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**The Academic Writing of Japanese Students of English:
Contrastive Rhetoric and its Implications for an Integrated
Approach to Composition Pedagogy**

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2000

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SUMMARY

This thesis begins with the assertion that there are serious inadequacies in the academic writing of Japanese students of English studying at the post-secondary level in Japan. To substantiate this claim, Chapter 1 presents a preliminary profile of student writing, based on a survey of the literature, the testimony of established authorities, and representative samples of student compositions, establishing baseline parameters of infelicity in their written work and identifying key features that characterize such writing. This survey also reveals numerous problems inherent in the research carried out to date, including the fact that terminological confusions are widespread and findings tend to be impressionistic and anecdotal. Chapter 1 concludes with a statement of the basic premise of this thesis, claiming that given effective instruction, based on an integrated approach to composition pedagogy, Japanese EL2 students are capable of making significant improvements in their academic writing skills.

Although purely descriptive, taxonomic approaches to the analysis of written discourse, such as the profile of student writing presented in Chapter 1, are often a useful initial heuristic, they also have a number of important limits, especially in accommodating cross-language linguistic evidence, and in providing a suitable basis for understanding the origins of students' writing difficulties. Such issues cannot be resolved at this level of analysis and need to be addressed within a framework of applied linguistic theory. Chapter 2 establishes this framework, exploring the evolution of research models in contrastive rhetoric and examining the influence of related areas of investigation in contrastive linguistics and discourse linguistics. Based on the assumption that language learners will transfer the rhetorical features of their native language to the target language, causing interference in second language writing, contemporary theories in contrastive rhetoric have moved beyond the boundaries of text itself to include the cognitive and sociocultural dimensions of language transfer, in particular the context in which text is produced, both situational and cultural. This research paradigm provides the theoretical basis for the investigations that follow, defining the conceptual parameters of the present study.

Although contrastive rhetoric has been strongly influenced by movements within applied linguistics, it also has a direct relationship with both classical and modern rhetoric. Chapter 3 explores this relationship, examining the evolution of rhetoric and discourse education in the western tradition in an investigation designed to clarify the standards, norms, and conventions that define the writing canon of modern English prose, and to identify the historical antecedents of modern-day disciplines such as discourse analysis, text linguistics, and composition pedagogy.

While the study of rhetoric helps specify the qualities that define effective writing in English, how they originated, and why they continue to be valued, the

goal of research in composition pedagogy is to develop approaches, methods, and techniques for the classroom which will tell us how such writing should be taught. Chapter 4 provides an overview of composition pedagogy in both L1 and L2 contexts, investigating the multiplicity of approaches to teaching writing currently proliferating in the field and the theoretical assumptions that underlie them.

Chapters 5 and 6 provide a roughly parallel descriptive framework for Japanese rhetoric along cultural, historical, and educational dimensions, for if rhetorical transfer from Japanese can be presumed to be one the main reasons for students' writing difficulties in English, then it is essential to have a rigorous accounting of Japanese rhetorical conventions, including the cultural and educational contexts from which they arise. Chapter 5 defines the principal characteristics of Japanese rhetoric from a sociohistorical perspective, identifying formative elements in the culture that influence rhetorical values and preferences, while Chapter 6 assesses the educational environment in which writing skills are acquired in Japan in a survey of L1 and L2 composition instruction and practice in Japanese schools.

Building on the conclusions drawn from these investigations, Chapter 7 sets forth a proposal of pedagogic action designed to offer solutions to the writing difficulties of Japanese EL2 students in an approach to L2 composition instruction which integrates research in contrastive rhetoric, applied linguistic theory, and general pedagogic principles. This proposed pedagogy is tested in an empirical study of student writing based on a pretest/posttest, experimental/control group design, and the results are discussed in terms of the importance of integrating approaches to composition pedagogy along diachronic, synchronic, and human dimensions.

