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Genres in the forefront, languages in the background: The scope of genre analysis in language-related scenarios

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A R T I C L E I N F O

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A B S T R A C T

Drawing on bibliometric methods (citation analysis and content analysis) and literature review, this paper offers some critical reflections of how genre analysis has been used, applied, expanded and refined to address the challenges of a culturally and linguistically diverse academic and research community. The first reflection opens with a brief review of the privileged status of English as the international language of academic and research communication to discuss contrasting scholarly positions that regard 'Englishization' as either 'help' or 'hindrance'. The second reflection focuses on rhetorical move analysis, an aspect of genre theory that to date has been little considered outside ESP/EAP traditions of genre analysis. It discusses how move analysis, in cross-fertilization with various theoretical/analytical frameworks, can add to our understanding of the way L2 academic English writers accomplish meso- and micro-rhetorical manoeuvres. The final reflection touches upon the impact of internationalization and research assessment policies on the current knowledge exchange, dissemination and publication practices to emphasize the value of the Swalesian task-based approach and advocate a multiliterate rhetorical consciousness-raising pedagogy. The paper concludes with some suggestions for future genre research and proposes ways of articulating cogent language instructional intervention to empower members of bi-/multiliterate academic and research communities professionally.

The opening chapter of Swales' (1990) *Genre Analysis*: *English in Academic and Research Settings* informs its readers that the main aim of the book is pedagogical, namely, to offer an approach to the teaching of academic and research English. Doubtless, Swales' seminal work has an invaluable pedagogical orientation, but it also invites its readers to gain comprehensive insights into the three influential concepts underlying genre theory: discourse community, genre and language learning task. Drawing on these concepts as an argumentative scaffold, the broad aim of this paper is to offer some critical reflections on how genre analysis has been used, applied, expanded and refined to address the challenges of a culturally and linguistically heterogeneous research world.

The current sociocultural context is unprecedentedly complex. It is marked by the development of computerized societies and, at an epistemological level, by the changing nature of knowledge. It places emphasis on the local and the contingent, contests homogeneity while advocating heterogeneity and diversity, and claims the existence of a multiplicity of orders (Lyotard, 1979; Sarup, 1993). Within this context, today's academic and research communication, as a socioculturally

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constituted set of practices, draws upon a repertoire of genres that act as participatory mechanisms for small- (local) and large-scale (global) interaction. In this paper, I specifically aim to describe ways in which genres, and genre use in general, intersect with languages and language use in a sociocultural context that Pennycook (1994, 2007) describes as undergoing profound geopolitical and geolinguistic changes. In accounting for the intersection of genres/genre use and languages/language use, I seek to discuss how the three influential concepts of genre theory —discourse community, genre and language-learning task— have been approached in the past 25 years.

Given that *Genre Analysis* is entirely devoted to the role of English in the research world, in what follows I will draw on bibliometric methods (citation analysis and content analysis) to retrieve highly-cited publications in ISI-indexed journals in the past 25 years and analyse their perspectives on English in academic and research settings in relation to the existing scholarly literature. It should be acknowledged that the literature has also focused on academic languages other than English. This literature, though, will not be reviewed here for reasons of space. Acknowledging this limitation, this paper seeks to reflect on three language-related scenarios in which genre theory has been applied and can be expanded so as to re-examine the role of English for academic and research communication after 25 years of follow-up. The first reflection revisits some conceptual aspects of genre theory and critically reviews the controversial debate about the geopolitics of languages for academic and research communication. The second reflection addresses methodological aspects of genre analysis with a view to proposing cross-fertilization of genre theory with other theoretical and analytical frameworks. The final reflection touches upon the impact of internationalization and research assessment policies on scholars' research dissemination and publication practices, and tentatively proposes a cogent pedagogical intervention based on multiliterate rhetorical consciousness-raising.

1. The dominance of English: linguistic accommodation and asymmetrical convergence

My first reflection arises from Swales' (1988) early view that the spread of English as an international language was a decisive factor behind linguistic change in both communication practices and pedagogical endeavours. Today English remains the most widespread lingua franca in academic and research communication (Ferguson, 2009; Lillis & Curry, 2010) and it is not difficult to trace a lively debate in the literature, not without controversy, on the privileged status of English *vis-à-vis* other major and minor academic and research languages. A Web of Science Core Collection search of the keywords ‘research genres’ and ‘languages’ retrieves a list of 131 records of journal articles published between 1990 and 2014, all of them sharing the view that English has steadily become the privileged language for academic and research communication. These sources examine the phraseology and the rhetorical organization of research genres and part-genres in a contrastive (cross-linguistic) fashion and tackle issues of advanced learner academic writing and bi-literate composition practices based on genre knowledge transfer.

