

## Linguistic description and analysis

**92–205 Hoeksema, Jack and Zwarts, Frans** (U. of Groningen). Some remarks on focus adverbs. *Journal of Semantics* (Nijmegen, The Netherlands), **8**, 1/2 (1991), 51–70.

This paper reviews some of the major problems which a comprehensive theory of focus adverbs needs to address, describes some of the variations to be found among focus adverbs, and places this against the background of some of the available accounts of focus adverbs.

It is an attempt to get a better understanding of the intricate complexities surrounding focus adverbs. To this end, a number of restrictions are discussed which govern the occurrence of different classes of focus adverbs in Dutch, German and English. Discussion is limited primarily to the descriptive level. When one tries to characterise focus phenomena, it is immediately clear that there are numerous lexical differences which interact in

subtle ways with regular syntactic and semantic patterns: a linguistically interesting theory of focus should be able to account for these differential patterns. It is dangerous to rely too much on the assumed homogeneity of linguistic classes, especially in the closed-class systems. It is also important to gain a comparative perspective on focus adverbs by comparing items from different languages if a theory is to be constructed with the explanatory depth and broad empirical coverage of current theories of WH-movement or anaphoric dependencies. A number of examples are given where it is useful to compare items taken from English, German and Dutch.

**92–206 Klein, Ulrich F. G.** (U. of Cologne, Germany). Focus: an idea in motion. *Journal of Semantics* (Nijmegen, The Netherlands), **8**, 1/2 (1991), 71–90.

This paper discusses stress patterns concerning the relation between intonation and the meaning of an utterance. It is argued that this should be done within a linguistic approach. While the first part of this paper deals with differences in meaning that are caused by differences in intonation, the second part

gives an overview over the focus theories of Höhle, Rochemont, and Jacobs. Within this discussion the interrelation is shown between the syntactic feature [+F] (+focus) and the phonetic and semantic properties of an utterance.

## Sociolinguistics

**92–207 Breton, Roland** (U. of Aix, Marseille). Géographie du plurilinguisme. [The geography of multilingualism.] *Français dans le Monde* (Paris), special number Feb/March (1991), 20–31.

Different ways of dealing with multilingual situations are described. Of the 173 sovereign states existing in 1990, about 40 – containing about half the world's population – are not monolingual. Language policies in these countries fall into two broad categories and their successes/failures are commented upon.

'Multilingualism by juxtaposition' exists where a country is divided into territories that are strictly monolingual within themselves [Switzerland]; bilingualism here is necessary only for migrants or immigrants. 'Multilingualism by superimposition' exists where one or two languages are imposed over parts of a country that have their own ethnic

languages. This throws up the difference between national languages – retained by ethnic groups for cultural purposes – and official languages – imposed for administrative/governmental purposes. The two main solutions in this situation are either that one national language is put in dominance over all others to become official (Norwegian over Danish in Norway) or that an outside language is superimposed over all ethnic languages in order to enable communication between the different language communities (English in India and some African countries). There is a short discussion of some of the effects of these policies on language minorities.

**92-208 Foley, Joseph** (National U. of Singapore). Vygotsky, Bernstein and Halliday: towards a unified theory of L1 and L2 learning. *Language, Culture and Curriculum* (Clevedon, Avon), **4**, 1 (1991), 17-42.

Three points of view on the learning of L1 and L2 are examined, those associated with the names of Vygotsky, Bernstein, and Halliday. The purpose of bringing together ideas from psychology, sociolinguistics, and linguistics is to attempt an integration of some contemporary developments in language pedagogy and syllabus design, in particular the change to functional-notional syllabi and communicative teaching methods. The themes of socialisation and self-regulation are central to the

discussion and help to draw attention to some problems of L2 learning which are still largely unresolved despite apparently sweeping changes in language pedagogy. Special attention is given to the role of the school programme of L1 learning and its relevance for subsequent L2 learning and the problem that the latter poses because of the necessity for the learner to map new systemic knowledge onto existing schematic knowledge.

**92-209 Lowenberg, Peter H.** (San José State U., CA). English as an additional language in Indonesia. *World Englishes* (Oxford), **10**, 2 (1991), 127-38.

