear stress on *logos*. All these orientations in persuasion will be further elaborated in the specific comparison of English and Chinese faxes later in this chapter.

The communicative purposes of English and Chinese faxes are examined in relation to the sociocultural and technological environments as well as the persuasive orientations. The following purposes have been ascertained in the 100 English and 100 Chinese faxes (Table 8).

As shown in Table 8, very similar purposes are found in both English and Chinese faxes. In particular, in the category of business-related purposes, there are more similarities than differences. The similarity indicates a strong convergence of business contexts which are characterised by market economy and competition. There is one particular difference worth noting though: the Chinese company's image is still related to respect, as found in Chinese sales letters.

In the relational purposes, both English and Chinese tend to establish and seek business co-operation. However, Chinese faxes have an additional purpose of maintaining long-term relationships, which is a reflection of the collective society with a clear emphasis on contacts and relationships.

These purposes, in general, meet the needs of the sociocultural environments and economic developments. In addition to this, they are also in close

Table 8. Comparing communicative purposes of business faxes

Fax types Purposes	The English business faxes	The Chinese business faxes
Business related purposes	To promote business To advertise product To create a positive image To encourage further contact To inform the reader To communicate an issue	To promote business To advertise produce To create a positive/respectful image To encourage further contact To inform the reader To communicate an issue
Other purposes	To seek cooperation	To seek cooperation To maintain long-term relationships

alignment with persuasive orientations. The English faxes have a predominant emphasis on *logos* which is mainly related to sales and business transactions.

Both *logos* and *pathos* or *qing* 情 and *li* 理 are embedded in the communicative purposes of the Chinese faxes. On the one hand, the *logos* or *li* 理 is realised in the various purposes of business dealings. On the other hand, in a society influenced by *ren dao* 人道 or "the way of humans" and *guanxi* 关系 or "connections", there exists the need to develop and promote a relationship with the reader, which is also the *pathos* or *qing* 情 as discussed earlier. Both are essential for business fax writing.

An overview of types of intertextuality identified in faxes

It has been found that both English and Chinese faxes indicate certain level of intertextuality. For example, referential intertextuality and embeddedness are significant features in this regard.

As shown in Tables 9, faxes, in both cases, make references to other channels of communication or are interacting with and complementing other genres. This kind of reference is a good example of referential intertextuality and more than one types of communication channel is referred to. For example, both English and Chinese faxes mention the simultaneous correspondence between the writer and reader via telephone or face-to-face meetings. Faxes are very much used as an additional means of communication. As indicated in Table 9, about similar number of fax messages mentioned the on-going discussion via telephones and face-to-face meetings while the writer employs fax as a means of further communication. Both genres prefer to use telephone as an additional correspondence more frequently than meetings and emails. A significant number of English faxes, however, have also made reference to email correspondence while none of the Chinese use emails. This is further evidence to show that fax is a more popular business genre than emails in China.

Inserting images in the text is an additional type of intertextuality shared by both English and Chinese faxes. However, the images referred to here is not words or expressions, and, rather, they are hand-drawn diagrams e.g. patterns

Table 9. Intertextuality found in the English and Chinese faxes

	Embeddedness	Telephone	Email	Meeting	Images	Guanxi	Greetings
English	3	22	11	6	7	0	0
Chinese	30	35	0	11	5	12	82

and shapes of the products mentioned in the text. These images are used usually for further illustration purposes, which adds to the feel of actuality and also offers a sense of a three-dimensional understanding of what is being discussed or offered. We can owe this type of reference to technological influence and faxes make it possible to transmit images as they are.

A culture-specific type of referential intertextuality is related to *guanxi* 关系 or "connections". It is only found in the Chinese corpus and the frequency or number of reference (12) is also significant. This can be seen as an example of establishing further interpersonal relationship with the reader besides the salesman and client relationship which will be detailed later in this chapter.

Genre embeddedness is also worth noting and it is a significant feature for Chinese faxes. In addition, the embedded messages can be seen as a type of generic intertextuality relating to formal *gongwen* 公文 (official-letter) features as noted earlier. As shown in Table 9, 31 faxes have embedded messages which are often indicated with serial numbers such as 1, 2, 3. . . (e.g. the Chinese fax in Appendix 1). However, only 3 English faxes are embedded. The average number of embedded message within one Chinese fax is usually between two and four, with an exception of one fax, which has embedded as many as eight.

Two types of message are found to be embedded in the Chinese faxes: embedding multiple messages in one fax and repeating a certain message. The former plays a role of informing the reader and documenting the business transaction, which also fits well into the purpose of "keeping track of the business progress". The latter repeats messages for emphasis-a similar phenomenon was found in sales invitations.

The scarcity of embeddedness in the English faxes, however, may not counter-prove that English faxes are not as hybrid as the Chinese. On the contrary, they are a mixed genre in their own way of drawing from memos and personal letters, none of which tend to embed messages.

Greetings frequently occur in the Chinese faxes as shown in Table 9 and are not found in the English faxes. The reason for this difference can be that their use is a typical feature in personal letters in Chinese, which is another piece of evidence of to indicate the mixed nature of Chinese faxes.

It needs to be noted that the types of intertextuality overviewed in this section also interact with the rhetorical structure and are realised in certain linguistic forms. Both accounts will be further discussed later in this chapter where relevant.

Rhetorical structures identified in business faxes

This section discusses the general findings of rhetorical moves from the English and Chinese faxes, with reference being made to the contextual factors discussed earlier. Various moves are found in the English and Chinese corpora, and a breakdown of all the moves is presented below in Table 10.

Three kinds of moves can be seen in the corpora: formulaic moves, relational moves and business related moves. As already noted in Chapters 5 & 6, formulaic moves refer to salutations, good wishes and signatures and they are required as part of the format of letter writing. All the faxes in the corpus employ these moves, and their use further substantiates that faxes have inherited these letter-writing features.

The second type, relational moves, includes "Greetings" and "Stressing Co-Operation", which are only found in the Chinese corpus; no English faxes use these moves. Greetings play a similar role for building interpersonal connections as found in sales genres (see Chapters 5 & 6). The move of "Stressing Co-Operation" serves as a bridge connecting both business and interpersonal

Table 10. A breakdown of moves identified in the fax data*

Fax types / Moves	Order Eng	Order Chi	Inform Eng	Inform Chi	Confirm Eng	Confirm Chi	Complaint Eng	Complaint Chi	First contact Eng	First contact Chi	Sales Eng	Sales Chi
Salutation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Greetings		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
Ref. to prev. com./contact	(✓)	(✓)	(✓)		(✓)	(✓)	(✓)	(✓)				
Establishing credentials			(✓)	(✓)					(✓)	(✓)	✓	✓
Give info	(✓)	(✓)	✓	✓					✓	✓	✓	✓
Order	✓	✓										
Confirm			(✓)		✓	✓						
Product details	✓	✓	(✓)				✓	✓			✓	✓
Complaint		(✓)					✓	✓				
Threat to change term							(✓)	(✓)				
Stress co-op.		✓		(✓)				(✓)		(✓)		✓
Polite closing	(✓)	(✓)	(✓)	(✓)		(✓)				(✓)		
Good wishes	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Signature	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

*Note to the table: "Eng" stands for English and "Chi" stands for Chinese. The symbol ✓ indicates the existence of the move, while (✓) indicates that the move is only used occasionally.

relationships. The stress on co-operations also concurs with the purpose of relationship building. For example, interpersonal relationships can be reinforced and further developed through business cooperation. The preference of these moves in the Chinese corpus further proves that relationship building is a consistent theme in business writings.

The third group of moves are related to business dealings and indicate more similarities than differences across the two corpora. On the one hand, these moves are distributed very evenly across the English and Chinese genres. For example, both English and Chinese genres include these moves: "Referring to Previous Communication", "Giving information", "Confirmation", "Offering Product Details", "Complaint" and "Threatening to Change Terms". All these moves are particularly chosen as strategies in order to achieve various business related purposes. On the other hand, similar moves tend to occur within similar types of fax across the two corpora. For example, the move of "Establishing Credentials" is found in order-related and information giving faxes. Likewise, "Orders" are employed by order-related faxes by both the English and Chinese corpora.

A significant difference lies in that the Chinese faxes include complaints in the order-related faxes. This is also an instance of genre mixing, which is employed as a strategy to camouflage the negative message that can be caused by the complaint. In this way, the message sounds more polite and acceptable to the reader than an exclusive complaint message. This phenomenon will be further discussed later in this chapter.

Suffice it to say that English faxes clearly have less stress on relationship building as most of the moves are related to business. Chinese faxes, however, stress both business and relationship building, just as in Chinese sales letters and sales invitations. In the following section, all the relevant moves are detailed and their interaction with intertextuality are analysed where relevant as well.

There is a further type of difference in relation to the form and format of the faxes. In the data, all the English faxes were typed while the majority of the Chinese faxes were hand-written. Although computers are widely used in China, business people still prefer to write faxes by hand. To them, a hand-written version may indicate more effort in building a contact with the reader. In addition, this preference may also be related to the less frequent use of technology in terms of typing and printing on computers.

Greetings used in faxes

Similar to sales letters, greetings are only used in the Chinese corpus, which is a form of intertextuality or genre conflicting/harmonising of using personal greetings in faxes. Their appearance also adds to the hybrid nature of faxes as noted earlier. In all, 82 faxes include this move and their extensive use is worth further analysis. The most common greetings are still *nin* (H) *hao* 您好 or "How are you?" which is much more brief as compared to those used in sales letters. In addition, the following greetings are also found in the data:

> 很久没见面了。
> *Henjiu   mei jianmian le.*
> very long time no   see   ASP
> Haven't seen you for a long time.
>
> 让我首先祝您新年快乐！
> *Rang wo shouxian zhu   nin   xinnian   kuaile!*
> let   me first   wish you (H) new year happy
> Let me first of all wish you (H) a Happy New Year!

All these greetings are used as polite etiquette to begin a letter, and similar types of greetings were also found in Chinese sales letters (see Chapter 5). Their appearance in fax writing indicates that polite rituals such as greetings can also be translated into the emerging genre of faxes. Apparently, this is a polite language behaviour occurring across a number of genres in business writing. Compared to letter writing, however, the writer prefers a shorter greeting such as *Nin* (H) *hao* 您好 (How are you?) because of space limitations, which is also evidence of technological influence on fax writing.

Reference to previous communication/contact

"Reference to Previous Communication or Contact" is used by eighteen English and twenty-three Chinese faxes. As noted earlier, it is seen as a type of referential intertextuality as it refers to an earlier text of communication encounter. All types of fax include this move except sales and first-contact faxes, where the writer may not have any previous contact with the reader. A common type of referential intertextuality in both corpora includes phrases such as "As we discussed over the phone yesterday". Reference is also made to previous email, letter and telephone exchanges. This commonality indicates that a fax sometimes appears to be an additional form of communication, and is used to complement other forms of communication such as telephones and emails.

Nowadays businesses are conducted by means of multi-channelled forms of communication. In addition, this frequent reference may indicate that faxes are dependent on other forms of communication. For example, Zhu (2004), in her discussion of Chinese genre mixing, refer to this type of dependence as genre complementarity, with which faxes are used as a further or additional form of communication.

As noted in Table 9 earlier on, only Chinese faxes include reference to an existing *guanxi* 关系 or "connections" and here is an example:

> 你好。通过我的好朋友，老上司王忠介绍，我有幸得到你的传真号.
> *Ni hao. Tongguo wo de hao pengyou, lao   shangsi, Wang Zhong*
> Hello, through my close friend   former boss   Wang Zhong
> *jieshao,   wo youxing dedao ni   de   chuangzhen hao.*
> introduce I   honoured got   your GNE fax   number.
> Hello! I was honoured to have your fax number at the recommendation of my close friend and former boss Wang Zhong.

The above introductory move is used to make an initial contact with the reader. It includes a friend's name Wang Zhong to start the message, who is in an important position of *lao shangsi* 老上司 or "a former boss", who is apparently a close friend of the writer as well. In this way, the reader, writer and Wang Zhong can form a close circle of interpersonal relations. The purpose here is clearly to establish a favourable relationship by gaining the reader's trust. As detailed by Fei (1985) in Chapter 2, Chinese society is very much based on a complicated social network of various layers. The writer here tries to embark on the inner circle within the Chinese networking system.

Besides a reference to a friend, former meetings are sometimes used to remind the reader of an existing relationship. It has been found from the data that this kind of reference appears in faxes of first contact when there is a need to form business partnership; it will become less used or gradually diminish as the business tie becomes more and more established between the writer and the reader. This finding further confirms the intent of this move towards relationship building with a specific business circle in mind. In style, this move is much more compact as compared to letter-writing. This shorter version of the reference of *guanxi* 关系 or "connections" can thus be seen as related to technological influences.

Establishing credentials

"Establishing Credentials" is found in a range of English and Chinese faxes, from information, first-contact faxes to sales faxes. As shown in Table 10, it is only frequently used by sales faxes. For example, all of the five (100%) Chinese sales faxes and thirteen (100%) English sales faxes employ it. Both genres follow similar strategies to give credibility to the writer. The history of the brand and the quality of the product are features frequently found in the sales faxes. These features are also employed by sales letters. It is used here for the same purpose of achieving a positive image. However, this move occurs mainly in sales faxes in which the writer promotes the product, and it is seldom used by other types of fax. The credentials appear to be brief, even if this move is employed. There can be two reasons for this. On the one hand, faxes are often used as an additional medium for communication and credentials may have been established earlier. On the other hand, the one-page space limit can well discourage the writer from giving lengthy presentations about the company's credentials.