Content analysis procedures[1] identify three central, interrelated themes in these publications: i) the dilemma of whether or not the predominance of English is a serious threat to multilingualism, ii) the language-related burdens resulting from ‘English-monolingualism’ policies for research dissemination and publication, and iii) the extent of linguistic diversity in an ‘English-only’ research world (Belcher, Johns, & Paltridge, 2011). The most highly cited work found in the bibliometric search is House (2003), which compellingly contests the early views of English as a threat to national languages and multilingualism —English as ‘a menacing Tyrannosaurus rex’ (Swales, 1997)— as well as the ideological language debates siding against the dominance of English for research publication purposes —e.g. ‘linguistic imperialism’ (Canagarajah, 2002; Phillipson, 1992) and ‘prescriptive monolingualism’ (Ammon, 2001, 2006; Coulmas, 2007). House distinguishes between ‘languages for communication’ and ‘languages for identification’ (p. 556) to dispute these views and arguments and hence, in many respects, her distinction aligns with Swales' (1997) early observation that it is not that the speakers of other languages have accommodated, but rather that English is valued “as a wider window on the world” (p. 377). The pragmatic value of accommodating to English-medium communication may be considered, at least in part, as one of the effects of the intensification of knowledge exchange on a global scale that underpins the current ‘knowledge-based economies’ model. It is clearly relevant to mention here the intensification of international cooperation on research and development projects, and the growing interest in research networking and partnership (OECD, 2012; UNESCO, 2010; Royal Society, 2011) and the increasing proportion of international co-authored English-medium publications (Fig. 1), both of them responses to the socioeconomic interests associated with neoliberal globalization. These scientometric records may be taken as evidence that English has become a lingua franca not because it has been imposed but, as House (2003) states, because it facilitates the exchange of scientific knowledge worldwide. Another possible effect of the above-mentioned responses and a concomitant reason for the pragmatic adoption of English as a shared language for communication is, perhaps, the widespread implementation of research assessment policies that target at increasing a nation's international visibility and prestige (Pérez-Llantada, 2012; Englander & Uzuner, 2013) (see Section 3 of this paper for further discussion).

But gross generalizations about the reasons behind the adoption of English as the shared language for knowledge exchange, dissemination and publication purposes should necessarily be treated with caution since no uniform trend can be consistently observed across nations worldwide. While the advancement of English is reported by scientometric records, the

[1] Content analysis was conducted using computer-assisted techniques. High-frequency lexical items were first identified with corpus linguistics software. These items were analysed i) drawing on KWIC concordance lines and ii) interpreting the semantic relationship of the items with their expanded co-text. The aim was to retrieve the most prominent manifest contents addressed in the sources surveyed.

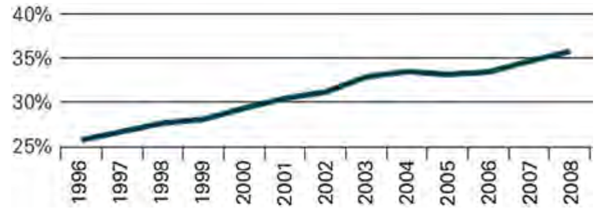

Fig. 1. Increase in the proportion of the world's papers produced with more than one international author, 1996–2008 (Source: Royal Society, 2011, p. 46).

progression over time of multilingual research publication outputs is also attested. Fig. 2, for instance, shows that the observed ratio of the number of journal articles published by researchers in English to those of the official language in question is somewhat uneven over time in the selected countries. As another example, a Scopus analysis of the years 1996–2011 reveals that countries such as the Netherlands, Italy or Russia score ratios of 40:1, 30:1 and 25:1 respectively, whereas countries like China, France, and Spain maintain the same or almost the same ratio during 1996–2011 (van Weijen, 2012).

Underpinning the dynamics of research exchange on a global scale lies a well-established system of genres that, one might argue, assists the communication practices of members of the international research community. This genre system supports knowledge exchange through typified, standardized utterances that comply with the conventionalized social purpose, i.e. 'rhetorical exigence' (Miller, 1984, p. 162), of a given communicative situation. These typified utterances create an 'ecology of genres', one in which the journal article, the 'privileged' genre, establishes "relatively stable connections or coordinations with other genres" (Spinuzzi, 2003, p. 48) such as abstracts, journal submission letters, grant proposals, research reports or conference presentations, to mention a few.

Following Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2001), one might further contend that, in supporting worldwide scientific communication, this ecology of genres intersects with the diverse linguistic ecologies that the global academic and research community embraces. The bibliometric sources surveyed systematically characterize this community not only as culturally and linguistically heterogeneous, with non-native English-speaking members far outnumbering their native-English speaking counterparts (Lillis & Curry, 2010), but also as culturally and linguistically inclusive, with no manifest criticism against the advancement of English. These sources also view the adoption of English as the shared 'language for communication' as a taken-for-granted reality, suggesting that the claims of Englishization (Swales, 1997), linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) and prescriptive monolingualism (Ammon, 2001) appear to have shifted towards a more nuanced perception of the prevailing role of English in academic and research settings. As Wood (2001) has pointed out, English is regarded "not as the property of the native speaker but of scientists of any language background" (p. 82).

Yet, claims for the utility of English as the shared language of science seem to be somewhat disputed by concurrent debates on issues of 'asymmetrical convergence' towards English (Canagarajah, 2002; Lillis & Curry, 2010) over the past decade. Not unexpected, therefore, is the second recurrent theme in the literature surveyed, namely, the language-related disadvantages that researchers from non-Anglophone linguistic environments worldwide face when using English as an additional language for knowledge exchange, dissemination, and publication purposes.