This paper examines the forms and functions of English as a 'foreign language' in Indonesia. A brief survey of the historical and current status of English in Indonesia reveals that English has few intranational functions as a dominant code of discourse. However, analysis of data from several sources demonstrates that English is nonetheless having a significant impact on language use in Indonesia, particularly through lexico-semantic and pragmatic contributions to Bahasa Indonesia, the widely spoken national and official language. In complementary distribution with borrowings from other foreign languages, especially Sanskrit, English lexical

items are officially or 'spontaneously' borrowed for use in specific domains. These borrowings are often semantically extended, restricted, or totally shifted to provide new registers for Bahasa Indonesia, to foreground a modern identity for educated urbanites and for those who aspire to be like them, and to express or neutralise new values and behaviour patterns in Indonesia's rapidly modernising society. This paper concludes that these functions of English in the linguistic repertoires of many Indonesians warrant its classification in Indonesia as an 'additional' rather than merely a 'foreign' language.

**92-210 Lyon, Jean** (University Coll. of North Wales, Bangor). Patterns of parental language use in Wales. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* (Clevedon, Avon), **12**, 3 (1991), 165-81.

This paper reports the language use of some 400 mothers in North Wales and their partners. The sample was divided into five types of couple, both mainly Welsh-speaking, only father Welsh-speaking, only mother Welsh-speaking, both mainly English-speaking, and couples where both have always used a mixture of Welsh and English. Factors associated with language use are examined, and these include cross-language partnerships, past educational medium, and situation. Thinking in Welsh

most clearly differentiates the groups, with the majority of the Welsh-speaking couples and/or the Welsh-speaking partners in cross-language marriages thinking in Welsh. Those in the mixed language background group tend to think in English. Language choice for reading and viewing is also examined. Finally, consideration of the effect of gender on language use/choice in the home indicates that the father may have the greater influence.

**92-211 Rampton, M. B. H.** (University Coll. of Ripon and York St John). Second language learners in a stratified multilingual setting. *Applied Linguistics* (Oxford), **12**, 3 (1991), 229-48.

This paper discusses the ethnographic investigation of a multilingual adolescent peer group in which various forms of second/other language learner status had considerable social significance. It describes the learning and use of minority languages by

youngsters from other language backgrounds, and begins by discussing the role of Panjabi as a language learner language within jocular abuse. This is compared with other Panjabi second-language socialising contexts, and brief reference is made to



the ways in which language learner English is symbolically invoked in peer group discourse. The aim is to illustrate the ways that a repertoire of languages and language learner statuses serves as differentiated resources which adolescents draw on in efforts to define community and affirm or contest social structure.

In the light of this evidence, the paper then examines possible extensions in second-language

acquisition (SLA) discussion of communication strategies and the social and affective influences on language learning. The social symbolic aspects of language are stressed and a shift in methodological emphases is suggested. Finally, questions are raised about the manner in which SLA research often seeks educational relevance. Interactional sociolinguistics is identified as a particularly useful approach to SLA research and application.

**92-212 Rannut, Mart** (Inst. of Language and Literature, Tallinn, Estonia, USSR). Influence of ideology in the linguistic policy of the Soviet Union. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* (Clevedon, Avon), **12**, 1/2 (1991), 105-10.

In this article a historical overview of the linguistic policy of the Soviet Union is given. Attention is paid to the ideological goals influencing linguistic policy, their realisation and the results. Though the linguistic policy of the USSR is an implicit phenomenon, three main periods may be observed, differing in the methods used for achieving ideological goals. These were preceded by an indistinct period without a unified complex of means, due to the struggle for power in the leadership of the USSR. The first period during the Stalin regime may be characterised by urgent and violent measures taken to bring Communist ideals to life by eliminating whole ethnic groups according to the

class-based approach. During the second period – post-Stalinism – less violence was used, while the main emphasis was laid on rebuilding human nature and eliminating signs of ethnic origin. A special type of education was worked out called international education; for extreme cases psychiatric hospitals and prisons were used. This period, now called ‘stagnation’, was mainly connected with the name of Brezhnev. The third period began when Gorbachev came to power. To get out of the impasse ‘perestroika’ was introduced. Nevertheless, the ideal of the USSR, the Communist empire, was maintained, though Glasnost was allowed.

**92-213 van Els, Theo J. M. and van Hest, Erna W. C. M.** (Catholic U. of Nijmegen, The Netherlands). Foreign language teaching policies and European unity: the Dutch national action programme. *Language, Culture and Curriculum* (Clevedon, Avon), **3**, 3 (1990), 199-211.