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Chapter 1: The problem in its setting

1.1 Introduction

With the number of students learning English as a second or foreign language continuing to increase rapidly worldwide, "there is a growing awareness that learners need to develop proficiency not only in the more frequently emphasized skills of speaking, listening, and reading, but in *writing* in English as well" (Jacobs et al., 1981, p. v). Yet for Japanese students of English¹ today, writing is certainly the most problematic and neglected of the four language skills. Reading ability in English has long been stressed in Japan and most students who go on to specialize in English in post-secondary education are generally competent in this area.² Much has been written about the shortcomings of Japanese EL2 students internationally,³ especially in terms of their speaking and listening abilities, and there are now measures being instituted, albeit belatedly, to remedy this situation.⁴ Writing, however, remains an area of serious neglect in EL2 education in Japan, and a lack of ability in written English beyond the basic sentence level is a significant academic obstacle for many Japanese today. This includes not only EL2 learners studying at Japanese universities, but also unprecedented numbers of Japanese students enrolled at universities overseas at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels⁵ for whom academic writing skills in English will be of crucial importance in achieving their academic goals, as well as increasing numbers of Japanese scholars, scientists, and business professionals in many fields who will need to publish in English in order to communicate their research findings to the international community.

These assertions can also be expressed as a set of introductory premises which motivate and inform the present study. They can be summarized as follows: (1) substantial numbers of Japanese EL2 students studying at the tertiary level are unable to write academic English at a proficiency level commensurate with prevailing international norms and standards; (2) such writing deficiencies can create significant barriers for these students in achieving academic and professional success in the modern world; and (3) the teaching of these writing skills in Japan continues to be an area of considerable neglect, one that needs to be addressed and investigated. These contentions will be substantiated and elaborated upon in forthcoming chapters, but as a point of departure for this investigation, we will first attempt to establish some initial parameters for identifying the primary areas of infelicity in the written work of Japanese students of English, as reported in the literature of the field.

It should be noted from the outset, however, that although Japanese EL2 writing has been a particular focus of attention in much of recent L2 composition

research in the West, perhaps more than any other foreign language group according to Leki (1992, p. 97), in contrast to the written work of accomplished writers, student writing has not been well documented. As a result, an objective and systematic assessment of the writing skills of Japanese EL2 students, which would provide the basis for an accurate and comprehensive portrayal of their capabilities, is probably not possible at the present time—the blunt fact is that requisite baseline statistical data are simply not available in sufficient measure to warrant definitive conclusions. Nevertheless, as we shall see, a review of the literature reveals certain recurrent themes or patterns which will serve as a useful starting point for creating a preliminary profile of student writing in preparation for more detailed analyses in upcoming chapters.

1.2 A survey of the literature

Of concern in any literature review is the selection of a classificatory system for organizing and presenting research findings. This undertaking can be approached in a number of different ways, and a variety of error taxonomies containing greater or lesser degrees of complexity and specificity are available (see, for example, James, 1998). Since this survey is prefatory in nature, however, deficiencies in student writing will simply be enumerated below under a series of broad provisional headings, moving from the domain of discourse⁶ to the level of the sentence as a unit. The findings of researchers have been grouped into roughly analogous sets of basic assertions, but no attempt has been made at this time to analyze their perspectives, nor to evaluate their conclusions. Where possible, the reasons for students' written shortcomings will be suggested, but because the underlying causes of their deficiencies are often complex and not easily articulated in abbreviated form—they originate in the deepest traditions of culture and learning in Japan, as well as in longstanding Japanese attitudes towards writing and rhetoric, both historical and modern—detailed explanations will have to await the consolidation of further groundwork in upcoming chapters.

1.2.1 Organizational and structural difficulties

Surprisingly, especially in light of the fact that sentence-level, grammar-translation instruction still dominates English L2 writing pedagogy in Japan (Davies, 1999a), the vast majority of critiques on the EL2 writing skills of Japanese students tend to target organizational and structural infelicities⁷ that lie beyond the sentence and at the level of discourse. Shimozaki (1988, p. 137), for example, argues that "writing [is] one of the most difficult skills to attain for Japanese learners of English..., particularly...when it involves not just a single sentence but an extended discourse." Most research findings would seem to concur with this assessment, but

explanations proffered to account for discourse-level shortcomings in student writing encompass a wide range of linguistic and sociocultural factors.