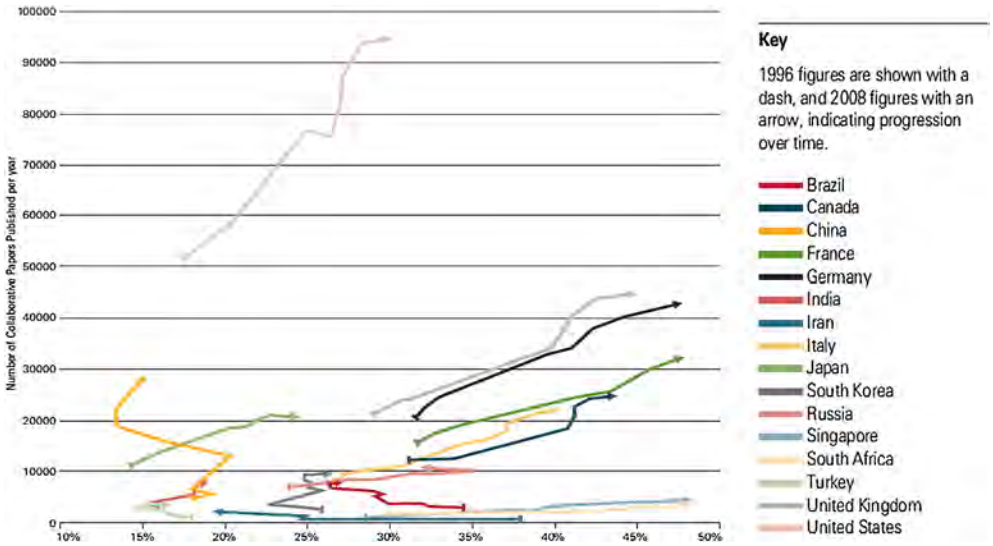

Fig. 2. Proportion of national publication output in collaboration with other countries (Source: Royal Society, 2011, p. 48).

Flowerdew and Li (2007), a highly-cited source in the bibliometric search of the 1990–2014 period, and its citational records conceive of academic writing in English as a second language as a source of asymmetrical convergence to mainstream English-medium publication practices. These records draw on empirical data from surveys and interviews to investigate the researchers' personal experiences in writing journal articles and taxonomize the journal reviewers' comments on language shortcomings in manuscripts written in English by scholars with L1s other than English. It is argued that linguistic difficulties involve lack of clarity and reader-friendliness, paucity of expression in English, subsequent language reuse at both lexical and syntactic levels, and problems in handling the discourse pragmatics and in constructing an authorial identity (Armstrong, 2011; Buckingham, 2014; Chiu, 2001; Flowerdew & Li, 2007; Ouellette, 2008; Shi, 2012). Concern about language-related burdens is not unsupportive, one might further say, of arguments deployed on behalf of linguistic diversity. Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1993) advocate resistance to 'linguicide' in the context of increasing Englishization. Flowerdew (2009) expresses concern as regards a possible 'stigmatized' view of academics from non-Anglophone environments. Bennett (2007) reports the gradual 'epistemicide' of academic discourses in L1s other than English. And, meanwhile, the reported consequences of language policy for scholars from non-Anglophone linguistic environments (e.g. Englander & Uzuner, 2013) somehow seem to invalidate apparently feasible measures for equal language rights to redress language-related disadvantages like those proposed by van Parijs (2007) or Fiedler (2010).

Interrelated with the two previously discussed themes is the third major theme identified in the bibliometric search, which specifically focuses on the extent of linguistic diversity in today's academic and research communication. Over the past decades linguistic diversity in academic and research settings has been investigated through the examination of monoliterate and bi-/multiliterate communication practices in local academic communities from non-Anglophone linguistic environments worldwide. Interestingly, the literature depicts diverse linguistic ecologies in countries belonging to the Kachruvian outer and expanding circles. In parallel-language and ELF academic settings such as those of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, literacy practices are primarily monoliterate, English being the well-established language for intranational and international communication (Kuteeva, 2011). In stark contrast, in communities holding multiliterate practices, international research dissemination is conducted in English and, to a lesser extent, other foreign languages (French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian or Chinese), whereas the local language remains a lively research language for intranational communication (Muresan & Pérez-Llantada, 2014). Last but not least, primarily biliterate communities configure distinct linguistic ecologies. As reported by Medgyes and Kaplan (1992) for Hungary, Truchot (2001) for France, Jarc and Godnič Vičič (2012) for Slovenia, Ferguson, Pérez-Llantada, and Plo (2011) for Spain, and Buckingham (2014) for the Arabian Gulf, *inter alia*, these are described as evolving ecologies in academic settings. These ecologies are impelled by the swift advancement of English and the subsequent gradual displacement of the local language as a language of research. However, tentative mapping of linguistic ecologies is far from being an unproblematic endeavour as specific disciplinary domains of scientific communication may configure different linguistic sub-mappings within the same linguistic ecology. This would be the case of Mexico, Portugal or Spain where the national language has a strong foothold in the field of the humanities yet English is gradually advancing in the remaining disciplinary fields (García Landa, 2006; Hanauer & Englander, 2011; Lillis & Curry, 2010). As García Landa (2006) rightly observes, linguistic evolution and the extent of linguistic diversity are both ultimately subject to the impact of socioeconomic and geopolitical decisions, communicative systems at work, institutional and network constraints, and/or individual requirements.

The fact that the genre system operates across linguistically diverse populations of researchers calls attention to the concept of 'community of practice' used in the fields of linguistic ethnography, textography and situated learning (Barton & Tusting, 2005; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Swales, 1998). While the notion of discourse community, as conceptualized by Swales (1990), remains a valid construct to describe the socio-rhetorical mechanisms employed for effective communication, such as the use of rhetorical templates for information organization and argument construction, the concept of community of practice may support a contextualized view of the way genres and languages intersect in everyday communication and merge with the particular lingua-cultural idiosyncrasies of each local population of researchers. Ethnographic, textographic and situated learning approaches to research genres would clarify why genre exemplars may or may not exhibit similarities as regards structure, style and content depending on the language they are constructed in, the intended sets of communicative purposes they aim to fulfil, or the specific audiences they target. Surveys, focus groups, semi-structured interviews or textual analysis and document analysis, all of them qualitative protocols used in these approaches, may assist EAP researchers in formulating how genres operate across local communities of practice and intersect with languages/language use.