In 1989 the Dutch Government commissioned the drawing up of a National Action Programme (NAP) on Foreign Languages in anticipation of the new demands of the European Single Market after 1992. The paper describes how the NAP was produced over a 10-month period. There were distinct but complementary contributions from the Project Staff, the Resonance Group ( $n = 41$ ) and the Working Group ( $n = 10$ ). A series of empirical studies, including earlier work of the Dutch Needs Research Project, provided the database for the project. A brief comparison is made with the Australian Government's National Policy on Languages. The substance of the Dutch NAP is then described. The empirical studies confirmed increasing demand for foreign languages, including ‘minor’ languages such as Russian, Japanese and particularly Spanish. Provision was also increasing,

although not as quickly. A disturbing finding was that whereas all students now learn some English, 15% do not learn German and 40% do not learn French, even to the most modest levels of attainment. The NAP recommended (1) stricter control of foreign language provision, including a limit on the number of languages available to students in order to promote more advanced levels of competence in a smaller number of languages, (2) better co-ordination between the foreign language programmes of different sections of the educational system, and (3) an over-arching framework of teaching objectives for the educational system as a whole, independent of languages and of school types. The paper concludes that the project was successful and that its recommendations are likely to be implemented.

## Psycholinguistics

**92-214 Ackerman, John M.** (U. of Utah). Reading, writing and knowing: the role of disciplinary knowledge in comprehension and composing. *Research in the Teaching of English* (Urbana, Ill), **25**, 2 (1991), 133–78.

To explore how writers with extensive experience and learning in an academic discipline used both topical and rhetorical knowledge to construct synthesis essays, 40 graduate students equally representing the two disciplines of psychology and business wrote synthesis essays on either supply-side economics or rehearsal in memory. Half of the writers completed think-aloud protocols, and their composing processes were analysed for different qualities and frequencies of elaborations and rhetorical awareness and for task representation. Their written products (40 essays) were analysed for the importance and origin of information and for the quality of key rhetorical moves. Analyses of variance revealed that high-knowledge writers evidenced more local and evaluative elaborations as well as an awareness of rhetorical contexts. They also included more new information in their essays in the top

levels of essay organisations. Low-knowledge writers elaborated less but did rely on structural and content-based awareness to compose, factors which also were influenced by specific topics and disciplines, and they included comparable amounts of borrowed-implicit information in their essays. Intercorrelations of process and product features revealed that evaluative elaborations and awareness of rhetorical context corresponded with the presence of new information in essays for all 40 writers, suggesting that prior knowledge of an academic topic may take the form of a complex, situational strategy for composing. The findings confirm the interrelatedness of comprehension and composing processes and illustrate how writers, with varying levels of topic familiarity, use both their knowledge of disciplinary topics and their experience as readers and writers to compose synthesis essays.

**92-215 de Boysson-Bardies, Bénédicte** (CNRS-EHESS) and **Vihman, Marilyn May** (Rutgers U.). Adaptation to language: evidence from babbling and first words in four languages. *Language* (Baltimore, Md), **67**, 2 (1991), 297–319.

Differences among languages offer a way of studying the process of infant adaptation from broad initial capacities to language-specific phonetic production. The authors designed analyses of the distribution of consonantal place and manner categories in French, English, Japanese, and Swedish to determine (1) whether systematic differences can be found in the babbling and first words of infants from different language backgrounds, and, if so, (2) whether these differences are related to the phonetic structure of the language spoken in the environment. Five infants from each linguistic environment were

recorded under similar conditions from babbling only to the production of 25 words in a session. Although all of the infants generally made greater use of labials, dentals and stops than of other classes of sounds, a clear phonetic selection could already be discerned in babbling, leading to statistically significant differences among the groups. This selection can be seen to arise from phonetic patterns of the ambient language. Comparison of the babbling and infant word repertoires reveals differences reflecting the motoric consequences of sequencing constraints.

**92-216 Ehri, Linnea C. and Sweet, Jennifer** (U. of California, Davis).

Fingerpoint-reading of memorised text: what enables beginners to process the print? *Reading Research Quarterly* (Newark, Del), **26**, 4 (1991), 442–62.