One frequently-cited reason for deficiencies at the level of discourse is often attributed to differing patterns of discourse organization between Japanese and English. In the literature, the concept "discourse organization" is labeled in a variety of ways, including expressions such as the following: discourse structures, discourse superstructures, rhetorical organization, patterns of rhetorical organization, rhetorical structures, rhetorical patterning, macrostructures, schemata, frames, and the organization and structuring of ideas:

[The] poor quality of writing by learners may at least partially be attributable to the differences of rhetorical patterning in languages. (Shimozaki, 1988, p. 138)

[E]xpository essays written in English by Japanese students are often misunderstood by non-Japanese readers [due to] problematic discourse structures.... (Harder, 1983, p. 25)

[D]ifferences in the way discourse is organized are one of the most important causes of the writing problem.... (Shimozaki, 1988, p. 141)

Researchers have identified a number of specific structural features of written English at the level of discourse which seem to be particularly troublesome for Japanese students of English. These include difficulties with the formulation of the thesis statement, signposting (also called transitions, transition expressions, transition signals, linking expressions, and landmarks), and conclusions. In the essays of Japanese EL2 students, for example, the thesis statement is often ambiguous, seemingly misplaced, or entirely absent:

Western readers expect a thesis statement, a statement of the central idea in an essay, to control the selection and development of the content, but the thesis statement is often omitted in a Japanese essay. ...Even when the student has a sense of stating the main thought at the outset of the essay, the statement remains open and vague. (Harder, 1983, p. 27)

[The thesis statement] may appear in the last sentence as a conclusion..., where the usual reader of an English essay does not expect anything new to occur..., but then its relationship to the content is vague, since it usually grows directly out of the content and does not necessarily relate to everything that has been discussed. (ibid.)

The central idea is usually very vague or only loosely connected with most of the topics in the essay; if it is stated at all, it usually appears at the last sentence, more often as an afterthought than a result of the previous discussion. (Harder & Harder, 1982, p. 23)

In addition, the main ideas of the essay are often inadequately linked by connective devices or transition elements:

In Japanese..., landmarks may be absent or attenuated.... (Hinds, 1987, p. 146)

[I]deas are often simply laid out one after another in a string with few connecting devices or transition expressions to link them together. (Davies, 1998a, p. 35)

Japanese students are generally not aware of the function of connectives and...this [is] a main reason for the incohesion often found in their compositions. ...Additive connectives tend to be overused possibly because of the influence of oral discourse. In contrast, adversative connectives tend to be omitted.... (Kanno, 1989, p. 41 & 51)

Finally, conclusions can be an intractable source of difficulty for many Japanese students writing in English:

Conclusions...are seldom articulated, and...expression tends to be fragmentary and unsystematic. (Harder, 1984, p. 124)

[Compositions written by Japanese students tend to] circle around the topic, often defining something in terms of what it is not, and avoid any explicit judgement or conclusions. [Ballard & Clancy, 1984, p. 15]

[Japanese essays often lack] any conclusion which might have summarized the main points made in the body of the essay. (ibid., p. 10)

As Harder (op. cit., p. 122) observes, Japanese EL2 students often have particular difficulty writing conclusions decisively in a manner that is appropriate for English:

Japanese writers [of English] frequently resist the advice that they should argue their ideas and support them more forcefully instead of just suggesting possibilities. This problem is not merely a result of their inability to argue but also a difference in cultural assumptions about what is rhetorically agreeable.

Ballard and Clancy concur, pointing out that in Japan, students are generally not expected to put forward their own evaluations and are taught that it is not correct "to write a conclusion which tells the reader what [to] think..." (op. cit., p. 10).