What topics might be envisaged for the future genre research agenda? Research based on mixed-methods (combining quantitative and qualitative data sources) and integrating the perspectives of genre theory, linguistic ethnography, textography and situated learning may well serve to examine the statuses and functions of English, the local language and other research languages, and assess the significance of standardized genre conventions across these languages. It would also be desirable to ascertain the extent to which individuals' personal and academic interests, internationalization and research policies, together with broader socioeconomic and geolinguistic interests, shape hierarchies of language use in academic and research settings. Whether all these factors make those hierarchies evolve over time, and if they do, what the implications of such evolution are remain potential areas for future research.

2. Textual spaces for alternative linguistic and cultural production

In the Preface of *Genre Analysis*, series editors Michael Long and Jack Richards observantly noted recurring concerns (at that time) about whether the rhetorical styles of academic writing in different languages "are unique to a given language or culture or reflect universal modes of academic discourse" (p. vii). These concerns were clearly relevant at a time when Western academic rhetoric had secured a position as the normative language for international academic and research communication. Over the past decades, the scholarly literature has addressed these initial concerns from various perspectives and gradually drawn the focus to the multi-faceted and complex variation on academic English and to what has been characterized as alternative versions of standard written English or 'academic English*es*' (Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada, & Swales, 2010, p. 634). Today, there is little dispute that academic writing in different languages displays variegated rhetorical styles (e.g. Duszak, 1994; Mauranen, 1993) and that academic English*es* may not always converge towards a unique standardized discourse, as it has been shown that these variants tend to exhibit some linguistic and rhetorical features of the writers' academic L1s (e.g. Kachru, 2009; Mauranen et al., 2010). In what follows, I briefly review several ways in which rhetorical move analysis (Swales, 1990, 2004), an aspect of genre theory that has so far been little considered outside ESP/EAP traditions of genre analysis (such as, e.g., rhetorical genre studies), has aided the contrastive study of rhetorical styles across academic languages. I also sketch out ways in which move analysis research may support possible hypotheses on why some features of academic English*es* variants are not English native-like.

A bibliometric search for the keyword 'rhetorical move analysis' in the Web of Science covering the 1990–2014 time-period retrieves a small though relevant set of studies conducting this type of analysis. The paucity of research based on move analysis might well be attributed to the time-consuming analytical procedures that it involves. The studies surveyed draw on small corpora because, as their authors state, the identification of moves (and steps) is very meticulous, either carried out manually or involving corpus coding or parsing. Also, the identification of move functionality and the subsequent classification of moves into structural sub-components (steps) are both highly context-dependent and hence require close scrutiny of the linguistic co-text. Additionally, Kanoksilapatham (2005) recommends that the coding protocol, i.e. the identification of move/step units, should be validated by inter-rater reliability assessment methods.

Why is 'rhetorical move' a relevant analytic construct according to the bibliometric sources surveyed? And in what ways may move analysis contribute to the examination of academic and research genres in relation to languages? Essentially, the sources surveyed maintain that, unlike macro-structural rhetorical analysis, which conceptualizes genres in terms of overall information organization, phraseological, and discoursal features, move analysis provides a detailed comparative account of the formal and functional properties of sentential and clausal constructions in genre-exemplars across languages. Of note, the sources stress the idea that move-based analytic techniques afford the identification of similarities and differences across writing cultures that are not traceable through macro-structural analytic methods (Loi & Evans, 2010; Soler-Monreal, Carbonell-Olivares, & Gil-Salom, 2011). More broadly, move analysis is positively valued as a descriptive rather than prescriptive approach to understanding how academic and research genres are constructed by L2 English writers (Hung, Chen, & Tsai, 2012; Junqueira, 2013). Also, the studies strongly emphasize the pedagogical applicability of the Swalesian move model. It is contended that the model provides rich instructional input to expose students to the formal properties of a particular genre and, given the functional nature of moves, to the underlying social practices of the community. Finally, the model is also viewed as pedagogically relevant when used as a template in genre-analysis tasks to raise novice writers' awareness of schematic structures prior to the writing process (Cheng, 2008; Kanoksilapatham, 2005; Loi, 2010).

Taking 'genre' as the basis for comparison, the bibliometric sources draw on the intercultural rhetoric framework (Connor, Nagelhout & Rozycki, 2008) to compare how writers with different L1 backgrounds construct persuasive arguments and engage with their readers. These sources demonstrate that different genres and part/genres (journal articles, introductions and methods sections of journal articles and PhD theses, abstracts, book reviews, case reports and letters to the editor) exhibit variation at a move/step level across academic languages. Duszak's (1994) study judiciously extends the definition of 'move', initially devised for general applicability and restricted to the disciplinary specificities of the hard sciences, to propose a broader conceptualization of 'moves' as "shorthand expressions for 'dominant component parts of a strategy'" (p. 299). Applying this broader conceptualization, this author traces 'cyclicity of moves' (as opposed to linear move sequencing) and 'embedding' (or overlapping/combination of moves and steps) in Polish academic texts. Duszak posits that both cyclicity of moves and move/step embedding are aspects of rhetoric that reflect distinctive "academic face-phenomena" (p. 307). As the other bibliometric sources also attest, these phenomena are traceable in academic languages such as Brazilian Portuguese, Castilian Spanish and Chinese.