Giving information

As shown in Table 5, all faxes except confirmation and complaints include the move of giving information. It is the most frequently used move by both genres as it occurs in every message across three types: sales, first-contact and information-giving faxes. This finding also coincides with the communicative purposes, as "to inform the reader" is one of the major purposes. One English fax thus introduces the information:

> *My email refers. Here is the letter from HM Customs declining our appeal.*

This example, which is also the entire fax message, focuses solely on giving the relevant information to the reader.

Similar straightforward information can also be found in the Chinese corpus. However, it can be more complicated when the message involves giving information about a more negative message such as a delay in delivery. For example:

> 有关您合同 9514386，10K 之布袋，我司只可在 20/3 发货. 因现今工厂订单太紧. 工人又刚从中国新年气氛中回工，请您方望理解并同客人协商展征之事. 您的合作，我司会不胜感激.

> *Youguan nin   hetong   9514386, 10 K zhi   budai,   wo*
> about   your (H) contract 9514386, 10 K Class cloth-bags, our
> *si   zhi ke zai 20/3 fa   huo. Yin   xian jin   gongchang*
> Co. only can on 20/3 deliver good because now today company
> *dingdan tai jin. gongren you gang   cong zhongguo xinnian*
> order   too tight. workers only just ASP from Chinese   New Year
> *qifen zhong huigong, qing   nin   wanwang   lijie,*
> atmosphere return,   please you (H) sincerely hope understand,
> *bing tong keren xieshang zhanzheng   zhi   shi.   nin de*
> and   with client consult   solicit exhibitor GNE business. Your (H)
> *hezuo,   wo si   hui busheng   ganji.*
> cooperation my Co. will extremely grateful.
> Regarding your contract 9514386 about the 10k cloth-bags, we can only
> deliver the goods you ordered on 20/3, because we are tied up with orders.
> Besides, our workers have just returned from the New Year holiday. Sin-
> cerely hope you can understand this, and discuss exhibition contribution
> with the clients. We will be extremely grateful for your cooperation.

This move is related to a delayed delivery. The writer, apparently a seller, is polite and apologetic to the reader, who is also the buyer, about the delay and concurrently provides some reasons relating to the New Year Festival that caused the delay. Here *wanwang lijie* 万望理解 or "understanding", and *hezuo* 合作 or "cooperation" are also mentioned as they are the key to relationship building. In this way, the delayed delivery time is seen here as a threat to trust and relationship and the writer resorts to the *qing* 情 or "emotional approach", such as *busheng ganji* 不胜感激 or "being more than grateful", to make the information acceptable to the reader. The buyer-seller relationship also adds to the high-level politeness as shown in the comparative adjective 不胜感激 or "being more than grateful". The writer combines this move with a hope for cooperation which is also an important strategy for relationship building.

Detailing the order

"Detailing the Order" is only found in the order-related faxes. Both English and Chinese faxes follow similar strategies, with a focus on providing clear and detailed information about the order. Being precise and getting the order right appear to be the guideline for writing. The order stands alone and no further

moves, such as stressing cooperation, were closely attached to the order, and no *qing*-related approach was found in the descriptions.

Confirmation move

The confirmation move is only found in confirmation faxes. It tends to be very brief in both corpora, and sometimes the message is only composed of one single line: *The faxed contract has been received. Thanks.* There does not seem to be any further purpose apart from confirming the receipt. In general, this move is brief and to the point.

Giving product details

"Giving Product Details" occurs mainly in sales faxes and sometimes in order-related faxes (ten in Chinese and five in English). This move has slightly different purposes since it is located in two kinds of fax. In a sales fax, the writer gives product details in order to promote the product. Similar types of promotional strategies to those detailed in sales letters are also used in these faxes. However, there is a significant difference in the fax language used in that the writer resorts to symbols and images to describe the product.

The second kind of fax incorporating this move is order-related faxes, in which the writer tries to communicate clearly to the reader about the product being ordered, which also ensures that the product is meeting the customer's expectations. The English faxes are found to provide specifications for the product such as the quantity and product type required by the customer. Again, this move is sometimes accompanied by images where relevant. Chinese faxes also follow a similar principle. For example:

> 我司已按 L-3728 米做. 第 10 号如果从挂肩下量到橡根上. 可按客
> 人要求做.
> *Wo   si   an   L-3728 lai zuo. di   10 hao   ruguo cong*
> our Co. according to L-3728 make it size 10 Class if   from
> *gua   jian xia liang   dao xiang gen   shang. ke   an*
> shoulder below   measure to   rubber-tree waist   can according to
> *keren   yaoqiu   zuo.*
> customer requirement process
> (The hand-drawn T-shirt image omitted)
> Our company will make the Size 10 (T-shirts) according to the L-3738

contract. We can measure from below the shoulder to the waist edge (as indicated in the image) according to the customer's requirements.

As shown in this example, this fax is about a sales order the customer has made, and the writer attempts to make sure the product being made is exactly what the customer requires. The message thus exclusively focuses on the T-shirt details such as its measurement and style. The writer even resorts to drawing an image to illustrate the details. The message as a whole was written in a rush as there is no such a term as *xiang gen* 橡根 or "rubber-tree root" in Chinese that refers to any part of a T-shirt. But the image of the T-shirt pattern included in the message clearly shows that it refers to the length from underneath the sleeve up to the waist edge. The writer probably is also aware of his inadequate use of expression about the specific length he mentioned which can be another reason for including this diagram. From this perspective, the image also plays the role of referential intertextuality as noted earlier. This kind of unpolished style is quite common in both Chinese and English faxes, and it also indicates a difference from letter writing which can be far more edited beforehand.

Complaint

The complaint move is only found in two English complaint faxes and four order-related faxes in the Chinese corpus. The complaints here are both written by clients. For example, the English fax begins the complaint message this way:

> *This is not simply making you aware of the sort of issues that drags your organisation's image down. There has been a great deal of criticism at the massive cost of implementing the E-Commerce programme, as you will be aware. Today I received this glossy invitation to register, some months after Marguet's had already done so.*

> *Surely the incredibly expensive software that was purchased is capable of mail sorting to eliminate wasting material and postage on firms who are already registered?*

The writer's purposes are clearly stated in this complaint fax: not only to draw the reader's attention to the organisation's image, but more importantly, to criticise the reader's organisation for sending out a redundant invitation to register a few months after he had done so. The writer goes further, using a rhetorical question to mock the writer for not making use of the software to sort out mailing and avoid *wasting material and postage on firms who have already registered*.

The message is simply this: What is the point of promoting the software if you can't even use it to keep track of the people who have already registered? On the whole, the writer prefers a very direct tone, and being the client is also likely to add to this tendency.

The complaint move in Chinese faxes is written in this manner:

我刚收到你寄来的样品. 真是非常失望. 对你们失去信心，以后在合作上非常困难…在品质、用料、做工上全部比上次还差. 这是绝对不可以接受的.以下几点要更改.

Wo gang shou dao ni ji lai de yangpin. Zhenshi feichang
I   just   receive   you send sample. really   very

shiwang   dui nimen shiqu xinxin,   yihou zai
disappointed in   you   lose   confidence future on

hezuo shang feichang kunan… zai pinzhi, yongliao, zuogong shang
cooperation very difficult   in   quality material, tailoring

quanbu bi   shangci hai cha.   Zhe shi juedui   bu keyi
all   compare last time even worse. this is   absolutely no can

jieshou de. Yixia   jidian yao   gengai:
accept.   following points must improve:

We have just received the samples regarding children's clothing. We are very disappointed, and have lost confidence in you; this will cause a lot of difficulty for our collaboration from now on... Compared to last time, the sample indicates poorer quality, material and tailoring. We will not accept anything like this. Thus we suggest the following points for improvement:

The writer's criticism seems to be just as direct as that of the English fax because it was also written by a client who seemed to have more power than the seller in their business relation. However, there is a stronger emphasis on *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" and the on-going collaboration. For example, the writer starts by describing some general bad feelings towards receiving the sample and the threat to the existing cooperation, and then moves on to the specific complaint about the product. The threat is also seen as an embedded move here, which will be referred to as "Threat to Change Terms" in the next section. *Qing* 情 or "emotional approach" also plays an important role to start with in setting the atmosphere for the negative complaint message. These general feelings such as *feichang shiwang* 非常失望 or "very disappointed" and *shiqu xixin* 失去信心 or "losing confidence in collaboration" can be harmful towards relationship building, and they are used as a warning to draw the reader's attention and also to push for improvement of the product. *Hezuo* 合作 or "cooperation" is apparently being threatened by the defects of the product. In this way, cooperation

serves as an underlying principle for doing business and is used as a point of argument as well to persuade the reader or the seller to improve their products. The emphasis on *qing* 情 or "emotional appeal" thus indicates a difference in persuasion from the English data.

Another point worth noting is that complaints appear only in complaint faxes in the English corpus. In contrast, they also appear in order-related faxes as an embedded message in the Chinese corpus – a point to be discussed further in the exemplar fax.

Threat to change terms

"Threat to Change Terms" is the least used move according to Table 5, and it only occurs in a complaint fax once in the English corpus and three times in the Chinese corpus. However, its scarce use does not mean that it is not important and it is still worthy of note. It can still be seen as a relevant strategy to address an issue under circumstances such as those described below. In terms of the specific linguistic strategies, there is a significant difference between the English and Chinese faxes. The English message goes:

> *I would appreciate your looking into this matter as I do not see it as good reflection on your organisation and I would not even consider recommending any to your service nor will I approach you again.*

The writer associates the "matter" to damaging the company's image and then moves on to a threat to quit the service. Apparently the writer is critical of the company's service and has gone so far as to threaten to quit the service if no adequate solution is provided. The language used here is extremely forthright and to the point. The focus is placed on "I" which is used four times within this long sentence. Note that the emphatic phrase of *nor will I approach you again*. All this indicates the writer's defensive stance against the company's service which also shows the power of the client in this specific reader-writer relationship.

A similar direct tone is also found in one Chinese move which was embedded in the complaint fax. Extensive discussion was also given to show the emphasis on the emotional approach and the term under threat is mainly about cooperation.

This threat is expressed in a much more polite manner since it is written by the seller:

> 请您继续协助此事. 否则鄙人在公司不好交待. 鄙公司也会考虑对
> 贵公司的以后之交易以 L/C 付款方式.

Qing	*nin*	*jixu*	*xiezhu*	*cishi.*		*Fouze*	*biren*	*zai*
please	you (H)	continue	help	this matter.		otherwise	I Mod	in
gongsi	*bu*	*hao*	*jiaodai.*	*Bi*	*gongsi*	*ye*	*hui kaolü*	*dui gui*
Co.	not	good	report	my	Mod Co.	also	can consider	to your
gongsi	*de*	*yihou zhi*	*jiaoyi*		*yi*	*L/C fukuan*	*fangshi.*	
Co.	GNE	future GNE	business	deal	with	L/C payment	form.	

Please continue to collaborate and help us with this matter (the long delayed payment). Otherwise I (Mod) will be in a difficult situation to explain to others in my company. My (Mod) company will also consider switching to L/C form of payment for our future business deals.

The above threat is given to a reader who has a long delayed payment for the ordered product. The writer is extremely polite and careful with this negative message in terms of choosing linguistic strategies. For example, he focuses on the difficult situation this delay brought to him, with which he attempts to seek sympathy and understanding from the reader. The phrase *bu hao jiao dai* 不好交待 or "in a difficult situation" is often used in business to implicitly indicate a predicament.

The threat to change the form of payment is expressed with the first person pronoun in the classical modest form of *bi*, which has the connotation of "small" in contrast to *nin* 您 or "you" (H). *Bi* 鄙 is used in classical Chinese as a modest form for "I". In other words, it is an extremely polite and humble form and is not frequently used nowadays. Interestingly enough, the same writer chooses to use *wo* 我 (the neutral "I") in the other faxes collected in the data. Thus the extra effort to resort to politeness strategies is self-evident here.

Stressing cooperation

"Stressing Cooperation" is only found in Chinese faxes. Very often this move is an embedded message in the fax and sometimes it can be repeated more than once within a fax message. As indicated in Table 5 it is employed by all types of fax except the confirmation faxes. Altogether thirty-five (35%) faxes include this move. Its exclusive use in Chinese faxes, as well as its frequent use, indicates the importance of this move for Chinese faxes. Cooperation can be seen as essential for relationship building. In form, the move of stressing cooperation is usually formulaic or like a cliché, and is often placed towards the end of the message. These are some of the frequently used expressions:

希望能与你公司合作！
Xiwang neng yu ni gongsi hezuo!
wish can with your Co. collaborate!
Wish to collaborate with you!

谢谢合作！
Xiexie hezuo!
thank collaborate
Thank you for your collaboration!

These expressions may not carry any tangible meaning regarding the actual form the collaboration might take. Very often it is used as a gesture of good will and the frequent use of this move once again demonstrates the collectivistic nature of the Chinese culture reflected in business relations. As noted earlier, Chinese business people tend to see this as a strong underpinning for doing business and this accounts for the fact that the concept of cooperation is also found to permeate other moves such as in "Threat to Change Terms" as an important point of persuasion.

Polite closing

"Polite Closing" is a common move which occurs in all types of English and Chinese faxes. For example, this move has been employed by forty-five (45%) English and thirty-six (36%) Chinese faxes. Here are some English expressions in this regard.

> *Don't hesitate to contact us, should you have any questions or wish to further discuss this unique opportunity.*
>
> *I look forward to hearing from you.*

Both of the above examples strive to encourage further communication with the reader, which may mean business to the writer.