1.2.2 Stylistic deficiencies

In addition to discourse organization, culturally-determined differences in what we will provisionally call "style" are often claimed to be a further cause of difficulty for Japanese EL2 writers. These include a tendency towards "subjectivity," also labeled as "a personal orientation toward writing"; a focus on "feelings or emotional content" instead of objective facts and details; and a general fondness for "ambiguity, nuance, and indirection":

Japanese essays in English often focus on the writer instead of the topic because Japanese writers intuitively object to expressing an idea impersonally. (Harder, 1983, p. 28)

[There are problems with]...the subjectivity of the focus.... (ibid., p. 25)

Often the writers' personality, instead of an explanation and support, dominates the content. (Harder & Harder, 1982, p. 23)

[J]apanese students...complain that giving the impression of objective truth in their essays makes them feel too arrogant and exposed. (ibid., p. 22)

Japanese EL2 writers employ a number of specific strategies to achieve their stylistic preferences, including extensive use of the first-person, especially in expressions such as "I think...", "I feel...", "I want...", "I believe...", "I know...", which are often followed by statements in which personal opinions are emphasized and intermingle with objective facts (Davies & Ide, 1997, p. 42; Davies, 1998a, p. 38). In addition, there is a predilection for lexical hedging and redundant phrases such as the following: "It is not too much to say...", "As you know...", "It can be said...", "It is thought..." Such expressions are generally considered unnecessary and distracting in English academic writing, but they act as a kind of lubricating oil in Japanese written discourse where it is considered polite not to be too direct in stating one's point of view (Harder, 1984, p. 121; Davies, 1998a, p. 39).

Although the term *style* is a notoriously difficult concept to define (see Chapter 3), it seems to be governed by an underlying matrix of sociocultural factors, determined by the members of a particular linguistic community. Style is actualized in writing as a reflection of cultural values, finding form and substance in written expression within specific discourse features. The relationship between Japanese cultural values and stylistic preferences has perhaps been best described by Edwin Reischauer (1988, p. 200):

The Japanese have always seemed to lean more toward intuition than reason, to subtlety and sensitivity in expression rather than to clarity of analysis, to pragmatism rather than to theory, and to organizational skills rather than to great intellectual concepts. They have never set much store by clarity of verbal analysis and originality of thought. They put great trust in nonverbal understanding and look on oral or written skills and on sharp and clever reasoning as essentially shallow and possibly misleading. They value in their literature not clear analysis, but artistic suggestiveness and emotional feeling. The French ideal of simplicity and absolute clarity in writing leaves them unsatisfied. They prefer complexity and indirection as coming closer to the truth....

1.2.3 Problems in logical argumentation

A further source of difficulty at the discourse level for Japanese EL2 students, which was also identified by Reischauer in the above extract, is often described by researchers as a problem in logical argumentation (also known as logical development, logical reasoning, and the logical construction of an argument). These logic-related issues are generally analyzed within a frame of reference that includes both organizational structures and stylistic preferences, and many authors cite sociocultural factors as also playing a prominent role. Arguments in the literature usually focus on the notion of *logic* itself, especially as it varies across cultures, although the concept remains equivocal and is rarely precisely defined. Discussions

on this subject often link logic as a cultural attribute to the development of argumentation or reasoning within student writing samples. As illustrated below, many authors have had a good deal to say on this issue, and as a rule, the development of logical argumentation in the compositions of Japanese EL2 writers is characterized by terms such as "intuitive," "lacking," "illogical," "loose," and "vague":

[I]n Japanese culture [and education] the emphasis on training seems to be on intuition rather than logical construction of argument. (Ballard & Clancy, 1984, p. 13)

[The style of English used by the Japanese is hard to comprehend because] logical development is lacking.... (Nozaki; cited in Kubota, 1992, pp. 137-138)

The essay seems disorganized and illogical, filled with nonrelevant material, developed incoherently with statements that remain unsupported. (Harder & Harder, 1982, p. 23)

Even when Japanese argue they will be vague about the point at issue and preferably focus on trivial points to establish a sense of agreement about issues before mentioning major topics. The rhetorical style used in confronting authority, arguing about opinions, and polarization over an issue in Japan take forms...different from those in the European tradition.... (Harder, 1984, p. 123; after Kunihiko, 1976)

The linear logic and analytical development of the expository essay in English [causes problems for] Japanese students, who tend to spiral around the topic and include whatever seems related. (Harder, 1983, p. 28)

Closely associated with the concept of logical argumentation is the issue of critical thinking. Investigators have claimed, for example, that Japanese EL2 students will often require extensive training in the conventions of critical thinking in English as part of their academic writing instruction:

[Japanese students studying in the West will sometimes be dismissed by professors as unpromising because there are no signs in their essays] that they can do more than summarize information—no sign, in short, of critical thinking. (Ballard & Clancy, 1984, p. 10)

There is...frequently a willingness to tolerate ambiguity, even contradictions, to allow them to sit easily in tension within the same piece of writing. The Japanese student who, when writing an essay involving comparison and contrast, directs his efforts towards justifying the bases of the differing interpretations from his source materials but makes no attempt to test or evaluate them, is working in a fundamentally different tradition from the Western academic who expects all roads to lead to evaluation. (ibid., 1991, p. 33)

A 'report' in a Japanese sense suggests an objective summary of the text instead of an essay which has a theme that the writer intends to argue and support by facts.... Japanese students who attend classes in English suffer greatly for not being able to understand the difference between an essay and an objective summary. ...This emphasis on summarizing accurately and not on drawing conclusions creates problems.... (Harder, 1983, p. 27)

1.2.4 Verb-form errors

Infelicities in the EL2 writing of Japanese students at the sentence level encompass a wide variety of features, which are most often classified under the

headings "grammar," "usage," "vocabulary," and so forth. Perhaps the most noteworthy attribute of research at this level of analysis, however, is its scarcity. As noted previously, although the sentence-level, grammar-translation approach continues to dominate EL2 instruction in Japan, surprisingly little published material is available in English on students' written shortcomings at this level. Nevertheless, a number of problem areas can be highlighted, perhaps the most significant of which are verb-form errors.

In an overview of current research into English L2 error hierarchies, constructed to determine which kinds of grammatical errors are judged most negatively by specific groups of individuals, McCretton and Rider (1993, pp. 4-12) ascertained that verb-form errors are heavily stigmatized in English. They correlated the findings of a number of major studies involving native-speaking teachers, non-native-speaking teachers, students, and non-teachers, converted the combined scores into absolute values, and determined that EL2 student writing errors could be ranked on the following descending gravity scale: (1) subject-verb agreement, (2) verb forms, (3) prepositions, (4) word order, (5) negation, (6) spelling, and (7) lexis (*ibid.*, p. 12). Of note here is the fact that in all the studies reviewed, verb-form errors were among the most negatively evaluated. Not surprisingly, this is also an area in which Japanese EL2 writers experience considerable difficulties. As Davies (1998a, p. 42) points out, misuses of the perfect, progressive, and simple, and their various combined forms, are often found in the written work of Japanese EL2 students, and numerous examples of verb-form errors such as the following are evidence that they are a pervasive and intractable source of difficulty in student writing (*ibid.*): *I have bought (cf. bought) contact lenses three years ago; *Since the World War II, the Japanese developed (cf. have developed) high economic growth; *I'm coming from Okayama (cf. come from, as in hometown); and *I am studying (cf. have been studying) English for six years now.

Although it is true that learners from many countries experience difficulties with the English verb system, the problem is particularly acute for Japanese EL2 students because of the profound mismatch between the two languages in terms of verbal categories:

There are no true equivalents of the English perfect and progressive in Japanese...and so there are many ways to express them depending on the situation. At a deeper level, however, these differences are...about a wholly different classification of human experience. ...[T]he Japanese verb is rich in special forms which indicate shades of courtesy, respect, and formality, as well as providing many ways to indicate the speaker's relationship to what he or she is saying, such as full credence, doubt, uncertainty, etc. In fact, one of the major features of the Japanese language itself is the extent of incorporation of stylistic information which reflects the circumstances and social contexts in which the language is used. ...It is not surprising then that the English verb system [with its emphasis on time distinctions not found in Japanese] is

a serious obstacle for many Japanese EL2 students. (Davies, *ibid.*; after Martin, 1975, & Backhouse, 1993)

One particular form of the English verb which deserves special attention is the passive, as it is an effective means of expressing connotations of detachment, objectivity, and impersonality in English academic prose (Hodges et al., 1994, p. 274). Harder and Harder (1982, p. 22) suggest that perhaps because "the value of avoiding disagreements is fundamental to the Japanese culture and to the way students write essays, the indirectness of the passive expresses this value better than the active voice does."⁸ They also state that Japanese EL2 students have a good deal of difficulty in employing the passive construction in their academic writing and provide the following examples from student essays (*ibid.*):

*This open school system have been thought the characteristic of the democratic system of education, so that the move that education should be given equally is caused even in the European countries which have had the closed school system.