As explained below, recent EAP studies have cross-fertilized genre- and move-analysis with the perspectives of Second Language Acquisition and Contrastive Interlanguage Analysis (CIA) in the tradition developed by Granger (1998) and Meunier and Granger (2008) and examined several academic face-phenomena in advanced L2 academic English writing. It has been reported that meso-level rhetorical actions —i.e. "collections of communicative purposes in smaller sections of a text-larger than the sentence that together construct the text's overall pragmatic value as a message" (Gere, Aull, Perales Escudero, Lancaster, & Vander Lei, 2013, p. 612)— interrelate closely with the discoursal functionality that micro-level linguistic resources perform at a move/step level.

In comparing research articles written in English by Anglophone and Finnish academics, Mauranen (1993) contends that, usually unconsciously, Finnish academics employ rhetorical manoeuvres above sentence-level that are typical of their own academic writing culture and that it is such rhetorical transfer that makes their discourse differ from the Anglophone discourse. Mauranen's contention that the scholars may be incorporating "culturally learned expectations concerning good writing and persuasive argumentation" (p. 158) is in many ways supportive of the empirical findings reported in recent EAP studies that have analysed advanced learner interlanguage by looking at the discoursal functionality of lexicogrammar (or phraseology). These studies hold that academic phraseology does not always tend to perform similar functional goals to those enacted by similar phraseology in L1 academic English (Ädel, 2014; Ädel & Erman, 2012; Pérez-Llantada, 2014; Chen & Baker, 2010). Taking the case of anticipatory-*it* patterns in advanced L2 English and native L1 English university student writing, Ädel's study sensibly correlates the use of these patterns with rhetorical moves and explains that although there are not great differences (in terms of frequency) in the way the advanced learners and the native-speakers use this pattern, the learners use some sub-patterns for a greater range of moves. Hence, it can be surmised, as Ädel rightly notes, that the same linguistic phenomenon "may still not necessarily be used the same way" (p. 69). Likely reasons for ascribing different move functionality to certain lexicogrammatical units might perhaps be found in lexical, syntactic and/or pragmatic L1 transfer. Ädel's move-based study may shed light on the attested perception that L2 academic English*es* variants are almost but not completely native-like. Further, it invites posing several conjectures regarding L2 English academic writers' acquisition of recurring lexicogrammar. Perhaps the almost equal rhetorical use of lexicogrammatical patterns in advanced learner writers and native writers can be attributed to the fact that the learners acquire this lexicogrammar incidentally and/or learn it through formal instruction. It can also be surmised that the similar use of lexicogrammar may indicate positive transfer of the L1 lexicogrammar to the L2 and that, perhaps, the divergent use of some sub-patterns for a greater range of moves might be caused by the transfer of the writers' L1 rhetorical strategies at a meso-level to their L2 English texts. In other words, positive transfer might be playing a more prominent role than negative transfer —i.e. when the L1 is the source of divergence from the native-like norm— in the acquisition of genre literacy. From a different perspective, it might be hypothesized that the L2 writers do not fully appropriate the standard discourse norms (Western rhetoric norms), as some scholars have claimed (Canagarajah, 2002), but simply 'accommodate', either consciously or unconsciously, to the L1 academic English norms to a certain extent. These conjectures would need to be empirically assessed in future research so as to better understand the reported discursive hybridity underpinning advanced L2 English academic writing and explain broader issues of academic multiliteracy transfer. On the other hand, it would also be germane to further describe and explain the nature of advanced learner interlanguage. For example, we need to better understand how recurring academic lexicogrammar correlates with functional moves/steps or how a given text's overall pragmatic value is constructed in L1/L2 academic English discourse. Also, drawing on corpus linguistics methods, it would be of interest to delineate the overall intelligibility and reader-friendliness of L2 academic English*es* texts (i.e. writing in a clear style) with, e.g. scaled descriptions qualifying the different levels of textual analysis (e.g. macro-level rhetorical organization, move-level features and micro-level linguistic resources). These scaled descriptions would aid the characterization of L2 English use in ISI-indexed international journal publications and might also be useful to establish comparisons with descriptions of reported use of non-standard lexicogrammar in these publications (e.g. Rozycki & Johnson, 2013). Bakhtin's (1981) conceptualization of discourse as linked to narrative construction and dialogicity and White's (2003) dialogic view of the language of intersubjective stance may be relevant points of departure to examine the academic face-phenomena identified by the literature retrieved from the WoS: the use of promotional language, the construction of persuasive arguments, the degree of critical stance, the construction of an authorial persona through personal pronouns, or the use of implicit and explicit modes of criticism. It should be acknowledged here, though, that we still need to enhance our current methodological procedures to empirically analyze the interrelations of the various levels of textual analysis mentioned above across L2 academic English*es* variants.

The above research agenda somehow leads us back to the longstanding debate over the model of English most appropriate for teaching and, as Ferguson (2009, p. 119) states, appears to point to a definition of the expert L2 academic English user not delimited by native speaker norms but rather placing emphasis on communicative competence itself. Perhaps it would not be too farfetched to suggest that rhetorical move analysis may become a valid empirical method to delineate, as Ferguson (2009, p. 127) also proposes for English as a Lingua Franca users, an academic writing proficiency cline independent of L1 English benchmarks. Descriptive endeavours to identify features of academic spoken ELF varieties (Jenkins, 2007; Mauranen, 2012; Seidlhofer, 2005) are already in progress and may be useful sources of inspiration. In the meantime, on pedagogical grounds, Gentil's (2011) suggestions for a bi-literacy agenda for genre research, the third highly cited study in the bibliometric search, sensibly recommends the need to consider the interrelatedness of L1 and L2 literacies for the acquisition of genre knowledge in bi-/multiliterate communities. This pedagogical orientation will be specifically considered later in this paper.