The Chinese faxes also indicate a similar purpose in the closing of a fax message. For example:

以上，如有不明之处，请尽快联系.
Yishang, ru you bu ming zhi chu, qing
above if have not understanding GNE place please
jinkuai lianxi.
as soon as possible contact (us).
Regarding the above information, please contact us as soon as possible if you have any further queries.

This move, as indicated in the above example, is used to encourage the reader for further communication. So the reader is invited to *jinkuai laixi* 尽快联系 or "contact us as soon as possible". Similar to the English faxes, it indicates the interactive nature of the faxes, a similarity shared with letter-writing, which also aims to encourage further communication.

Much less genre mixing of using *shangxing* 上行 (the subordinate writing to the superior) genres to indicate politeness and respect is found in this move as compared to sales letters and invitations which tend to be sent to readers of first-time contact. The reason can be related to a more familiar relationship between the reader and the writer who seem to know each other for some time in the process of their business dealings.

Good wishes

The move of "Good Wishes" is employed by all English and Chinese faxes, and these are similar expressions to those used in other sales genres. For example, English faxes tend to employ formulaic expressions such as *yours sincerely* and *kind regards* to wind up the fax message. Besides *zhu hao* 祝好 or "wish you well", Chinese faxes tend to utilize more types good wishes:

> 祝新年快乐！
> *Zhu   xinnian   yukuai!*
> wish New Year happy
> Wish you a Happy New Year!
>
> 祝生意兴隆！
> *Zhu   shengyi   xinglong!*
> wish business flourish
> Wish you prosperity for your business!

These good wishes are also related to *qing* 情 or "emotional approach", through which the writer expresses some good feelings towards the reader. They are also rather personal good wishes thus indicating the personal-letter traits or the generic intertextuality as discussed extensively earlier. Similar good wishes have been described in previous chapters, and the relevant sections in Chapters 5 & 6 can be referred to for a detailed discussion of good wishes used in Chinese business-letter writing.

To sum up, the English and Chinese faxes share some similarities in business-related moves, in particular in establishing credentials and confirmation moves. The differences lie in the use of different types of intertextuality and includsion of *qing*-related moves in the Chinese faxes. For example, Chi-

nese faxes include greetings and embedded messages relating to cooperation. The embeddedness also extends to other message as touched upon in the analysis, which results in a difference in length between the two genres. While still being restricted to one A4 sheet, Chinese faxes tend to be longer than the English. Other factors contributing to the greater length include more politeness strategies in describing a negative message, and mixing complaints with order-related faxes.

The most effective English and Chinese faxes

In this section the English and Chinese order-related faxes rated as the most effective by the NZ and Chinese business managers respectively are discussed and compared. Managers' views of both groups are incorporated into the analysis of each fax. Here is the English fax:

Salutation	Hello Paul,
Prev. contact **Order details** Item 1	I trust your trip went well. I have spoken to my colleagues in Hamburg who confirm that they have the following available for loan for ANUGA: – 1 x water banner – 2 x greenstone banners – 8 x aluminium doweling (for hanging banners)
Item 2	Philip Jones will be at ANUGA from 12–15 October and Catherine McLaren from 15–17. Philip said he can bring the material with him and Catherine can bring it back assuming this fits your requirements. Grateful if you can confirm this, alternatively they can courier the items to Cologne for you (there will be a courier charge for this).
Item 3	Once arrangements are confirmed I will forward a loan document to you for signing for this material and also the stand signage being provided via Display Equipment Ltd.
Further contact	If you have any queries please phone me on (09) 333 8888.
Good wishes	Yours sincerely,
Signature	Cassandra Leslie Promotional Manager International

The major purpose of this fax is to provide order details regarding the loan of equipment for an Expo. As shown in the left-hand column, it includes six moves: salutation, referring to previous contact, providing order details, encouraging further contact, good wishes and signature. Some of these moves also interact with intertextuality to be detailed below.

Hello in the salutation indicates an informal conversational style, which coincides with the style in sales genres, but an even more casual salutation is used here. This address term can be seen as an influence of informal letter styles on fax-writing which well encapsulates the memo-let nature.

The fax begins with *I trust your trip went well.* This sentence can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, it indicates the previous contact the reader has with the writer, who has been following up the development of the order. On the other, the writer also sends her greetings regarding the trip, indicating a certain level of *pathos*. However, this is not the major persuasive orientation in the fax.

The writer, who is also a seller, makes reference to an earlier phone conversation with a colleague in order to make sure of the arrangement with her client. The third move, which is the most important in this fax, is to provide order details. This move is composed of three items or steps. "Item" is preferred here in the analysis, and it also typical feature for memo writing. The first item details the availability of what is being ordered for loan purposes. The writer here simply provides a list of four kinds of loan equipment as indicated clearly by the symbols in the text. The second item details the options for the arrangements to be made for hiring the equipment. The third item tells the reader when to sign the loan document. All these three items are purely factual and informative about the specific business dealing, in this case the loan equipment. All speak to the point about how the business deal can go ahead. The writer does not seem to be too much concerned about the choice of words, and her major objective in writing the fax is to make the meaning come across.

The fourth move of polite closing can be interpreted as playing two roles. On the one hand, it encourages further contact by giving the reader the phone number. On the other, it winds up the letter politely by offering further services.

The final two moves of good wishes and signature use standard forms also frequently found in English letter writing.

The letter on the whole focuses on the business and the writer uses relevant strategies to provide details about the loan equipment. These strategies can be seen as related to realising the following purposes: promoting business, informing the reader and encouraging further communication as substantiated by the NZ managers' views below:

1. This fax may not be very well written. However, it is effective, and the person Cassandra is talking to, would know exactly what she means. They would have had previous phone conversations.

2. This fax message has a clear focus and would answer the client's query regarding hiring the equipment for the Expo.
3. The message develops logically from one point to another.
4. The writer invites further contact.

The managers' comments mainly focus on clarity of structure, and idea development, which is seen as the major criteria for effective fax writing. In addition, the last comment points to "inviting further contact" as a further merit of the fax. To the managers, using precise linguistic forms and editing the letter are not a major concern as long as the meaning comes across. This view is consistent with the findings discussed earlier and can be seen as an important generic feature for fax writing.

In contrast, the Chinese managers offer the following views on the English fax:

1. The salutation is not appropriate for a formal fax.
2. This fax offers key information about the event, such as the loan list.
3. Words are not "warm" and feel "cold".
4. There is a genuine lack of "human kindness".

The Chinese managers seem to be more concerned with the formality of the fax and "Hello" is seen as inappropriate or informal form for written communication. Apparently they followed a more formal type or different type of *qing* 情 or "emotional approach". In addition, they do not seem to like the informal style expressed in the text either, and, for example, they particularly pointed out the lack of warmth. In spite of this, they agreed that the text was clear about the key information, which further confirms that they share a similar criterion relating to clarity of style.

The translation of the most effective Chinese fax is provided here with the original text in Chinese in Appendix 1.

Salutation	To Mr. Wang Jiawei,
Greetings	How are you (H)? Happy New Year! Wish you prosperity!
Order details 1[1]	I have recently received Contract AS-6589 signed by your (H) company. Thank you for ordering 60x58 cotton shopping bags. We are extremely grateful to you for your cooperation and support at the beginning of the New Year. In order to guarantee the time of delivery now we are making adequate arrangements to design samples and prepare materials

	according to your order. You (H) can trust our commitment to collaboration.
Complaint 2	At the same time, our company sent over 104,000 cotton bags and the delivery number is CVC/B 98055. We haven't received your payment yet. According to Mr. Zhang, the payment of US$ 35,490 was sent on November 30. However, we consulted with Henan Branch, China Bank and found that no payment had been made by your (H) bank so far. We kindly ask Mr. Liang[2] to help check this as soon as possible because deferred payment may affect directly the carrying out of our sales orders. Please think about the possible further collaboration between you (H) and us. Hope that you can help Mr. Zhang sort out this issue.
Stress co-op	Thank you for your cooperation!
Good wishes	Happy New Year!
Signature	Zheng Liangchen (*shang*)

This fax contains seven moves: salutation, greetings, order-related information, complaint, cooperation, good wishes and signature. The overall structure of the fax reflects the general findings about the stress on both business and relationships. As shown above, the fax also indicates typical intertextuality such as genre mixing, and a complaint is included in this order-related fax. In form, it also resorts to formal *gongwen* 公文 (official-letter) style by using numerals to indicate more than one item.

The first move is *xiansheng* 先生 or "Mr." plus the addressee's full name, and is also commonly used in the corpus as a standard form of salutation.

The second move is composed of a series of greetings. *How are you* is a very common greeting as discussed earlier and this personal-letter style fits in well. *Happy New Year* and *prosperity* are used in this fax since it was written at the beginning of the New Year. These greetings are emphasised as a good sign for collaboration. In Chinese culture, it is supposed to be promising if one starts the year with something good and happy. The *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" is thus heavily embedded in the greetings and also lays the background for the collaboration the writer intends to stress later.

The third move, providing order details, is about the receipt of the order contract. However, the writer associates signing the contract or the business progress with the New Year. It means good luck to have something good happen at the beginning of the year according to the Chinese mythology. Here the contract is seen as promising for further collaboration. Both the business purposes and the *qing* or feelings are thus mixed and each reinforces the other. The writer then makes the promise that *you can trust our commitment to collabora-*

tion. Words such as *xinren* 信任 or "trust" and *fangxin* 放心 or "reassurance" are frequently used in the corpus.

The fourth move is related to an implicit complaint regarding a deferred payment. It involves three speech acts: Informing the reader of the delayed payment, making an implicit complaint and raising a request to follow up the deferred payment. The first begins with detailed information about the deferred payment, which can also be seen as an implicit complaint as the writer points out the inconsistent information provided by Mr. Zhang and his bank. Here a reference is made to an earlier contact or conversation with Mr. Zhang. The request, however, is more interesting in the use of linguistic strategies, and both *qing* 情 (emotions) and *li* 理 (logic) are applied together once again to achieve effective persuasion. The request is repeated; the first request is:

> *We kindly ask Mr. Lian to help check about this at your earliest convenience because deferred payment may affect directly the carrying out of our sales orders.*

As shown in this example, the request is raised in a very polite form of *fanqing* 烦请 or "kindly ask". The use of the third person for the reader along with *Mr.* or *Xiansheng* 先生 makes it even more polite. The avoidance of "you" fits in well with the high-level degree of politeness. In this way, the *qing* 情 or "emotional appeal" is greatly achieved in this request followed by the possible consequence of the delay. In order to further reduce the imposition, the writer reiterates the request and associates it with the collaboration which is also the theme throughout the fax:

> *Please think about the possible further collaboration between you (H) and us. Hope that you can help Mr. Zhang sort out this issue.*

More persuasion here is achieved by asking the addressee to think about the further collaboration ahead, which also indicates a long-term strategy. Collaboration is still underpinning the request here.

The fifth move, which is to stress cooperation, occurs twice in the text, thus it is also an embedded message. It is used the first time together with the request for the reader to look into the matter. It is essential here as a collectivistic practice, and the delay in payment is seen as a threat to the cooperation. Cooperation is mentioned once again towards the end as a final reminder of the issue raised above.

The sixth move, good wishes, reiterates the two important factors of collaboration and the New Year for emphasis. One more greeting only makes the text more polite, perhaps more important because this fax also makes an im-

plicit complaint. A stress on cooperation and good wishes ends the text with some good feelings towards the reader, thus *qing* or "emotional approach" is well implemented.

The signature is followed by *shang* 上 or "above me", which often indicates that the writer is of a junior position. Note this also represents a case of using *shangxing* 上行 (subordinate writing to superior) expression in a *pingxing* 平行 (equals writing to each other) genre. This is an example of genre mixing as well although this phenomenon is less often than in sales letters or sales invitations. However, the writer employs this form purposely to lower himself in order to indicate a humble tone. As discussed in Chapters 5 & 6, a humble tone can be used as a polite persuasive strategy and is also found to be used in fax writing.

In sum, *qing* 情 or *pathos* and *li* 理 or *logos* both underlie the moves in this Chinese fax. Words associated with both orientations permeate the moves, and business dealings are seen as closely related to cooperation principles and mutual trust. The writer mentions these principles whenever possible throughout the message. The mixture of both *qing* 情 and *li* 理, or *pathos* and *logos,* becomes an essential component in persuasion in Chinese faxes. In form, the mixture of the formal *gongwen* 公文 or "official letters" and personal-letters features also well reflect the type of persuasiveness orientations. The Chinese managers' comments, which are in alignment with the above findings are summed up here:

1. In general, this fax is formal in style, but effective in persuasion. The writer is polite and also stresses long-term collaboration throughout the message.
2. To start a letter with warm greetings is quite important. That is to make a good impression, and it is also a part of our *lijie* 礼节 or "politeness rituals".
3. Good to make some promises relating to collaboration in order to indicate the sincerity and seriousness towards business.
4. This fax includes two messages which are characteristic of fax writing and the writer moves on from one point to another.
5. The writer adopts a humble tone in writing and uses quite a few honorific forms. This can also help the writer achieve his purpose. In particular, it is evident in the second message as it is related to a delayed payment.

These comments cover what managers understand as fax writing conventions, and both *qing* 情 (emotions) and *li* 理 (logic) are well commented on. For example, they regarded warm greetings and embedded cooperation messages as important and adequate, as shown in their second and third comments. Furthermore, the first four comments are also closely related to different types of intertextuality, the majority of which are related to a balance of view to-

wards *qing* 情 and *li* 理 or the "emotional and logical approaches". Besides this, the managers are conscious of the distinct features of genre. For example, the mixed features of some *gongwen* 公文 or "official letters" and personal-letters features are mentioned.