*Through cooking, average 25 percent of nutrition is losed, and up to 50 percent of food amount is shrinked and the favourable natural moisture is losed too.

*But suppose somebody in the house is having a long talk with his friend by telephone, the news can't be informed, and it may cause a tragic result.

In a detailed contrastive study of the passive in English and Japanese, Hino and Davies (1998) conclude that the construction is conceived of quite differently in the two languages, and that "in many ways they are fundamentally incommensurable" (p. 97). They also claim that the establishment of a cross-linguistic frame of reference for understanding the passive is not possible at the present time due to the "protean nature" of the Japanese passive itself. Despite extensive research and ongoing debate among scholars in recent times, there is still little consensus as to the scope of passive diversity in Japanese, as the form "conveys an extremely wide range of meanings, many of which are ambiguous, and some of which overlap with other grammatical constructions"; in addition, although linguists have identified a number of different passive types, terminology and taxonomies in Japanese vary greatly, depending on the author and theoretical framework cited (*ibid.*).

It is generally agreed, however, that in contrast to the passive construction in English, Japanese passives can be derived from both transitive or intransitive verbs, are usually, but not always, restricted to animate subjects, and often carry affective connotations of a covert nature such as in the indirect expression of emotional nuances, both adversative and benefactive. In addition, a more recent translational form of the verb, which has come into being in modern times as a result of the influence of certain western languages (i.e., Dutch and English), is now being employed with increasing frequency in written Japanese discourse of a scientific and

technical nature. The English passive conveys a sense of objectivity and impersonality in these contexts, "but it is not clear from research findings whether these expressive effects occur in the same way in Japanese. If they do, the Japanese passive would contain a spectrum of meanings ranging from the affective on the one hand, to the objective and impersonal on the other" (ibid., p. 98).

Thus, although in most circumstances the passive has distinctly different functions in the two languages, there also seems to be a degree of overlap, coinciding perhaps with the narrower range of meaning associated with the English construction. Nevertheless, according to Harder (1984) very few Japanese EL2 learners are aware of these cross-linguistic differences, and because the Japanese passive remains poorly understood among the Japanese themselves, most students have limited awareness of the wide range of passive functions in their mother tongue. As a result, "there is a tendency for Japanese-speaking English L2 learners to transfer affective notions into English in passive contexts where they do not exist, as well as to form passives from intransitive verbs, and to restrict their usage to animate subjects" (Niyekawa, 1968, & Watabe et al., 1991; cited in Hino & Davies, *ibid.*). Therefore, any analysis of errors in passive use in student writing is likely to reveal not only the misapplication of the transitivity rules in English, but also the possibility that Japanese writers are mistakenly attempting to convey implicit emotional nuances, as they would do in their native language.

1.2.5 Basic grammatical errors

In a survey of American university professors to determine which kinds of grammatical errors in the compositions of freshmen students they found most "irritating," Kehe and Kehe (1996, p. 109) discovered that certain kinds of mistakes are judged significantly more negatively than others. At the top of this "irritability scale" were mistakes in subject-verb agreement and singular/plural errors with nouns. Many professors also noted that problems with the article system were frequent among foreign students, but were inclined to be more patient in this regard. Spelling errors, however, were almost unanimously condemned as completely inexcusable, as they were seen as reflecting a lack of effort or interest on behalf of the writer, and generally resulted in very negative evaluations of writing assignments. Of interest here is the demonstration by Davies (1998a, pp. 41-42) that even Japanese university students specializing in English at advanced levels of study make vast numbers of basic grammatical mistakes in exactly these areas (i.e., subject-verb concord, singular/plural, the article system, and spelling), and that student compositions can become virtually incomprehensible when too many errors of this nature are superimposed upon anomalous organizational patterns.