In a laboratory study, the authors investigated the kinds of print-related knowledge that emergent readers must possess in order to learn to point to the words of a text as they recited it from memory (*fingerpoint-reading*) and to remember information about the print from this activity. Children whose ages ranged from 4;5 to 6 years completed several tests of reading skill. Then they practiced fingerpoint-reading a simple text they had memorised. The authors assessed the impact of this practice

on their reading capabilities with the text. Regression analyses revealed that different types of print knowledge facilitated different aspects of fingerpoint-reading. Knowing how to read a few preprimer words was important for learning to read new words in the text. Phonemic segmentation was important for learning to point to printed words at the same time as they were spoken, and for remembering how to read individual words in text. Letter knowledge was important for noticing that



letters in the text had been altered, and for locating words in text. These results help to unravel the complex relationships between various knowledge

sources as they are used by beginning readers to process written text in a focused word-by-word manner.

**92-217 Lam, Agnes S. L.** (National U. of Singapore) **and others.** Automatic phonetic transfer in bidialectal reading. *Applied Psycholinguistics* (New York), **12**, 3 (1991), 299–311.

This study investigated phonetic activation in reading a non-alphabetic script – Chinese. Since the Chinese ideographic script can be read with more than one dialectal pronunciation, a reader who has learned to read in two dialects will have two pronunciations for the same word stored in his memory. Thus, interference effects will occur. Sixteen subjects who read in Cantonese and

Mandarin and 16 subjects who read in Mandarin but not in Cantonese were tested in a similarity judgment task based on pairs of Chinese words that were pronounced the same or differently in one or both of the dialects. That automatic phonetic activation would occur even for an ideographic script such as Chinese was supported by the results.

**92-218 Loritz, Donald** (Georgetown U.). Cerebral and cerebellar models of language learning. *Applied Linguistics* (Oxford), **12**, 3 (1991), 299–318.

Recent research in ‘connectionism’ has awakened interest in parallel models of language. The most widely-reported architectures model cerebellar cortex. Language, however, is principally learned by cerebral cortex. In cerebral anatomies, Peircean’s ‘surprising events’ cause ‘rebounds’: revolutions in which dominant synergies of dipole fields (rules) are overthrown and replaced by new synergies. Grossberg’s Adaptive Resonance Theory (ART) describes such anatomies. The ART model is

presented as a general framework for explaining common linguistic phenomena such as fossilisation, categorical perception, vowel phonemicisation, and linguistic rule formation. The performance of cerebral ART models is compared with that of cerebellar models (Parallel Distributed Processing, Boltzmann machines). In conclusion, ART is proposed as a basis for unifying language learning theories with each other and with praxis.

**92-219 McDonald, Janet L. and Heilenman, L. Kathy** (Louisiana State U.). Determinants of cue strength in adult first and second language speakers of French. *Applied Psycholinguistics* (New York), **12**, 3 (1991), 313–48.

This study investigates the determinants of adult usage of various syntactic and semantic cues in sentence interpretation. Native French speakers and advanced English/French bilinguals were tested for the strength of usage of word order, clitic pronoun agreement, verb agreement, and noun animacy cues in the assignment of the actor role in French sentences. Native speakers showed strong use of clitic pronoun agreement, followed by much weaker use of verb agreement, an even weaker use of noun animacy, and negligible use of word order. This ranking reflects the importance of these cues in

naturally occurring French sentences involving conflicts among cues in conjunction with a learning-on-error model. The English/French bilinguals did not manifest English-like strategies of word-order preference on the French sentences; rather, they showed a cue ranking very similar to that of native speakers, although detectability may have played a role in their use of verb agreement. The failure of English word-order strategies to interpret correctly many naturally occurring French sentences may be responsible for the adaptation of strategies appropriate to the second language.

**92-220 Perner, Josef and Davies, Graham** (U. of Sussex). Understanding the mind as an active information processor: do young children have a ‘copy theory of mind’? *Cognition* (Lausanne, Switzerland), **39**, 1 (1991), 51–69.

Most 4-, but no 3-year-olds, were able to understand the mind’s active role in evaluating the truth of verbal information. They appreciated that a statement, whether true or false, will be disbelieved if

the listener has existing beliefs to the contrary and that it will be believed if no such beliefs exist. Four- and 5-year-olds were equally competent in understanding the need for interpretation of pictorial

material. They realised that an uninitiated person cannot make sense of a 'doodle', which in itself is an uninterpretable section of a larger meaningful

drawing. The authors discuss the impact of these findings on the question of whether children at this age entertain a copy theory of mind.