The NZ Managers' views, seemed to contradict some of these points as shown below:

1. There is no introduction to why the paragraphs are numbered.
2. It is very animated for a serious fax, i.e. wherever there is an exclamation mark.
3. The paragraph should focus on one issue only.
4. The humble tone such as being "grateful' or 'a host" is unnecessary.
5. It looks like a threat with 'possible collaboration'.

First of all, the NZ managers could not see the point of having more than one issues or messages embedded, nor did they accept numbering of these messages, which is part of the Chinese formal *gongwen* 公文 (official-letter) feature. The "animated" *qing*-related expressions or punctuations marks were not seen as appropriate for a "serious" fax. They seemed to prefer to isolate personal emotions from business while the opposite is true with the Chinese managers. Finally the embedded message relating to collaboration only adds threat to reader-writer relationships according to the NZ managers. To them, it is a threat rather than an underpinning for doing business. It is worthwhile to note that many of the NZ managers' comments also focus on various types of intertextuality identified in the Chinese faxes and therefore their views may indicate that these two cultural groups tend to follow different criteria about what can be considered appropriate intertextuality for a genre of business faxes.

Conclusion

This chapter compared English and Chinese faxes using the theoretical framework proposed in Chapter 3. The similarity between the English and Chinese faxes indicates that fax is a distinct genre with clear-cut purposes and forms. This point has been substantiated by both my research findings and those of others, as well as by Chinese and NZ managers' views.

Faxes have been developed and formed based on existing genres. For example, the English faxes used a memo-let style and the memo style is useful to express the content in a clear manner. In addition, English faxes prefer a letter format in order to interact with the reader, and thus have much more flexibility

than a memo in this regard. The Chinese faxes had both the formal *gongwen* 公文 (official-letter) format and the personal letter format as discussed earlier and therefore they were more formal than the English faxes. On the whole, both genres indicated a distinct feature of fax writing: images were embedded to indicate or further illustrate the writer's meanings, a feature uncommon from ordinary letters. Compared to letter writing, faxes are much shorter, and less edited. Even the best faxes do not represent sophisticated writing styles. To the writer, using precise language forms is not a major concern as long as the meaning can come across quickly and effectively. The mixed genre form apparently is related to the influence of technology.

It has been found that English and Chinese faxes have resorted to various types of intertextuality depending on their business and social needs determined by various contexts. As a common feature, for example, both genres interact actively with other channels of communication thus indicating the complementary nature of fax as a genre. Besides, there is close interrelatedness of genre intertextuality and social change and politeness ritual in Chinese faxes as shown in the use of referential intertextuality and genre mixing.

Similarities and differences were identified and discussed between the English and Chinese data. In general, the persuasive orientations identified in the earlier chapters also applied to faxes: the English faxes mainly resort to *logos* and include facts to communicate business related purposes while *qing* 情 (emotions) and *li* 理 (logic) permeate the writing of most types of fax in the Chinese corpus. These persuasive orientations were reflected at various levels of the genres. However, they also shared similar business-related rhetorical moves which can be seen as part of metagenre as a result of globalisation and internationalisation.

However, Chinese faxes have included unique moves of greetings and stressing cooperation to strengthen relationship building and personal contact. English faxes mainly focused on business and tasks reflecting business values, a characteristic of individualistic cultures. In addition, Chinese faxes tend to mix genre types relating to negative messages. For example, complaints were found in order-related faxes. This mixing appears to be related to politeness strategies, and the writer intends to delay the complaint. On the contrary, no genre mixing in this regard was found in the English corpus.

In analysing linguistic strategies, both English and Chinese faxes were found to employ relevant strategies to achieve various purposes. For example, similar straightforward strategies are employed to promote the product. However, there is a clear difference in writing negative-message faxes. English faxes were found to be brief and to the point. Comparatively speaking, Chinese faxes

tend to embed messages and indicate use more polite strategies which have led to a more intensive level of intertextuality. These findings also coincide with the previous chapters of analysis. As a consequence, Chinese faxes were found to be sometimes slightly longer than English faxes because of their use of different persuasive orientations and related purposes.

The most effective faxes have further substantiated the above findings. The NZ and Chinese managers' views so far have not only backed up the findings, but also confirmed the use of different strategies and intertextuality in these two different cultures. Their views also offered insight for understanding writing across cultures. For example, they seemed to emphasise different types of persuasive orientations as shown in a stronger emphasis by the Chinese managers, which also led to their further differences about what the appropriateness of certain types of intertextuality. In spite of their differences, they did share one similar criterion in writing about the importance of expressing ideas clearly, which can be seen as a universal feature or preference for written communication.

All the above findings, as well as those from Chapters 5 & 6 have implications for teaching genre across cultures. Chapter 8 will deal with this topic and detail possible and specific ways of applying them to teaching practices.

Notes

1. The numerals were included by the writer of the fax, which is also a typical feature of Chinese faxes.

2. "Mr. Liang", the third person, is used here to refer to the reader. "You" is avoided in order to show more respect and politeness. The writer here tries to be extremely polite as the fax is about a deferred payment.

Cross-cultural genre teaching

Actions and implications

This chapter aims to apply research findings of earlier chapters to genre teaching across cultures. It is also imperative to explore this from a pedagogical perspective. Freedman (1999:766) poses an insightful challenge concerning genre education: "Can the complex web of social, cultural and rhetoric features to which genres respond be explicated in a way that can be useful to learners?" Teaching genres across cultures such as in the contrastive teaching of English and Chinese genres enhances this challenge, which involves the following three areas of inquiry.

1. We need to deal with "not only text knowledge and its rules but also knowledge of the social practices that surround the use of that text" (Angelova & Riazantseva 1999:493).
2. We need to provide students with various processes to involve their participation in classroom teaching and peripheral participation in genre-writing in business organisations.
3. Above all, we should aim at enhancing student "generic competence" (Bhatia 2000) as an ultimate goal for teaching.

The discussion will therefore revolve around these issues and, in particular, emphasising on how to use the major findings discussed in previous chapters to help enhance student generic competence. It also attempts to put cross-cultural genre analysis to action and looks at possible ways of enhancing cross-cultural generic competence.

As an initial task, this chapter examines a range of current issues relating to genre teaching and identifies the gap between genre research and teaching. Second, it discusses generic competence in relation to situated learning and peripheral participation (Lave & Wenger 1991). Third, it puts cross-cultural genre analysis into action and develops a teaching and learning model to involve student participation and contribution in the light of this theoretical framework proposed in Chapter 3. Finally, as an example, this chapter applies the

model to Chinese students' learning and unlearning process of writing English sales invitations. This activity was designed to involve the knowledge of writing regarding both English and Chinese sales invitations.

Issues relating to cross-cultural genre teaching

A discussion of relevant issues in teaching professional genres will validate the use of the sociocognitive approach in cross-cultural genre teaching.

Genre metaphors

From a semiotic perspective, Freadman (1994) uses the recipe metaphor to refer to the traditional preoccupation with genre as a series of rules that are supposed to correspond to the prescribed generic category and classification. With this approach a text is seen as an output of the prescribed rules. In contrast, Freadman (1994) also poses the game metaphor against the recipe metaphor to indicate a different kind of genre approach. A game metaphor goes beyond the tactic rules and involves interaction of the players in the context of a "tennis court". In this way, genre no longer remains at the recipe level. Instead, it involves "the rules of play, the rules for playing the game, and the tricks of the trade" (Freadman 1994:64). The game metaphor thus compares genre to a practice, a rhetoric that determines the contours of textuality used in a specific context. It is an approach based on examining genre as a device that allows for choices in the construction of a text within the constraints of a conventional cultural practice.

  The recipe metaphor reflects the way professional genres are usually taught in classrooms either as a first or second language. The game metaphor well depicts genre research in the sociocognitive vein. Generally speaking, the major issue lies in the gap between genre research and genre teaching. As reviewed in Chapter 3, numerous in-depth studies have been conducted in genre study (such as Bakhtin 1986; Miller 1984; Swales 1990; Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995), and in the exploration of implications for genre education (Bhatia 1993; Hyland 1998). These research results, however, may not be adequately translated into the teaching of cross-cultural genres. This can be related to a time lag in informing genre teaching with genre research.

Genre teaching approaches

Very little reference can be found to cross-cultural genre teaching, and English and Chinese textbook approaches are examined as a relevant source as they have a strong focus on teaching business genres. It will be seen that a pre-scriptive approach is widely employed in professional genre teaching in the Australian, New Zealand and Chinese contexts. The types of approaches used in English and Chinese textbooks are discussed separately below.

The prescriptive approach is a dominant influence on English textbooks of business writing. For example, professional writing pedagogy tends to follow the recipe approach by providing definitions and idealised samples to illustrate genre. Bhatia (1993) also confirmed its influence in his discussion of teaching English genres. This recipe style is related to result-oriented classroom teach-ing, which, according to Leki's (1991), is underlined by the assumption that schemata can be taught directly. Here the link between result-orientation and the recipe metaphor is self-explanatory. In this way, texts are often taught as a product rather than as a process. In contrast, process-orientation shares simi-larities with the game metaphor and clearly focuses on student participation and involvement in the processes of acquiring the deep genre conventions. For example, students are often encouraged to reflect on the textbooks and report their impressions about them. Leki therefore recommends the process-oriented approach, and claims that schemata should be introduced indirectly and gradually.

The teaching of Chinese business genres has a very short history, and the teaching approach is fundamentally different from the approach to the genre writing and rhetoric discussed in Chapter 4. Business writing has become an important subject in tertiary writing classes, especially in business universities, since the economic reform in China. Zhu (1999b) found that each university tended to compile its own business-writing textbook. However, these textbooks were similar in content. All of them tend to strive to prescribe rules, and pro-vide definitions and guidelines for each type of business writing. They lay emphasis on prescriptions for business letters, while ignoring or paying little attention to business writing conventions underlying the writing practice. Such a tendency still exists in professional genre teaching (Zhu & Hildebrandt 2003).

A very similar kind of void to that found in English textbooks also exists in Chinese genre research and teaching. Zhu (1999b), for example, examined the textbooks in Chinese business communication, and found that there is a knowledge gap between teaching and practice. The textbooks are not timely enough in encapsulating the business writing practice in the current period

of rapid economic development. Zhu (1999b) critiques the Chinese textbook approach for having drifted away from the research on rhetoric and composition writing. In these textbooks, one can see links with this tradition, but this can be misleading if the learners do not have a good knowledge of Chinese composition writing (see Chapter 3).

The above discussion regarding the pedagogy of business genres indicates that in both English and Chinese genre teaching, we tend to apply a result orientation, as the textbooks are designed and prescribed with sample texts covering the main features of a text or genre. Students are asked to learn the text in terms of its structure, characteristics and idea development.

In addition to the above issue, Canagarajah (2002) points out a further issue for teaching English writing to L2[1] students, which is about how to turn L2 students' initiatives into play. The current writing curriculum may not be sufficient to support that because of its preoccupation with the specific teaching tasks such as detailed earlier. This criticism can also apply to professional genre teaching. Too much focus on producing idealised texts may lead us to ignore the possibility of inviting L2 students to participate fully in the learning activities, which may not help achieve the learning objectives nor will it help students reach a high-level competence. It is therefore necessary to examine the concept of cross-cultural generic competence in depth.

Generic competence

This section looks at generic competence in relation to situated learning and peripheral participation as a means of addressing the various issues discussed earlier. Bhatia (1993) introduced the concept of "generic competence" in his analysis of English professional genres. By generic competence, Bhatia refers to the students' ability to participate in, and respond to, new and recurring genres as part of the discourse community. This concept has been used in genre teaching (e.g. Paltridge 2001, 2002) and can also be replicated in cross cultural genre education. Relevant concepts in intercultural competence are discussed here. Collier and Thomas (1988) have contributed a developmental model regarding intercultural competence, which has four stages:

1. Unconscious Incompetence
2. Conscious Incompetence
3. Conscious Competence
4. Unconscious Competence

This model points to the matrix of four learning stages, and the most advanced stage is unconscious competence which indicates an expert fluency. These stages, in particular the higher stages of 3 & 4, can be useful for examining generic competence. At the stage of conscious competence, students should be able to understand theoretical concepts and learn to apply them, but they have to think about these theoretical concepts. When the students reach the stage of unconscious competence, they can perform without referring to concepts. The skill has become second nature. At this level, theoretical knowledge is transformed into practical knowledge. Classroom learning might get them to Stage 3, but only practice will get them to Stage 4 in order to achieve the expert-level fluency.

This learning matrix can also be seen as related to the genre metaphors. Recipe metaphor may mainly target at conscious competence. For example, students can be quite conscious of trying to imitate the idealised texts. In contrast, the game metaphor and the process-oriented teaching, in particular, in a situated sense, will foster unconscious competence as the students are invited to participate in completing specific tasks in a real situation.

However, Collier and Thomas give no further illustration as to how to achieve the highest level of competence. In spite of that, a high-level intercultural competence is often seen as essential for cross-cultural training (e.g. Chen & Starosta 1996; Lustig & Koester 1999; Wiseman & Koester 1993). The concepts of "conscious competence" and "unconscious competence" are of particular relevance for genre education as they point to high levels of learning. Further discussion will then be given to specific ways of achieving high-levels of competence.

The second reference can be made to Kim (1991) who asserts that communication competence occurs in a given relationship between an individual and a specific task. An individual may have the ability to communicate across cultures but only in particular communication relationships will s/he be competent. Kim found that situational factors were more important than an individual's disposition, and competent communication will not occur unless there is a positive relationship.