In closing this second reflection, one might further argue that the status of academic English*es*, as a set of varieties, lends support to what Pennycook (2007), from a sociolinguistic perspective, defines as 'transcultural flows', namely, "processes of borrowing, blending, remaking and returning, […] processes of alternative cultural production" (p. 6) that result from the tensions between globalization and localization. If features of academic English*es* are not to be considered errors in expert academic writing but rather "legitimate variants", as Ferguson (2009, p. 117) observes for spoken ELF, the underlying interdiscursive hybridity of the L2 English academic texts might likewise be instantiating a legitimate linguistic phenomenon confined to academic and research settings. Investigating variation on academic English within the broader sociolinguistic debate on World English (Brutt-Griffler, 2002), World Englishes (Kachru, 2009), English as a Lingua Franca (Jenkins, 2007), English as a Global Language (Crystal, 2003) or English as an International Language (Kirkpatrick, 2007) may become another relevant avenue for future genre research on language-related issues.

3. A rationale for a multiliterate rhetorical consciousness-raising pedagogy

In many respects, Graddol's (1997) perception that English as a global lingua franca is "probably the most radical and controversial approach" (p. 87) to thinking about English under globalization has been addressed by the contentious scholarly debate over the past 25 years on the opportunities and threats posed by the dominance of English as the international language of research in a culturally and linguistically diverse research community. The final reflection in this paper touches upon the current national-based and higher education research assessment and internationalization policies to draw the focus to several aspects of EAP language pedagogy.

Over the past decades it has been widely claimed that the internationalization and research policies gradually implemented in non-Anglophone higher education and research institutions have triggered the use of English-only to foster international collaboration and gain institutional visibility, recognition and prestige, among other gains. As the literature also extensively reports, a further centripetal pull favouring the English-only trend in research dissemination/publication practices stems from the implementation of national-based research assessment policies. These policies have conceded greater merit to publications in high-impact factor English-medium journals than to those in national journals (Ferguson et al., 2011; Englander & Uzuner, 2013; Jarc & Godnič Vičič, 2012; de Swaan, 2001), for instance, for career promotion. Given these policy pressures, it appears likely that the trend towards English-only academic writing will continue, at least in the short run.

In the context of academic writing in English for research publication purposes, it would not be practical to align with views contending that "reduced variants of English such as the model English as a Lingua Franca" (Fiedler, 2010, p. 204) favour linguistic fair play. As Armstrong (2011) rightly notes, the use of a reduced variant would not fully guarantee the intelligibility expected in the transmission of scientific knowledge. While ELF seems to play the role of a successful vehicular language for spoken interaction in academia (Mauranen, 2012; Seidlhofer, 2005), implementing, say, a kind of 'academic Globish' or 'Globalish' variant of English for research publication purposes might seriously hamper a reliable exchange of scientific knowledge. Suggestions for language planning such as a campaign for raising awareness among Anglophones of the difficulties faced by non-Anglophones, a gradual change in the norms of the international language of science or even a new 'Globalish with a pluricentric structure' (Ammon, 2006, p. 25) seem feasible. However, assisting scholars' communicative demands in L2 English and empowering them professionally remains, as has been the case in the past 25 years, a major concern in the EAP field. As we look toward the future of genre analysis, several ways in which genre research can inform pedagogy are suggested below with a view to formulating a cogent pedagogical intervention model. Underpinning this model are the concepts of 'competent intercultural communicator' (Mauranen, 1993) and, as mentioned earlier, bi-/multiliterate genre knowledge transfer (Gentil, 2011).

Examining the extent to which particular rhetorical strategies reflect ecological pressures to publish in one's L1 or in English as an L2 is indeed complex, as several factors, both linguistic and non-linguistic, other than just policy factors, determine a writer's rhetorical decisions when composing research genres. Notwithstanding this complexity, it seems sensible that EAP courses may sensitize students towards linguistic aspects of multilingual enactments of genres —for example, by offering rich instructional input on academic writing practices across languages and providing exposure to features of discourse that shape and are shaped by each academic writing culture. Research-informed instruction may illustrate, elicit analysis and raise awareness of the particular rhetorical strategies that researchers from Anglophone environments employ when they construct texts for an international and a national audience, and the particular rhetorical strategies of researchers in non-Anglophone environments writing up research in English for an international audience, in their own L1 or in any other research languages. A comparison of these textual practices may further lend credence of the extent to which the 'publish or perish' and not just the 'publish *in English* or perish' pressure impacts, among other factors, the rhetoric of stabilised research genres such as the abstract, the journal article or the grant proposal. Key genre concepts that come to the forefront are 'audience' and, above all, 'sets of communicative purposes' (Askehave & Swales, 2001, p. 165). Using both concepts as guiding analytic parameters, corpus linguistics research has reported the use of highly promotional features in emerging elements supporting the online journal article such as the journal article highlights (i.e. a list of bullet points with the key findings of a study) and in multimodal genres such as graphical abstracts, audioslide presentations containing a summary of the article contents, or podcasts with editor-author interviews. Very little is known about the way researchers from different linguacultural backgrounds draw on linguistic and rhetorical resources and/or the multimodal genres available in the online environment for research-selling purposes. To inform EAP pedagogy, these practices would require empirical examination using 'genre' as a basis for comparison.