## Pragmatics

**92-221 Cox, Beverly E.** (Purdue U.) **and others.** Children's knowledge of organisation, cohesion and voice in written exposition. *Research in the Teaching of English* (Urbana, Ill), **25**, 2 (1991), 179–218.

This study investigates the ability of 48 children at two grades (3, 5) and reading ability levels (good, poor) to write functionally appropriate expository texts. Their texts (96 in all) were examined for appropriateness and complexity of organisation; cohesion, including cohesive harmony; and voice. They were also ranked holistically for quality of writing by adult readers. The data were submitted to descriptive and parametric statistics that examined grade and reading level effects and relationships.

Results suggest that nearly all these children understood the function and audience for exposition. Reading level was found to be significantly more related than grade level to sophisticated use of cohesion, organisation, and a preference for lexical rather than coreferential cohesion devices. Adult rating of writing quality correlated significantly with those texts using more cohesive harmony and complex organisation.

**92-222 Endres-Niggemeyer, Brigitte and others.** Modelling summary writing by introspection: a small-scale demonstrative study. *Text* (Amsterdam), **11**, 4 (1991), 523–52.

The assumptions of the model of discourse comprehension and summarisation proposed by Kintsch and van Dijk were combined with a procedural model of expository writing. By empirical observation of text summarising, the authors adapted this combined model in a specialised way. In a small-scale demonstrator study, a Belgian, a German and a Japanese summarised a two-page introduction to a German Prolog textbook while recording a thinking-aloud protocol. The interpretation of these protocols yields, in particular, strategies that are

reasonably precise for a mental model. They are not equal for all of the test subjects, but they fall into the following functional classes: general inference, planning and control, knowledge acquisition, relevance assessment, meaning reduction, condensation, construction, and output. In comparison with models of professional abstractors, the lay (wo)man's summarising model described here is less extensive but is not different in principle. Thinking-aloud proved to be a fruitful investigation technique for summarising.

**92-223 Hayashi, Reiko** (Kona Women's U., Kobe, Japan). Floor structure of English and Japanese conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **16**, 1 (1991), 1–30.

This article investigates the nature of floor: what floor is, how the interactants create floor and manage it to conduct a smooth conversation. To answer this question, the concept of floor is developed. Floor is defined as a community competence which is cognitively developed while participants in a conversation interact with each other, and which is a form of mutual knowledge

shared by the interactants and used to sequence conversation. The structures of floor are reconstructed based on this definition. The research is conducted qualitatively, using naturally obtained audio- and video-taped conversations. Universal aspects of floor which are applicable to English and Japanese are found.

**92-224 Kasher, Asa** (Tel Aviv U., Israel). On the pragmatic modules: a lecture. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **16**, 5 (1991), 381–97.

It is claimed, firstly, that the core of language use is divided between two different pragmatic competences:

a purely linguistic pragmatic competence, of a certain nature, and a non-linguistic pragmatic

competence, related to general cognitive systems, such as that of intentional action in general. Secondly, that there are reasons to believe that the linguistic pragmatic competence is represented in our minds as a cluster of modules, in a certain, revised sense of the term. And thirdly, that at least

part of the cluster of pragmatic modules is related to the left hemisphere of the brain, while the right hemisphere, held by some to be the residence of pragmatics, is related to pragmatic competences in an utterly different way.

**92-225 Mey, Jacob L.** (Odense U., Denmark). Text, context, and social control. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **16**, 5 (1991), 399–410.

From mainly figuring as a positive asset in an individual's life, literacy, understood as the reception and production of written text, has in more recent times become an 'admission ticket' to certain privileges of modern society. The conceptual bases of text consumption and text production, as they have been established by text linguistics and other theories of text, have mainly been laid out on the structural patterns of coding and decoding messages;

in contrast, more modern views stress the functioning of texts in a societal whole. In the present paper, the double 'decontextualisation' of texts is criticised, and some parallels to modern notions such as 'computer literacy' are drawn. Text is dependent, for its creation and use, on the discourse that produces it; the notion of 'discoursal space' is shown to be superior to that of 'context' in this respect.