However, Kim also gives no specific details as to how to develop from one level of competence to another. However, there is one point that may contribute to a high-level competence: it is essential to develop a positive relationship through completing specific tasks in a given context. Here Kim talks about the higher levels of intercultural competence as he looks at solving problems in real-life situations. Kim's view also echoes cognitive learning theory (Vygotsky 1986) and situatedness (Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995) as detailed in Chap-

ter 3. For example, Vygotsky views situated contexts as essential to knowledge acquisition.

Benkenkotter and Huckin (1995) point out that genre knowledge is a product of the activities and situations in which a genre is produced. In other words, this can mean that students will not be able to learn and grasp the genre adequately unless they participate in, or understand well, the very contexts in which genres are produced. This statement can be misleading if it is not interpreted adequately. For example, it can be interpreted in this manner: in the case of a non-native speaker, one will never be able to learn the genre since s/he is not involved in the processes and situations in which it is produced. Whether there is such a connotation is still debatable. The debate is however beyond my focus of discussion in this book. The important point here is to pay adequate attention to the contextual factors and involve the students in the possible processes and situations for genre writing. In a similar thrust, Paltridge (2002) maintains that genre knowledge is acquired through participation in the communicative activities of daily and professional life. Genre knowledge continues to develop as we participate in the activities of our culture. We can infer from this that cross cultural genre education can at least involve two kinds of fluency: the expert fluency relating to the skill and the native speaker fluency relating to the specific sociocultural contexts. Thus L2 student participation in the activities of the target culture is even more essential than the local students.

Hymes (1974) stresses the importance of examining language rules and norms in close relation to the social context and the larger culture, and identifying the culture-specific rules from within a social group. The approach relating to the ethnography of communication has been widely used in discourse analysis (Hymes 1974; Saville-Troike 1984), research of learning and teaching (Hammersley 1985, 1992), and contrastive rhetoric (Liebman 1988; Leki 1991; Li 1996). A good example of applying contextualised rules can be found in Leki (1991), who gives a touching account of a Chinese student learning to use different sets of rhetorical expectations for writing English and Chinese essays. Leki clearly points to the need of developing appropriate generic fluencies when writing in different languages and contexts, which poses further challenges to cross-cultural genre teaching. It is worthwhile to incorporate ethnographic elements such as business managers' views on business letter writing into teaching where relevant.

More recently, Lave and Wenger (1991) developed the concept of legitimate peripheral participation (LPP) which offers a specific way of enhancing generic competence. By LPP, Lave and Wenger (1991:29) meant that "...learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and that the mastery of

knowledge and skill requires new comers to move toward full participation in the sociocultural practices of a community." Lave and Wenger view LPP as an important step of initiating the process of turning newcomers into a full member of community of practice.

Lave and Wenger also point out that that LPP is a process which differs from intentional instruction. For example, tailors learn how to make clothes in a reversed order of learning from specific skills such as sewing straight lines, which will prepare them to become a professional tailor later. This principle of peripheral participation can also apply to learning business writing in order to achieve a similar purpose of gaining a high-level competence and identities of mastery. Lave and Wenger's view ties in well with process-oriented learning and LPP involves a learning process which goes beyond the classroom to include mastery of real-world social skills and practical generic competence. This kind of participation can be extremely crucial for enhancing L2 students' generic competence. According to Rowley-Jolivet and Carter-Thomas (2004), none native speakers tend to have a lower level of genre awareness and rhetorical appropriacy.

The message from the above discussion is clear: a high-level competence involves interaction between novices and experts; students thus need to get involved in the processes to understand genres beyond the text, and involve themselves in the processes in which genres are produced as much as possible in order to achieve a high-level generic competence. The following section thus focuses on developing a learning model based on the sociocognitive framework and situated contexts.

Applying the sociocognitive approach to teaching and learning

In the light of the conceptualisation of both genre research and teaching, I am proposing a cross-cultural teaching model taking into account of peripheral participation and intertextuality, and also paying attention to the previous knowledge of the L2 student. The model consists of the following processes:

1. Learning sociocultural contexts across cultures
2. Learning persuasive orientations and communicative purposes
3. Learning to write texts and incorporating peripheral participation
4. Incorporating authentic data and managers' views
5. Learning implications for intercultural generic competence

The first process provides contextualised knowledge about the business texts across cultures. Similar background knowledge is also stressed in Nickerson (2001) and Bargiela-Chiappini, Bulow-Moller, Nickerson, Poncini and Zhu (2003). This process offers cultural knowledge for understanding persuasive orientations across cultures.

In the second process, students compare the persuasive orientations and communicative purposes. More importantly, they can also apply theories to business writing practice. For example, English rhetorical theory can be used to identify persuasive orientations in English business genres. Chinese rhetorical theories such as explicated in Chapter 3 can be introduced as a guideline for identifying persuasive orientations in Chinese business genres.

The third process provides an opportunity for students to learn writing through real-life experience and they can apply the knowledge they learned in the classroom such as practising various strategies relating to rhetorical structure and intertextuality. This is also the most important process for incorporating student peripheral participation (Lave & Wenger 1991) which can be carried out through internship or other relevant industry learning experience. It should also be learned in relation to previous processes as a situated textual realisation of persuasive orientations and communicative purposes.

The fourth process involves further learning generic praxis or the specific genre use. During this process, students will have the opportunity to have access to authentic texts relating to "good writing" (Li 1996) in class. This process also incorporates business managers' or insiders' views on effective communication (Hymes 1974). Business managers are assumed to be the experts and their views will reflect the relevant stock of knowledge of the discourse community. In this way, this process targets unconscious competence as the ultimate goal. Students can also test their learning by comparing their views with those of managers, thereby identifying gaps in learning. These gaps will inspire them to learn more from the professional members of the relevant discourse community, and possibly to reflect more deeply on their own participatory experience in the industry. All this learning activities will help them raise their competence gradually towards that of full professional membership.

The final process reflects on implications for cross-cultural generic competence across cultures in general. Once students acquire an appropriate level of competence for writing certain genres, they can extend and transfer their skills to other types of cross-cultural genre learning as well.

In sum, these processes complement each other and the totality of them forms part of a systematic nexus of learning and community practice, in which student learn theories, apprentice themselves in industry, and finally test their

understanding in the light of professional members' views. The following section illustrates the learning and teaching model with a specific case.

Illustrating the five teaching and learning processes

This section illustrates the teaching and learning model is illustrated briefly, using teaching Chinese students how to write English sales invitations as an example. To test the model, an experiment was conducted to implement the writing tasks. I will refer to the data and research results discussed in Chapter 6 and they are also used as a major source of reference for this experiment.

The experiment

Specifically, five Chinese students were asked to re-write the most effective Chinese sales invitation in Chapter 6. This re-writing task was designed in order to incorporate both the English and Chinese data, and also to help develop student intercultural fluencies. These Chinese students were enrolled in undergraduate programs in business or communication at Unitec New Zealand. All of them were in the process of completing their internship in business organisations in Auckland when the experiment was conducted, and all had some work experience back in China as well. These were also part of the criteria for choosing the participants. It took ten days to complete the experiment, which also involved three tutorial sessions (see Table 11).

As shown in Table 11, each of the three tutorial sessions involve completing specific tasks, have clear learning objectives and target at different stages of competence. For example, the first tutorial focuses on assigning the first re-

Table 11. A breakdown of the learning tasks of the experiment

	Task 1	Task 2	Task 3	Learning process	Targeted competence
Tut 1 (Day 1)	Overview of experiment	Brainstoming session on comm. purposes	Assigning re-writing task with summary notes	Processes 1–3	Stage 3
Tut 2 (Day 7)	Submitting Version 1	Incorporating Chinese and NZ managers' views	Re-writing task (Version 2) with summary notes	Processes 3–4	Stages 3–4
Tut 3 (Day 10)	Submitting Version 2	Brainstorming session	Debriefing session	Processes 3 & 5	Stage 4–4+

writing task and deals initially with the first three learning processes including learning communicative purposes and persuasive orientations. These activities mainly target the stage of conscious competence. The second session mainly incorporates Chinese and NZ managers' views and targets a higher level competence. The final tutorial is very much reflective of the whole writing process hence aiming at an even higher-level competence, since students are expected to reflect on their learning experience.

At the first tutorial session, a brief overview about Chinese and English sales invitation was also given to the students. Here is the background information and specific requirements I distributed to the students during the session:

1. Re-write the Chinese invitation (Due at the 2nd tutorial).
   Supposing you are a sales manager in a Chinese exhibition company and wrote a sales letter in Chinese before which happened to be this most effective Chinese invitation (see Chapter 6). Now your company is having promotional tours in Australia and New Zealand. You need to re-write this invitation based on your internship experience and incorporate theories we learned where relevant. You are given both the English and Chinese versions of the Chinese invitation just for reference. Secondly, you are asked to write a summary note in the bullet-point manner about what criteria you follow for re-writing the invitation.
2. Re-write the Chinese sales invitation (Version 2; Due at 3rd tutorial) with a summary note for this version. You will have a chance to discuss your work at the tutorial in comparison with an effective English sales invitation. You will also be provided with the Chinese and NZ managers' views on this invitation.
3. Submit your final version at the 3rd tutorial and debrief the implications of this writing exercise at the tutorial.

Accordingly, all the five students returned their re-written invitation with a summary note about what they did on Day 7 and participated in the tutorial in which I distributed the most effective English invitation from Chapter 6 as well as the Chinese and NZ managers' views on this invitation. They submitted their final version at the 3rd tutorial, which was also a debriefing session on enhancing intercultural competence. All the above three tutorial sessions will be referred to in the following detailed discussion of each of the learning processes.

Learning and comparing the sociocultural contexts

The major objective of this first learning process is to help build students' world schemata. During the first session of my experiment, we mainly focused on comparing business environments and politeness rituals regarding invitations between China, Australia and New Zealand. Here are some of the teaching points based on our first session.

First, students need to be acquainted with the social and economic environments in the relevant countries. English sales invitations are a written genre used to promote trade fairs. Major teaching points should include an introduction to the market economy prevalent in the West, including Australia and New Zealand, and to the marketing strategies relevant to this type of economy.

These two teaching points can be helpful. The first point is to discuss the economic reform and changes that have occurred in the Chinese economy since 1978. These changes have led to the increasing popularity of sales invitations. The second point is to draw students' attention to the use of marketing strategies alongside the economic reforms. For example, the use of the AIDA model and stress on sales promotions were discussed as illustration in our first session.

As part of the cultural environment, the cultural differences in invitation rituals discussed in Chapter 6 are useful here as an additional teaching point. In individualistic countries such as Australia and New Zealand, people tend to stress individual autonomy, and reducing imposition upon the invitee is likely to be the major persuasive strategy. In contrast, people from high context cultures such as China prefer to adopt a collaborative and host-like attitude. Therefore it is essential for Chinese invitations to employ a respectful tone to indicate adequate *qing* 情 or "feelings" for the reader. In this regard, reference can be made to relevant Chinese scholars' views (such as Zhuge & Chen 1994) to indicate the importance of *li yi* 礼仪 or "social etiquettes" and politeness rituals for invitation writing.

This background information was introduced in the first session as guidance to solicit students' input and reflections, which also meant to help them understand different expectations regarding the persuasive orientations for writing invitations.

Learning persuasive orientations and communicative purposes

As mentioned earlier, teaching this process successfully will enable students to acquire basic theoretical understanding about persuasion and prepare them for

Table 12. A breakdown of the communicative purposes students identified

English sales invitation	Chinese sales invitation
To invite the reader to Expo	To invite the reader to Expo
To attract reader's attention	To attract reader's attention
To give positive appraisal	To give positive appraisal
To persuade the reader to attend	To persuade the reader to attend
To achieve a positive image	To achieve a positive & respectful image
	To build a host-guest relationship

the subsequent learning processes. Our first tutorial session has achieved this objective and has hence been proved to be worthwhile.

Regarding persuasive orientations, we focused on discussing the different focus English and Chinese business genres tend to have. As discussed in Chapter 6, English sales invitations have an emphasis on *logos* while Chinese tend to stress both the *pathos* or *qing* 情 and *logos* or *li* 理. Theories from all the target cultures, in this case both English and Chinese, can be referred to where relevant to help students understand persuasive orientations in business writing.

As part of the participation in classroom teaching and learning, students were encouraged to identify communicative purposes themselves first in a brainstorming session. They came up with all sorts of purposes. They also tried to justify their finding with relevant persuasive orientations and link them to the sociocultural environments they had learned earlier in this session. After sufficient discussion and clarification amongst students, they were able to identify the two sets of communicative purposes (see Table 12) which also overlap with those identified in Chapter 6.

As shown in Table 12, Both English and Chinese sales invitations tend to have multiple communicative purposes. The similarity exhibited in these purposes in both English and Chinese sales invitations lies in the fact that they can be divided into two kinds: inviting the reader to the Expo and advertising the Expo and the exhibits. These two types of purpose are related to the application of *logos* and *pathos*. Students could identify the differences and similarities without any difficulty by referring to the previous teaching points as well as their work experience. Apparently English and Chinese genres have similarities in terms of promoting trade fairs. However, students also realised they exhibited significant differences in the use of politeness rituals, as shown in the emphasis on respectful image and host-guest relationships in the Chinese genre.

This difference was served as a further discussion point to highlight the importance of establishing a host-guest relationship with the reader, which ex-

hibited stronger "*pathos*" in the Chinese sales invitations as compared to the English invitations. Students agreed that in Chinese culture, a host was supposed not only to show hospitality and kindness, but also to extend this to a long-term relationship, which would help the promotion of the product. Intercultural theories relating to face and cultural values (such as Hall 1976; Gao & Ting-Toomey 1998; Scollon & Scollon 2001) were also referred to at this point to help students interpret cultural differences in sales invitation writing.