Examination of textual rhetoric in today's research writing practices in L1, L2, L3 and even further if applicable, should not leave aside features of intertextuality and interdiscursivity with a view to informing pedagogical instruction on text-composing practices. It should be stressed here that while intertextuality has attracted considerable scholarly attention in the past 25 years,[2] interdiscursivity —i.e. the appropriation of features of any discourse or genre, for example, the appropriation of promotional features, as reported in sociopragmatic analyses of professional genres (Bhatia, 2010)— has not yet been comprehensively approached by EAP research. In fact, the WoS bibliometric search retrieves one single study shedding light into the use of interdiscursivity in multiliterate research writing practices and exemplifying how semiotic resources are transposable from one genre to another (Salö & Hanell, 2014). Broadly, these authors' main argument is that when academic writers lack linguistic conventions in a given language they can draw on 'interdiscursive connectivity' (p. 25) when composing genres. In analysing the case of a Swedish researcher in the discipline of computer science confronted with the task of writing Swedish texts, Salö and Hanell report that interdiscursivity supports research writing practices as the writer is able to establish linkages across genres, languages and culture-specific intellectual styles.

[2] See Swales (2004) for a review of research on intertextuality and citation practices.

Investigating features of intertextuality and interdiscursivity in research genres may shed further light in the current scholarly debate on L1/L2 variants in terms of socio-cognitive standardization of genres, lexicogrammar features, sentential and clausal construction and overall textual rhetoric. Text-linguistic exploration can be done using large-scale contrastive corpora of genre exemplars. Qualitative ethnomethodological protocols such as discussion groups, semi-structured interviews or attitude surveys (Lillis, 2008) would likewise be appropriate in order to contextualize the reasons for the increasing marketization of research-selling oriented genres.

I argued elsewhere that the geopolitics of English as a hegemonic language does not suppress the role of other major and minor languages assisting today's research communication (Pérez-Llantada, 2012). While *Genre Analysis* was entirely devoted to investigating English in the research world, one major goal of genre theory today is, as evidenced in the literature surveyed for drafting this paper, to add to an understanding of the ways in which the system of academic/research genres is used across local research communities with different lingua-cultural backgrounds. We need to know how genres are understood, used and interpreted across these communities. Along the lines developed by Bazerman and Prior (2004), genre research needs to map patterns of communication upon which national cultures are built and identify in what ways L1/L2 literacy practices are similar or divergent. Studies examining genre(s)-based communication practices in bi-/multiliterate environments may be informative of ecologies of linguistic diversity in academic and research settings so as to ascertain the parameters that determine language choice (Haberland, 2005, p. 227). As previously stated, theorization on the status of spoken ELF variants and academic written English*es* in relation to sociolinguistic phenomena —World English, World Englishes, English as a Global Language, or English as an International Language (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Crystal, 2003; Jenkins, 2007; Kachru, 2009; Kirkpatrick, 2007)— emerges as a relevant point to be covered by the genre research agenda.

It is not an uncommon perception among EAP practitioners that language and research policy decision-makers in higher education institutions do not appear to be fully aware of the language challenges involved in publishing research in English as an additional language and, thus, are not totally responsive to those challenges —e.g. by offering onsite language instruction and counselling/advising language services. Drawing on Swales' (1990) ‘task and language learning approach’ (p. 82), which has undoubtedly been widely accepted since its inception, some ways of articulating a cogent language instructional intervention for members of bi-/multiliterate research communities are briefly sketched out below.

Swales (1990, pp. 68–77) explains that a pedagogy based on analytical and critical tasks raises participants' awareness of what a discourse community is, what social actions each genre performs and how situational contexts influence the perceptions and expectations of genres/genre use. Swales and Feak's (2009) cycle of rhetorical consciousness-raising (Fig. 3) may be adopted as a feasible pedagogical approach for communities of scholars with lingua-cultural backgrounds other than English so as to engage students in contrastive analysis and critical reflection of genre exemplars not only in English, but also in different language variables (L1/L2) and at different levels of textual analysis. In addition, improving the cycle by incorporating a cross-linguistic perspective to textual rhetoric seems sensible to provide exposure to authentic text exemplars inviting analytical/critical reflection on the way the use of an L2, L3 or whatever variant used may influence the rhetorical scaffolding of the text, even if it adheres to the generic conventions of information organization and style.

A task-based approach providing exposure to genre samples in L1 and L2 academic English, in the L1 of the course participants and in other research languages that the participants may use, would seem consistent with the theoretically-grounded assumption that the ‘competent intercultural communicator’ model proposed by Mauranen (1993) is a more reasonable target than the native English-speaker model. This bi-/multiliterate rhetorical consciousness approach may also invite reflection on the language burdens identified by the literature —paucity of expression and of richness of style— and on the previously mentioned academic face-phenomena in L2 English discourse that ensue from L1 transfer. Along with task-based rhetorical consciousness-raising, encouraging students to become “ethnographers themselves” (Swales, 1990, p. 218) of their own local discourse community might be a supplemental, non-formal instructional procedure to learn about and sensitize with global/local rhetorical conventions and the idiosyncrasies of a given writing culture.

It is worth recalling here that *Genre Analysis* described several research methods to support the genre-based learning process and inform the EAP instructor in his/her role of language advisor. Swales (1990) explained that “background interviews, questionnaires, the subject's behaviour in a writing class, individual consultations with the instructor, a research

Fig. 3. Cycle of rhetorical consciousness-raising (Swales & Feak, 2009, p. xiii).

assistant and the tutor in a writing clinic, longitudinal writing samples and comments elicited from academic advisors" (p. 203) are potentially insightful data sources for the EAP practitioner. Two recent sources of inspiration for future research along the lines initially devised by Swales are Guo's (2012) ethnographic account of manuscript drafting genres as an observatory technique of academic writing and literacy learning processes, and Wingate's (2012) assessment of case studies conducted in a university instructional context to identify "mismatches between students' previous and expected literacy practices" and "the impact of tutor feedback on student identity" (p. 30). Both methods appear to be facilitative of exploration, description and explanation of individual case studies in academic writing experiences and may thus offer guidance as to how to best support the individual learning process. In the past 25 years empirical findings demonstrating the value of genre-based learning through onsite instruction and/or instructor's individual student feedback have been, unfortunately, very sparse.