**92-226 Norrick, Neal R.** (Northern Illinois U.). On the organisation of corrective exchanges in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **16**, 1 (1991), 59–83.

This essay investigates how conversationalists accomplish corrections on one another's talk. It shows that they negotiate such corrective sequences from one context to the next based on their respective abilities to complete the correction, rather than adhering to the so-called 'preference for self-correction' proposed by Schegloff. Investigation of settings favouring corrections by a second speaker reveals a shared perception that he or she is better able to complete the exchange, either because of greater familiarity with the topic, the language in use, or simply the intended contribution. Inter-

actions between parents and children, teachers and students, and native and non-native speakers provide appropriate examples. Approximately equal background information and language facility together leave only knowledge of the turn in progress as a differentiating factor, so the current speaker naturally assumes responsibility for any corrections in it, resulting in the predominance of self-correction in conversation between adult native speakers. Thus the analysis proposed here includes the earlier account as a sub-case.

**92-227 Prideaux, Gary D.** (U. of Alberta, Canada). Syntactic form and textual rhetoric: the cognitive basis for certain pragmatic principles. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **16**, 2 (1991), 113–29.

Over the past several years, more and more linguists have turned their attention to the study of actual language use. As Leech observes, the study of grammar tends to focus on linguistic forms themselves, while pragmatics focuses on the use of those forms in various situations and contexts.

The view that pragmatic principles are typically considered to be based on social factors is perhaps best illustrated by Grice's Cooperative Principle, with its associated maxims. Proposed pragmatic principles, however, cover an enormous range, from those which are highly social in nature, such as Leech's Politeness Principle, to those which deal very specifically with the form of sentences them-

selves, such as Leech's End-weight and End-focus maxims.

In this paper it is argued that pragmatic principles which have been proposed for dealing with syntactic form and with information distribution throughout a narrative or discourse are different in kind from pragmatic principles having a social and conventional basis. In particular, it is argued, on the basis of empirical evidence from both experiments and text data, that the former principles are a function of certain cognitive factors rather than purely social ones.

It is concluded that many of the so-called 'pragmatic' principles which have been offered as

relevant to the syntax of sentences and to the structure of discourse or narratives are better viewed as arising from general cognitive principles rather than from social convention, thereby necessitating a basic distinction between two types of pragmatic principles.

**92-228 Sunderland, Jane** (Lancaster U.). The decline of 'man'. *Journal of Pragmatics* (Amsterdam), **16**, 6 (1991), 505-22.

This article looks at diachronic change in the meaning, use and interpretation of *man*, *men*, *a man* and *man* compounds in the 'generic masculine' sense. During the last two decades, in the context of the on-going 'sexist language' debate, deliberate intervention has influenced the meaning, use and interpretation of 'man-words'. Largely due to this intervention, these words, which once had a fully generic denotative meaning (though this may have anyway been becoming less and less generic) now in many contexts have relatively little generic potential, and that their 'genericity' is on the whole in a state of decline. *Man* cannot, however, be said to have only sex-specific potential.

**92-229 Taylor, Gordon** (Monash U., Melbourne) and **Chen Tingguang** (Central South U. of Technology, Changsha). Linguistic, cultural, and subcultural issues in contrastive discourse analysis: Anglo-American and Chinese scientific texts. *Applied Linguistics* (Oxford), **12**, 3 (1991), 319-36.

Empirical studies designed to test Kaplan's thesis that discourse structure varies widely with 'culturo-linguistic systems' have provoked wildly conflicting results. This lack of agreement is due in large measure to certain assumptions being made about the relation between a language system and a culture, to the nature of the questions being asked, and to a certain amount of disarray in the methodology of studies mounted to test the claim. To overcome these problems, this paper focuses on the likely sources of variability in discourse structure by comparing the introductions to papers written in a variety of related disciplines by three groups of physical scientists: Anglo-Americans writing in English, Chinese writing in English, and Chinese writing in Chinese. It was found that there is, indeed, an underlying rhetorical structure common to all language groups and disciplines, but that there are systematic variations from this structure. Some variations characterise the discipline rather than the language or nationality of the writers. Others show strong differences between western and Chinese scientists, irrespective of language. The nature of these variations indicates the futility of broad generalisations about the connections between discourse structure and 'culturo-linguistic systems', a finding that courses in English for academic purposes should heed.