Learning to write texts and incorporating peripheral participation

The third process, learning to write the text, involves peripheral participation and situated learning, which took place between the first two tutorial sessions for the experiment's sake.[2] This is also the process linking theories with practice. The Chinese students were beginning a process of making reference to the authentic English texts actually used in the NZ business contexts on their internship websites. In other words, they were establishing a new set of schemata for writing English sales invitations while making reference to intertextuality of their prior knowledge about writing invitations.

I will refer to students' summary notes submitted at the second tutorial as well as their discussion at the first tutorial regarding the criteria they followed in the re-writing process. According to their notes, their writing criteria appeared to be based on three sets of knowledge during this process:

1. Situated knowledge about English sales invitations
2. Intertextual knowledge about Chinese sales invitations
3. Intercultural knowledge about differences and similarities across genres

First and foremost, their situated and contextualised knowledge gained through peripheral participation turned out to very helpful. The students actually could have access to authentic invitations in the workplace, and according to the students, they were also exposed to Internet websites containing similar information about sales exhibitions besides invitations letters, which is also an instance of referential intertextuality in application. They thus had first-hand experience about what English sales invitation should be like such as salutations addressing the possible reader, the beginning of an invitation and good wishes to close the invitation. For example, they commented that they preferred a personal salutation such as "Mr. Smith" in their first draft of the re-written invitations to the more impersonal but more respectful *jing qizhe* 敬启者 or "Respected Reader" used by the original Chinese invitation, since they knew now that sales invitations were often sent to individuals in New

Zealand. Another student commented on the informal and appropriate use of polite closing for the English sales invitation which also differs from that of the Chinese invitations. This process reminds us of Lave and Wenger's (1991) analogy about the apprentice learning sewing straight lines, which may eventually constitute part of the garment-sewing process. The basic first-hand experience of using appropriate personal salutations apparently help prepare the students towards an expert mastery of writing English sales invitations.

Intertextualised knowledge about Chinese sales invitations was also helpful in this process. For example, they realised that some linguistic features to do with promotional strategies were very much similar across cultures and their knowledge about Chinese sales invitations was used as a reference in this process. This was reflected in retaining most of the content moves from the original invitation.

Finally, they commented that they had benefited from their enhanced intercultural knowledge of comparing the English and Chinese texts. For example, they could work out the similarities and differences in terms of invitation rituals and writing conventions through comparison and contrast. In doing so, they have acquired two sets of schemata for writing both English and Chinese sales invitations, hence gaining competence in fluency in both target cultures, and especially in the new culture. This kind of the fluency is clearly reflected in the re-writing and re-composing processes to be detailed in the next section.

Here is an exemplar draft written by one of the Chinese students just to encapsulate all the above points. This draft is also reflective of the first draft of the group as a whole:

Invitation to International Banking, Technology, and Equipment Expo

Dear Mr. Smith,

We sincerely invite managerial and technical representatives from your company to attend the International Banking, Technology, and Equipment Expo this year. This is a great business event that will be hosted by the XX Exhibition Services Ltd. on December 1, 2004 in the Auckland Exhibition Centre, Ponsonby.

It is held to promote the latest advanced products of bank security, computers, telecommunication and automation equipment, which are produced by internationally famed companies from more than ten countries and regions (such as, U.S., Germany, Japan, U.K., Singapore, Australia, Korea, Italy, and China). Products in exhibiting include coin and currency counting machines, alarm systems, IT products, and banking system software, etc. In addition to this, some technology exchange forums will be held in the duration of the expo, so that visitors may have a further understanding of the products.

Through attending the Expo, your company will be able to meet with more than seventy producers or suppliers from different countries, and talk about co-operative plans with them. You are most welcome to leave your on-site exhibiting products for sale. We are very excited to present this unique business opportunity for you, and look forward to your participation.

Should you have any concern, please contact Miss XXX from the Auckland agency of our company. Contact details: XXX

Yours truly,

XXX (name)

Marketing Director,

XXX Exhibition Services Ltd., Auckland

The re-written version is a good example of incorporating the three types of knowledge discussed earlier. A detailed breakdown of content moves employed by both the original and the re-written texts can reflect the re-writing process and it is shown in Table 13.

As shown in Table 13, the student tactfully left out background information and the repeated invitation since she understood the politeness rituals of both cultures, which also applies to the other four students. The lengthy beginning of the Chinese letter in the original had thus been simplified to include only the information on the sales Exhibition.

The student also shows her skills at the linguistic level. For example, she used an individual's name "Mr. Smith" as a salutation. The original Chinese text pays more much attention to inviting behaviour as indicated in the two invitation moves, both of which are written in a respectful tone as an important strategy of building host-guest relationships. This kind of understanding is shared by all the students involved. Very tactfully, they all removed "Inviting the Reader Again" from the original invitation as shown in the above revised

Table 13. Content moves: The original vs. the re-written versions

Re-written English sales invitation	Original Chinese sales invitation
	Background information
Introducing the Expo & inviting	Introducing the Expo & inviting
Advertising the Expo	Advertising the Expo
Offering incentives	Offering incentives
Registration details	Inviting reader again
Encouraging further contact	Registration details
Polite closing	Encouraging further contact
	Polite closing

version. They understand that repetition of invitation may not be encouraged in the NZ context and a higher level of politeness is required in the Chinese context since Chinese invitations are very much seen as a genre of social contact or etiquettes or a *liyi* 礼仪 genre. Note that students have applied their intertextual knowledge here and identified the different registers used by English and Chinese invitations.

In the above revised version, the student managed to communicate in a much less emotional tone by means of leaving out the second invitation and including less emotional good wishes. She tried to follow a different set of persuasive orientations from that of the Chinese in preparing this draft. In the interim, she also made good use of intertextuality and the major content moves resurfaced from the original texts but with relevant changes to fit into the NZ business context such as inviting individuals rather than inviting the company as in the original Chinese invitation.

The differences and similarities in structure as shown in Table 13 actually overlap with the findings presented in Chapter 6, which indicates that the student, as well as the whole group, has already mastered the basic expectations about the writing conventions of the target cultures through their own re-writing process, more importantly through situated learning and peripheral participation experiences.

Using authentic data and incorporating managers' views

The second tutorial was run to incorporate the authentic data and managers' views on the English sales invitation. Research has been done on the importance of using authentic data and native speakers' views for teaching. For example, Kirkpatrick (1991) uses authentic request letters for the teaching of business Chinese, and Zhu (1999b, 2002b) also highlights the importance of using similar authentic materials for teaching business language. Specifically, the objective of the tutorial was to expose the students to the managers' views of both cultural groups towards the English sales invitations which include:

1. The most effective English sales invitation
2. The NZ and Chinese managers' views about this invitation

The most effective English sales invitation is used for class discussion as a handy example of authentic writing. The NZ and Chinese managers' views on this English invitation were incorporated into the learning and teaching process. For example, students compared their understanding of the English sales invitations with the various views of the managers'. The managers' views, provided

Table 14. The NZ and Chinese managers' views on the English invitation

The NZ managers' comments	The Chinese managers' comments
– This is an excellent letter which starts straight to the point.	– The letter does not have the *ketao hua* 客套话 or "polite rituals" as would be expected of Chinese invitations.
– This letter is quite clear in structure, and the writer gives necessary details.	– The purpose of the letter is clear. It is short and easy to understand and there is no exaggeration.
– The style of the letter is quite professional and yet calm. No flowery expressions and exaggerations are included.	– It is polite using a friendly and informal approach.

by ten New Zealand and ten Chinese managers as detailed in Chapter 6, are summed up in Table 14 for ease of discussion.

At the tutorial, the five students were given the two sets of data and then they were asked to comment on these data in relation to effective communication and also on their final revision of the invitation they had been working on.

The students commented that the NZ managers' views in particular, the first two views, further confirmed the logical persuasive orientations learned in the previous processes. The managers explicitly emphasised the importance of clarity in style and idea development. Chinese managers' comments pointed to a different kind of expectation more related to politeness rituals. Students also commented on the informal tone used by the English invitation. However, they indicated that they shared the similar view with NZ managers about the stress on clarity of style for writing English invitations. At this juncture, one student referred to the brevity of invitations he received during his internship as further justification and confirmation of his findings. Managers' views have thus triggered further learning. This is also an instance to show that the knowledge he gained through peripheral participation has actually been built into part his knowledge structure which can be retrieved under appropriate learning circumstances such as this. The incorporation of managers' views apparently helped trigger this process. Furthermore, these views offered an insider's perspective into the understanding of effective persuasion of sales invitations. They also offered students an opportunity to further confirm or test their own understanding of the texts learned so far and identify gaps in knowledge between them and the discourse community.

For example, the students identified gaps in their knowledge of understanding the English sales invitations such as shown in the informal and

friendly tone identified by both groups of managers. This "gap", they agreed, should be the focus for the revision. They thus had a clear direction for the next version. The authentic data and the managers' views on this helped them reach a higher-level of generic competence. Here is the final draft written by the same student but apparently incorporating some input from the second tutorial:

Invitation to International Banking, Technology, and Equipment Expo

Dear Mr. Smith,

You are invited to attend the International Banking, Technology, and Equipment Expo this year. This is a great business event to be hosted by our Auckland Office, XX Exhibition Services Ltd. on December 1, 2004 in the Auckland Expo Centre, Ponsonby.

At this Expo, we will promote the latest advanced products of bank security, computers, telecommunication and automation equipment, which are produced by internationally famed companies from more than ten countries and regions, such as, U.S., Germany, Japan, U.K., Singapore, Australia, Korea, Italy, and China, etc. Products in exhibiting include coin and currency counting machines, alarm systems, IT products, and banking system software, etc. In addition to this, we will run some technology exchange forums at the Expo to give detailed introduction to the exhibits.

If you have any concern, please don't hesitate to contact Miss Chen from our Auckland office at the following contact details: XXX. For further information on the event, please check our website at XXX. We will keep the information updated regularly.

In addition, you will have the opportunity of meeting with more than seventy producers or suppliers from all over the world, and talk about co-operative plans with them. You are welcome to leave your on-site exhibiting products for sale.

We look forward to your participation.

Yours truly,
Linda Wang
Marketing Director,
Auckland Office
XXX Exhibition Services Ltd.

In this version, the rhetorical structure of the first version still stands and the student paid a lot of attention to the linguistic strategies at the lower levels of the text, in particular, within certain action-related moves or important speech acts such as invitations.

The student is aware of the interpersonal relationship on a one-to-one basis often used in English sales invitations while making association to business correspondence at work. So she only invites "Mr. Smith" in this invitation as compared to the first version where she also invited all other technological staff

members. She explained that she would like to send other technical and managerial members invitations respectively on an individual basis. It can be seen from this that this process actually triggered further reflections on theories she learned and on her internship experience as well, the combination of which further reinforced her understanding of English sales invitations.

There is also a significant change in the inviting behaviour in which she replaced the lexical items *chengyao* 诚邀 or "sincerely inviting" with "you are invited". Note that the "you" approach is applied here as well as in other places of her text. She also adopted a more informal tone by saying:

> *If you have any concern, please don't hesitate to contact Miss Chen...*

In the first version this sentence was in the subjunctive mood of "should you...", which represents a higher level of formality. A similar level of informality can also be identified in the brief polite closing: *We are looking forward to your participation* which actually replaced the earlier version of a much more emotional approach:

> *We are very excited to present this unique business opportunity to you and look forward to your participation.*

The changes clearly show the student's awareness of cultural differences in persuasive orientations. The gap in relation to the appropriate tones for English invitation writing has hence been further bridged in this version and the exposure to managers' views has clearly enhanced the level of understanding and application of writing skills.

As a further note, she added on-line communication information for the exhibition, which is also a common strategy for NZ or Australian exhibition organisers. As discussed in Chapter 6, English sales invitations tend to include Internet addresses as part of referential intertextuality more frequently than the Chinese sales invitations.

Learning the implications for cross-cultural generic competence

The final process aims to raise students' awareness of the implications of studying genre for cross-cultural generic competence. The final tutorial was thus a debriefing process which started with similar brainstorm sessions as used in the earlier processes. It was very much student-led, focusing on what they had learned. Here is a summary of what they discussed at the tutorial:

First of all, they discussed theoretical implications in relation to real-world learning experience such as re-writing a sales invitation for their company as

presented in this case. Students can have a more thorough understanding of the sociocognitive approach in a situated context, and learn to apply this approach as an important tool to build relevant knowledge structures in similar situations. More importantly, theories about cross-cultural writing became more tangible and applicable when they could relate themselves to industry issues. They agreed that this approach could also apply to writing genres including sales letters and faxes of other cultures.

The second implication was that peripheral participation and situated learning was an effective way of learning, in which students were exposed to the abundance of relevant knowledge and communication skills. In particular, student internship and work experience were seen as an essential part of peripheral participation to equip them with situated knowledge and fluency of cultures gradually. As shown in the case, the Chinese students learning and unlearning processes well illustrated the importance and absolute necessity of having this kind of participatory experience. In a less direct manner, the use of authentic data and managers' views can also help students enhance their generic competence. For example, the incorporation of these data has actually further initiated student reflections on their own previous industry participatory experience.

Third, students can enhance their generic competence through effective use of intertextuality. For example, understanding universal features of promotional strategies or something like meta-generic skills apparently helped the students greatly. They made reference to their existing knowledge for writing Chinese sales invitations as L2 students. The re-writing of the Chinese invitation actually helped them to reflect on this point. This exercise apparently has implications for L2 students writing in general.

Finally, appropriate intercultural knowledge was also seen as important in the process of learning cross-cultural writing skills. For example, the business rituals and politeness protocols employed by both cultures and specific contexts in each genre was summarised, and the significance for effective communication discussed.