Lastly, it is still an issue in itself whether genre-based pedagogies, enquiry-based *per se*, serve as an effective procedural scaffold to acquire and learn strategies of textual rhetoric in a self-conscious manner through formal, non-formal and/or informal learning. Also, the question of whether non-formal incidental learning through, e.g., extensive academic reading and repeated usage of genre conventions and text rhetoric through extensive writing, can enhance genre knowledge is another area of interest for further investigation. Situated genre analysis (Dressen-Hammouda, 2014), which triangulates a genre-based study of textual and rhetorical features using qualitative methods, an ethnographic study of professional practices, a sociohistorical analysis of researching practices and writing practices and the study of knowledge recontextualization throughout genre chains, emerges as a useful heuristic to empirically inform and expand the pedagogical orientations of *Genre Analysis*.

4. Coda

In this personal reflective account of the 25 years of *Genre Analysis* I have sought to illustrate ways in which genre theory and genre analysis have been applied and can be expanded for gaining an understanding of the intersections of genres and languages for academic and research purposes. I also hope that, in keeping with the theme and intent of this special JEAP issue, I have situated genre theory more deeply within the dynamics of today's research communication, recognizing its complexity.

The wide-ranging conceptual and pedagogical insights of the bibliographic sources surveyed lend ample credence to the fact that genre theory remains a main theoretical and pedagogical approach for framing the interrelation between genres and languages, identifying discourses of power and articulating theories of learning. The main areas of thematic interest identified in this paper render the view of genres as textual constructs that assist the communicative demands of today's culturally and linguistically diverse academic/research community. It is hoped that the above research agenda has sufficiently outlined a range of multidisciplinary perspectives for researching genres in relation to languages. The primarily linguistic and rhetorical

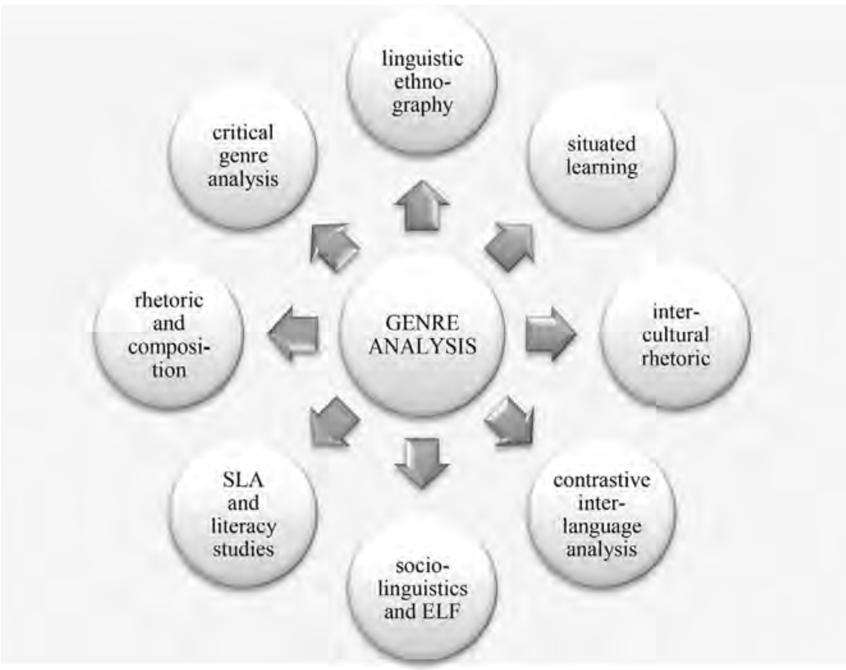

Fig. 4. Cross-fertilization of genre analysis with other theoretical and analytical frameworks.

view of genres, the point of departure of *Genre Analysis*, has matured and developed into a "more comprehensive multi-perspective and multidimensional view of genre analysis" (Bhatia, 2012, p. 19) and has cross-fertilized with other theoretical and analytical frameworks (Fig. 4).

It was also my intention to provide some intellectual justification for rhetorical move analysis as an analytic methodology. In intersecting with languages, genres prove to be flexible sociocognitive, phraseological, discoursal, and rhetorical constructs. While genres adhere to a well-established schematic structure and linguistic patterning, they embody subtle differences at the phraseological, discoursal and rhetorical levels in response to "cross-linguistic discourse community expectations" (Swales, 2011, p. 84). It seems the time has come for EAP practitioners, informed by theoretical and empirical genre research, to foster the dialogue with institutional managers and national language and research policy decision-makers. To meet the new contingencies, managers and decision-makers need to realize that EAP language education means more than just remedial language courses. It means a long-term, strategic investment in EAP language planning and education.

A final note on 'textual silences' will serve to close the above reflections. As acknowledged earlier, the bibliometric methods and the literature survey used in this paper have only traced ISI English-medium databases, without engaging in concurrent scholarly interest in other academic and research languages. However, the existing literature reports that, alongside English, other languages participate in the dynamics of genre-based academic and research communication. These languages thus deserve equal attention in order to fully understand how genres and genre knowledge transfer operate in bi-/multiliterate academic and research settings across the world.

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