As a word of caution, it needs to be pointed out, that students should view these processes as a learning framework only. For example, they should be encouraged to apply the framework with flexibility and adaptability very much based on sociocultural and interpersonal contexts. They should also regard peripheral participation as an initial step towards the full participation in the writing activities of the relevant business discourse communities. In this way, the students can acquire a balanced mastery of both types of theoretical and situated knowledge.

Conclusion

This chapter looked at cross-cultural genre study in action and applied the sociocognitive framework to teaching English sales invitations to Chinese students. Specifically, learning took place through re-writing incorporating the concepts of both peripheral participation and intertextuality. Genre teaching and learning was seen as a knowledge building process in which students were offered relevant opportunities to enhance their cross-cultural generic competence such as shown in the five learning processes.

The whole teaching and learning processes represented a good combination of classroom teaching, peripheral participation, re-writing, and incorporating the NZ managers' views. Each process targeted at achieving a high-level generic competence. These activities also complemented each other. Among all these forms of learning and teaching activities, I followed the ultimate goal of bringing student initiatives into play. As a starting point, students learned persuasive orientations and communicative purposes. More importantly, students had to acquire the appropriate world and formal schemata first through their internship experience.

It has been found that students referred to situated, intertextual and intercultural knowledge in their re-writing process. In other words, they benefited from both their former learning and current industry peripheral participation. In addition, the use of authentic data – the most effective English invitation, as well as the Chinese and NZ managers' views, added to the cultural-specific and *emic* perspective from the relevant discourse communities. This offered students a valuable opportunity to build their world and formal schemata towards those of a professional member of the relevant discourse community. These learning activities have significantly enhanced their learning as indicated in their final version of the English sales invitation.

The above processes have both theoretical and practical implications for building student generic competence in general, since they provide students with an essential framework and prepare them to become a full member of the professional discourse community. For example, the model and the relevant processes can be extended to the teaching of other business and professional genres beyond those analysed and compared in this book. The major reason for this potential replication and extension lies in that the framework is solidly based on knowledge structure-building, situated learning and intertextuality – an essential element in the cognitive structuring of genre across cultures.

Notes

1. L2 students refer to those who use English as a foreign or second language.

2. The actual peripheral participation could take place long before this experiment and these L2 students may well have started picking up writing techniques for English business writing at any point during their internship in New Zealand.

CHAPTER 9

Summaries and conclusions

This book set out to explore issues in cross-cultural business communication. At the beginning of the book, a number of research questions were proposed for cross-cultural genre research. Throughout the previous chapters, I have focused on answering these research questions and accomplished two major tasks. The first task was to develop a sociocognitive theoretical framework based on a number of theoretical dimensions including genre analysis, contrastive rhetoric and persuasion, ethnography of communication, and Chinese theories of composition writing. The second was to apply this framework to cross-cultural genre research and teaching. The framework has been applied successfully to compare English and Chinese business genres, and more importantly, to study effective communication and generic competence across cultures.

As a major theme, genre has been discussed and applied in the light of the sociocognitive genre tradition (Berger & Luckmann 1966; Luckmann 1992; Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995; Swales 1990). However, as pointed out in earlier chapters, this sociocognitive approach has been largely used in studying English genres. The notion of genre, therefore, needs to be further extended to embrace more explicitly cross-cultural and pedagogical dimensions. Furthermore, intertextuality has also been applied to enrich the genre approach.

In this concluding chapter, I will, first of all, provide a working definition for genre. It is hoped that this definition will not only be of relevance to professional and genre study, but also more importantly, to cross-cultural genre comparison and genre education. The second task is to sum up the important findings of this study, followed by further implications for studying genres in relation to intercultural communication. Implications for generic and intercultural competence in general will also be highlighted. Because of the predominant focus on knowledge building, situated cognition and intertextuality, the proposed theoretical framework has a number of implications for cross-cultural genre teaching, and in particular, to L2 students. As a final task, future research directions for cross-cultural genre research and competence will be identified and discussed.

Defining genre from a cross-cultural perspective

Hofstede's (1995: 150) definition of culture as "the collective programming of the mind" within a group has metaphorical and insightful significance for defining genre. Culture is compared here to a software system which is programmed collectively by its members. This definition of culture can also be applied to genre study. As pointed out by Malinowski (1960), genre presents a cultural practice. The "collective-programming" metaphor has a striking similarity with Schutz and Luckmann's (1984) concept of genre as relevant "social stock of knowledge" and with Bahktin's "deep semantics of genre". In the light of all these concepts, a working definition is presented below, which incorporates both sociocognitive and cross-cultural considerations.

First of all, genre is situated and contextualised in its sociocultural and technological environment, and is dynamic in response to changes of context. A genre employed by a certain culture is related to its specific sociocultural contexts which provide clues about how and why this genre is used the way it is.

Second, genre is a series of sociocultural and communicative events characterized and underlined by persuasive orientations and communicative purposes. Communicative purposes are closely related to persuasive orientations, which also validate the inclusion of culture-specific purposes. In this way, cultural values and beliefs are often reflected in persuasive orientations.

Third, genre is composed of the relevant "social stock of knowledge" embedded in the "deep semantics" and cognitive structuring of the text, which can be further explicated in the overall rhetorical structure comprising moves, steps and specific linguistic strategies. These structures are also the specific strategies for achieving the writer's persuasive orientations.

Fourth, genre is evolving and dynamic as shown in the interaction between genre and intertextuality. Genres interact with each other and new genres emerge drawing reference from existing genres which may involve different types of intertextuality and interaction of genres. The exploration of types of intertextuality can offer a valuable insight about the dynamics within a genre as well as across genres.

Last but not least, genre knowledge is constructed and reconstructed by the discourse community employing the genre. Genre reflects a process in which members of the discourse community create and share its meanings and writing conventions. The members of the discourse community also have an appropriate level of expertise and institutional understanding of the cultural values and protocols relevant to the writing practice. Therefore apprenticeship

through peripheral participation is an initial step of genre education towards the entitlement of a full membership within a discourse community.

We can infer from the above that genres can be effectively communicated and learned across cultures if an appropriate level of genre fluency is achieved. The closer one gets to the professional members' knowledge, the more fluent one is with writing and communicating genres.

Summary of significant findings

In the light of the above definition of genre, the major findings regarding both the proposed framework and its application are summed up in this section. These were also the major areas this book aimed to explore, as indicated in Chapter 1.

The framework

This study has proposed a sociocognitive framework for comparing genres across cultures. This approach has promoted cross-cultural genre study in the sociocognitive tradition and offered an approach to study genre from both the *emic* and *etic* perspectives, thus enhancing the cross-fertilization of the depth of sociocognitive genre analysis and the breadth of cross-cultural studies. The incorporation of intertextuality also adds strength to the approach and complements genre analysis by offering a more dynamic dimension. In addition, Chinese theories in rhetoric and composition writing were introduced and incorporated into this framework. On the other hand, the proposed framework made a clear point: genres should be studied alongside the persuasive orientations, which are essential for understanding different rhetorical practices across cultures. This framework has been applied to both cross-cultural genre study and learning in the relevant chapters of this book. It can also be replicated in a wider sense to embrace other areas of intercultural communication, and relevant implications will be further detailed later in this chapter.

Besides the theoretical framework, other significant findings have also been identified: the similarities and differences between the English and Chinese genres, and the effect of these on effective communication and generic competence, as summed up below.

Genre and sociocultural contexts

It has been found that English and Chinese genres were written and used in different social and cultural contexts, and a study of these contexts can contribute to understanding the world schemata underlying the genres concerned.

Generally speaking, there were both similarities and differences in the sociocultural contexts of the English and Chinese business genres examined. First and foremost, the market economy practice tends to be shared by all the countries and cultures involved. Australia and New Zealand have a consistent system in this regard and China is becoming more and more acceptable to changes towards a market economy. This commonality makes it possible to apply the AIDA model as a major universal marketing strategy in business genre writing. Another common feature is related to the technological environment, and all the countries involved tend to adapt to new technology which has led to the use of faxes and other genres in business.

The differences also lie in the social and cultural contexts. Throughout the analysis and comparison of the cultural contexts for the three genres of sales letters, sales invitations and business faxes, there has been a clear emphasis on *guanxi* 关系 or "connections" and relationship building in the Chinese data. However, although there is a general tendency for the writer to develop a personal relationship with the reader, *guanxi* 关系 or "connections" was found to vary slightly depending on the contexts of a particular genre. For example, *guanxi* 关系 "connections" was much more formal in sales invitations, with more politeness rituals being taken into consideration, and less formal in some faxes in response to the influence of the interpersonal relationships and technological environment.

Genre, persuasive orientations and communicative purposes

It has been found that all the genres examined and compared so far have shared commonalities in persuasive orientations and communication purposes. For example, sales letters in English and Chinese shared an essential persuasive orientation relating to *logos* or *li* 理 or " logical approach" which leads to the inclusion of sales-related purposes in both genres. The same was true of sales invitations and business faxes. The specific persuasive orientations and communicative purposes in this regard also reflect the market economy or the strong tendency towards this type of economy in all the countries studied. As such, the AIDA model has a major influence on all the genres examined and

compared. From this we can infer that this influence may have played a major role in the similar purposes these business genres seek to fulfil.

Compared to the English genres, Chinese genres tend to have a stronger emphasis on *pathos* or *qing* 情 or "emotional approach", and this emphasis has led to the use of purposes relating to relationship building as indicated in all the genres studied in this book. These findings have further substantiated Malinowski's (1960) view that genre is a cultural practice.

Genre and its "deep semantics"

The semantics of genre were explored in both rhetorical structure and its interaction with intertextuality. It has been found that the differences and similarities are also reflected in textual structures, which are a realization of communicative purposes and persuasive orientations of the English and Chinese genres.

English and Chinese genres use similar moves in two major areas, and this is evident in all the three genres of sales letters, sales invitations and business faxes. On the one hand, they have similar moves to indicate the distinct features of the particular genre such as "Offering the Product" in sales letters, "Inviting the Reader" in sales invitations, and "Referring to Previous Communication" in business faxes. On the other hand, English and Chinese genres included common moves relating to product promotions and business practices. For example, similar moves relating to sales promotional strategies have been employed by all the three genres, in particular by sales letters and sales invitations. These commonalities across all the genres can be explained in the light of the general objectives of business practices in terms of obtaining maximum profits, which is also a universal feature of the market economy.

Compared to Chinese genres, English genres have focused solely on business objectives, and thus the English moves indicate a strong emphasis on the logical approach in terms of product promotion and business transactions. As a clear difference from the English genres, all the three Chinese genres were found to use specific *qing*-related moves as a realisation of their *qing* 情 or "emotional approach". For example, greetings and introductory moves were found in all the three Chinese genres, and even in Chinese faxes. The use of moves can thus be explained in the light of genre as a cultural practice, and Chinese cultural values and *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" have permeated all the genres examined. Furthermore, as part of the *qing*-related moves and strategies, Chinese faxes were found to mix negative messages with fax orders. This is another culture-specific strategy to reduce the level of negativity and

maintain face and harmony. Genre also interacts with intertextuality which will be summed up in the following section.

Genre and intertextuality

It has been found that intertextuality occurred in all the genres compared throughout the book and it was employed to play various social and evolutionary functions. For example, both referential and generic intertextuality (Devitt 1991) were found at work in the genres analysed and compared.

Intertextuality is found to be closely related to genre evolution. For example, generic intertextuality (Devitt 1991) often occurred in emerging and evolving genres as part of the evolutionary processes and it was closely related to social and technological change, such as shown in sales invitations and business faxes. For example, Chinese sales invitations evolved incorporating features from both *liyi xin* 礼仪信 or "letters of social etiquettes" and *gongwen* 公文 or "official letters". English faxes emerged as a mixed genre of a memo-let. However, the evolution of genre seems to be culture-specific and Chinese faxes appeared to have derived from formal *gongwen* 公文 or "official letters" and personal letters. Further substantiation can be found in Chapters 5, which had detailed specific intertextuality of Chinese sales letters as a new genre since after the economic reform. This phenomenon also fits in well with my argument in this book as well as elsewhere (Zhu 2002a) that new sociocultural and environmental contexts create a need for the use of new genres and genre development. Similar evidence can also be found in Locker (1985) in her analysis of earlier English letters.

There seemed to be a close link between persuasive orientations and intertextuality. For example, English sales letters embedded postscripts as an emphasis of the product offer. On the other hand, Chinese sales invitation as well as faxes embedded messages to stress invitation and cooperation, both of which were related to *qing* 情 or "emotional approach".

The use referential intertextuality is worth noting, which reflects the interaction of sociocultural and interpersonal contexts and intertextuality. For example, more referential elements were identified in the faxes than in other genres which showed a high-level of social interaction. From an intercultural perspective, *guanxi* 关系 or "connections" was also identified as an important kind of reference for conducting business in the Chinese business context. Note that *qing* 情 or "emotional approach" is even more strongly explicated by means of using this particular type of reference. English sales invitations were found to include Internet website information more frequently than the Chinese in-

vitations. These findings shows that the contextual factors differ between these two genres and the writers therefore should take them into account when using referential intertextuality.

Further referential intertextuality in terms of the interaction with other modes of communication such as telephones and meetings has been found in all the genres studied and in particular, in business faxes. This universal feature across cultures and genres may indicate that business genres are used as a system of interaction to communicate social and business needs in organisations. On the other hand, the more intensified interaction of faxes with other communication modes may indicate that faxes are a genre that is dependent on other genres.

The various types of intertextuality highlighted the dynamics of genre and offered a further dimension of comparison of genres within a culture as well as across cultures.

Genre as collectively programmed by the discourse community

The points summarised above are all part of institutional knowledge (Paltridge 1997). Institutional knowledge is the key to identifying the appropriate schemata of the relevant discourse communities. Their world schemata and formal schemata have been studied and compared throughout three chapters from Chapter 5 to Chapter 7. In particular, interviews with the NZ and Chinese managers regarding effective communication were discussed and compared. The interview findings so far have substantiated the major findings in terms of both cultural similarities and differences identified in Chapters 5, 6 & 7. It has been found that effective communication in business writing derives from relevant constructs of the discourse communities who are practicing the business genre writing and contributing to the developments of new genres. These findings have pointed to the importance of studying the managers' views in cross-cultural genre study.

Intercultural interviews also came up with significant findings which not only further confirmed the findings but also highlighted the different expectations for writing business correspondence across cultures. As shown in Chapters 5, 6 & 7, the NZ and Chinese managers seemed to follow different criteria for effective persuasion. What was considered appropriate by Chinese managers might not be considered as such by the NZ managers as shown in the use of strategies relating to the emotional approach. Some of the English genres appeared impolite or not formal enough to the Chinese managers.

In spite of their differences in terms of overall persuasive orientations as shown above, the two cultural groups appeared to agree on one point which was the clarity of ideas and which also seemed to override any other criterion. For example, the Chinese managers quite liked the clear and simple style employed by the English sales letter. It can be seen from this that the clarity and logical development of ideas are the first priority and are commonly shared by both cultures. This can be seen as a universal rule for writing and a fundamental threshold for effective intercultural communication as well. The focus on clear and effective communication will lead to the final point regarding cross-cultural generic competence.

Generic competence across cultures

As genre in action, genre education was discussed in relation to effective communication. A specific teaching and learning model was proposed in Chapter 8. This model is in alignment with the genre definition discussed earlier as it focuses on a gradual progression in students' professional knowledge building towards a high-level generic competence. In particular, the proposed genre-learning model incorporated student peripheral participation and managers' views regarding effective communication. These processes were seen as useful for preparing students, in particular, the L2 students, initially to become a full professional member of such communities. Take the experiment with the five Chinese students as an example (see Chapter 8). These students acquired relevant skills and techniques for writing English sales invitations from their industry peripheral participation, and also from the Chinese and NZ managers' input, which has turned out to be an effective way of enhancing their generic competence in New Zealand.

The findings were therefore closely related to L2 professional genre teaching. The Chinese students learned English genre convention by comparing with their own previous-acquired knowledge, which indicates that they can make a contribution by comparing and incorporating their own perspective into the new learning environment. In this way, the sociocognitive or knowledge-focused framework has further contributed to the understanding of cross-cultural genre education and generic competence.

Implications for genre research and intercultural competence

The research results highlighted in this chapter have a number of implications for cross-cultural genre research and education in general. First, as a theoretical implication, the framework can be applied to studying genres in other cultures, and applied to studying spoken discourse such as negotiations, business meetings and bargaining as part of the business genre system in order to further validate the findings.

Second, the results have implications for studying genre evolution and examining changes in genres across cultures in close relation to intertextuality and the sociocultural and technological environments. For example, the tendencies identified in fax genre evolution can be referred to in the study of other new genres such as emails and business Internet websites.

Third, the research results have implications for studying politeness behaviour across cultures and for the further examination of the ways in which these behaviours can influence genre writing. Culture-specific concepts such as *guanxi* 关系 or "connections" in the Chinese culture, for example, can exist in other cultures and a study of these concepts can be of significance for genre writing as a cultural practice.

Fourth, this study has implications for cross-cultural generic competence in two areas. On the one hand, it can help promote cross-cultural genre training by understanding appropriate knowledge structures of the discourse communities. On the other, it has implications for exploring specific ways of achieving a high-level generic competence. For example, reference can be made to various strategies relating to situated learning and intertextuality as detailed in Chapter 8. In particular, it has implications for L2 student genre writing by bringing their initiative into play as already discussed in the previous section. Furthermore, this particular way of teaching genre writing can help complement textbook approaches and strengthen the process-oriented approach.

Finally, this research also has implications for intercultural competence in general since it targets effective communication. Just like generic competence, successful intercultural communication can be seen as a gradual process of achieving optimal competence across cultures. Basic principles such as knowledge-structure building, situated and process-oriented learning can also be used to help achieve intercultural competence. In terms of research methods, the use of local theories and native speakers' views are also of significant importance for cross-cultural research.

Further research

This book explored cross-cultural issues, and studied effective communication and genre teaching across cultures. However, further research needs to be carried out in the following areas to extend this study. Some of these areas also reflect limitations of this study.

As a first task, we need to further test the proposed framework and identify the feasibility of extending it to compare other genres. Further research also needs to be done to compare other professional genres across a range of cultures as part of the genre system. New models in this regard should be developed to enrich the approaches for genre comparison. For example, intertextuality has been applied to genre comparison as an initial attempt in this study and more systematic study of this dimension and other relevant dimensions can add to a more holistic exploration of genres cross-culturally. For example, other types of intertextuality, including semiotics such as images in faxes can add further insight to analysis.

Secondly, more cross-cultural dimensions should be explored if the model is extended to embrace other cultures. Furthermore, more detailed study of interpersonal contexts, such as the specific relationships between the reader and the writer, is needed in order to offer more understanding of *guanxi* 关系 or "connections" or other culture-specific concepts such as face and topic management (Scollon & Scollon 2001). This is an important context alongside the larger contexts relating to social and cultural factors (Neuliep 2000). However, confined by access to specific interpersonal contexts, this study may not be able to include details illustrating all the interpersonal contexts for my analysis. This also points to the limitations of my research which can be overcome if further research initiative in this regard can be investigated in more detail.

In addition, with the rapid development of technological innovations and international business relations, more systematic and longitudinal study across cultures and within cultures needs to be conducted to examine genre evolution in relation to sociocultural contexts. For example, business faxes can be studied in a similar light and so can the other relevant genres such as emails and online web communications. At a culture-specific level, Chinese *gongwen* 公文 or "official letter" genres need to be examined to see if similar changes have occurred across a wider range of genres since the three Chinese business genres all belong to *gongwen* 公文 or "official letters" and all have witnessed significant genre change and evolution.

In relation to this new research direction is the interaction of these genres and beyond. This book has already shown traces of genre interaction or ref-

erential intertextuality. The interaction across genres actually went beyond the written texts to embrace other electronic and spoken genres. More analysis on intertextuality should be conducted to explore how genres interact with each other as a system (Olikowski & Yates 1994). The findings will have implications for effective communication such as what kind of interactive genre system to use for a certain communication encounter.

Last but not least, more research needs to be carried out on generic competence in the light of peripheral participation in order to further identify the writing expectations of the discourse community. Although this study made a successful attempt to incorporate student internship participation and NZ and Chinese managers' views, more effort needs to be devoted to exploring other possible ways of encouraging further student industry participation for genre education. This study has identified a number of ways to involve intertextuality and peripheral participation in order to achieve a high-level competence. However, more models in a similar direction of encouraging student participation need to be developed to further enhance cross-cultural generic competence. After all, students should be trained to become part of the business discourse community.

Closing remarks

As Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995:4) point out, genres represent a dynamic process and "change over time in response to their user's sociocognitive needs". These needs are fluid and evolving as extensively covered in this book, cross-cultural genre study should also be seen as a dynamic process which involves the continual testing of existing models and the development and incorporation of new models and paradigms.

The journey from contrastive rhetoric to cross-cultural genre study that this book has embarked on is only an initial episode of research in this relatively new area. Throughout this book, I have focused on the various objectives listed in Chapter 1, and have covered topics relating to the proposed theoretical framework and more importantly on effective communication, which should also be the ultimate objective for cross-cultural genre study in general. The journey thus needs to conclude here. However, this episode can only be seen as an envoi or a "shorter poem launching a longer poem or a play into the world!" (Locker 2003). The conclusion points to further research directions in view of the on-going challenges for cross-cultural genre researchers.

Therefore, we need to follow these research directions and make constant attempts to better understand target cultures and discourse communities from both sides of the coin. This stress on a balanced view of cross-cultural generic competence once again reminds us of the Chinese philosopher Sun Zi's strategy for winning victories, which may have implications for enhancing intercultural competence in general:

> Knowing thyself, knowing thy enemies,
> One hundred battles, one hundred victories.

The dual perspective is the key to communicate genre effectively across cultures. After all, the more cross-cultural dimensions we synthesise and integrate, the more knowledgeable and fluent we are likely to become in our interactions and communication with people across cultures.

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The most effectives Chinese letters
The Chinese version

1. The most effective Chinese sales letter

贵公司，

您好！工作一定很忙！

作为一汽汽车集团的联营企业，徐州市顺达汽车制造有限公司始建于一九九零年九月。历经创业的艰辛，拼搏的豪壮，播种的汗水，而今正以一种崭新的姿态，屹立在徐州市内。

追求高标准，高质量，追求产品的优质舒适和豪华是我公司的一贯目标。我公司对产品的制造技术一丝不苟。现生产的轿车选用了先进的进口组装发动机，冷暖空调及带电动摇窗机的车门，漂亮而新颖的仪表板，独特的安全保证系统。它具有马力大，提速快，噪音低，耗油少，操作简便，转向灵活，乘座舒适，外形美观，价格低廉等综合优点。我公司生产的轿车性能和质量在淮海经济区乃至华北，中原地区享有盛名。

今天的顺达已是享誉淮海经济区的大型企业，在开发新一代优等豪华汽车的行列中，顺达已为全国同行瞩目。我厂生产的轿车销售时享受多种优惠政策，现货供应，我处近日将召开区域看样供货会（时间另行通知），将提供最新车样。届时欢迎前来看样订货，洽谈业务。我处将提供热诚服务。望速复函为盼！

<div align="center">谢谢合作！</div>

销售地址：（略）。
邮编：（略）。
联系人：（略）。

<div align="right">徐州顺达汽车制造有限公司销售处
XXXX年X月XX日</div>

2. The most effective Chinese sales invitation

<div align="center">

国际银行，金融技术，及设备展览会
国际电脑，仪器，仪表展览会
邀请函

</div>

敬启者，

中国经济急速发展，各工商业必须提高其技术以增强本身的竞争能力。为满足有关工商业之要求，"国际银行，金融技术及设备展览会及国际电脑，仪器，仪表展览会，将于十二月份在北京同时举行。我司诚意邀请贵公司派员前往参观。

是次展会规模庞大，参展商来自十多个国家和地区，如美国，德国，日本，英国，新加坡，澳洲，韩国，意大利，台湾，中国，香港等等。世界著名之银行保安，电脑，通信，自动化设备商将展出最新之银行及其他工商业的先进技术设备。随附上展商资料以供参考。

是次展会将展出各应用于银行及金融界的最新设备及系统，例如...（设备名称略）。

在同场的电脑，仪器，仪表展当中，也会展出世界各地先进的电脑科技，包括先进大气研究系统...（设备名称略）。

通过这次展会，贵公司能会晤来自十多个以上国家和地区超过七十多个制造商和供应商，洽谈合作计划并欢迎作现场展品留购。

此外，同场也会举行多场技术交流会，使参观者能进一步了解各参展商的先进科技产品。

我司诚意邀请贵公司的管理及科技代表莅临参观是次展览，现谨寄上请柬，请届时携带请柬往国际展览中心办理入场手续。

如需任何进一步资料，可联络展览有限公司北京办事处：

何小姐

（联系方式略）。

祝

大安！

<div align="right">

XXX 展览服务有限公司
XXXX 年 X 月 X 日

</div>

3. The most effective Chinese fax

梁建伟先生，

您好！

新年快乐，恭喜发财！

1. 近日收到贵司之合同 AS－6589，关于 60X58 购物袋 10000 件，对贵公司新年伊始即给予的合作与支持，我们不胜感激。现正安排工厂对此单制样，备料，以保证货期，请贵司对我们的合作放心。

2. 同时，我司在去年 11 月 10 日出口贵司之棉布袋 104，000 件，我司发票号 CVC98055，我司一直未收到货款。张先生回答我说已于 11 月 30 日传过，后经中国银行河南分行查询，贵方银行回答说并未付过此款 US＄35，490。此事烦请梁先生尽速帮助查询，因为长时间拖延会直接影响贵我双方以后定单的顺利执行。请您以贵我大展宏图合作为重，同张先生协助查清此事。

多谢合作！新年快乐！

张梁辰上

Appendix 2

Questionnaire form

A. The English version

Questionnaire on effectiveness of business writing

Name: _____

Affiliation: _____

Position: _____

1. Please read the five letters/messages (No. 1 – No. 5), and grade (1–5) them afterwards. Grade 5 indicates the most effective letter, and Grade 1 the least.

       Letter 1 _____
       Letter 2 _____
       Letter 3 _____
       Letter 4 _____
       Letter 5 _____

2. Explain briefly:

       I graded Letter _____ as the most effective, because:

       I graded Letter _____ as the least effective, because:

B. The Chinese version

<p align="center">商业信函调查表</p>

姓名: _____

单位: _____

职务: _____

1. 请阅读已编号的五封信件或传真件 (NO.1–NO.5). 阅后在下面空格内打上相应的得分(1–5). 最高分(5 分)代表效果最好的信件, 最低分(1 分)代表效果最差的信件.

       信件 NO.1 _____
       信件 NO.2 _____
       信件 NO.3 _____
       信件 NO.4 _____
       信件 NO.5 _____

2. 简单说明:

    a. 我选择 (NO.)_____为效果最好的信件, 因为:

    b. 我选择 (NO.)_____为效果最差的信件, 因为:

Name index

Subject index

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