In addition to the more heavily stigmatized grammatical mistakes noted above, a number of other errors at this level arise with surprising frequency in the writing of Japanese EL2 students (*ibid.*, p. 43). These include singular/plural confusions involving mass and count nouns, errors in adjective sequence, and difficulties with anaphoric pronominal reference; e.g., *informations, *equipments, *homeworks; *It is a Japanese, old city (cf. an old, Japanese city); *Soccer and baseball can be enjoyed by everyone. Those sports are played all over the world (cf. these).

Davies, however, argues that many of these kinds of errors may not really be "grammar" problems at all, but are caused by certain cultural attitudes that Japanese EL2 students bring to writing (*ibid.*, p. 43). According to Hinds (1987, p. 145), for example, the writing process is culture-specific: "English-speaking writers go through draft after draft to come up with a final product, Japanese authors frequently compose exactly one draft which becomes the finished product." Similarly, Japanese EL2 students' grammatical shortcomings may well arise from a lack of attention to proofreading and editing and they may need to approach the writing process itself with a different set of attitudes (Davies, *op. cit.*).

1.2.6 Sentence misconstructions

As Harder and Harder (1982, p. 22) point out, unnecessarily wordy sentences and overly complex structures and phrases occur with some regularity in the writing of Japanese EL2 students; e.g., *So I still have boundless respect for him not only about his academic achievement but his attitude toward the other people because he is doing his best in every day of his life. They state that this "may be the result of a feeling that simple phrases...were indications of an immature style from a Japanese point of view." Davies (1998a, p. 40) claims that overly complex phrasing may also be due to differing attitudes toward paragraph structure in Japanese. As Teele (1983, pp. 23 & 29) observes, the notion of a "sentence" in Japanese is intertwined with those of the "clause" on the one hand and the "phrase" on the other: "[A] paragraph of Japanese prose may be seen as one long sentence, an ocean in which the smaller units, waves, rise and fall."

In contrast, sentence fragments are another common problem in Japanese EL2 writing. Harder and Harder (1982, p. 22) suggest that this may "result from a tendency not to state the subject clearly." Davies (1998a, p. 39) also notes that sentence fragments beginning with "because" and "for example" are particularly common in student writing. Although such errors may arise because of lack of practice and corrective feedback, transfer from Japanese also appears to provide a feasible explanation because sentences such as the following are grammatically correct in Japanese: *The Japanese are not used to people from other countries.

*Because Japan is an island country surrounded by the sea. (cf. *Nihonjin wa gaikokujin ni narete imasen. Nazenara nihon wa shimaguni dakara desu.*)

1.2.7 Inappropriate language use

There are also certain kinds of writing problems that frequently arise in the compositions of Japanese students of English involving language which is not so much grammatically or structurally incorrect as inappropriate. Ethnocentric language is one such issue. When writing academic English, it is advisable for Japanese EL2 students to avoid presenting an ethnocentric worldview in which Japan is opposed to all the other countries of the world (Davies, 1998a, p. 37); e.g., *wareware nihonjin vs anatatachi gaikokujin* (literally, "we Japanese" vs "you foreigners"). Rather than "we Japanese," "the Japanese" can be used; similarly, instead of repeatedly referring to people who are not Japanese as "foreigners," which occurs with great frequency in student writing, other more internationally appropriate expressions can be used, such as "non-Japanese," "people from other countries," or simply "British," "French," "Chinese," and so on. Synonyms of the word "foreign" found in dictionaries include the terms "alien," "strange," and "not natural"; other connotations are "inappropriate," "nonessential," and "irrelevant" (see Spack, 1997, p. 776), none of which are particularly endearing labels. Furthermore, not all non-Japanese are Americans. There are a variety of countries beyond Japan's borders and student writing should reflect this. In addition, expressions such as "unique Japanese customs" and "brilliant Japanese culture" should also be avoided. The constant reference to all things Japanese as "unique" is both incorrect and inappropriate; moreover, understatement conveys such notions more effectively.

Proverbs are another controversial issue in the academic writing of Japanese EL2 students; e.g., The early bird gets the worm; cf. The nail that sticks up gets hammered down (*Deru kugi wa utareru*). Most learners are not cognizant of the fact that it is considered inappropriate to use native language proverbs in written academic English, although proverbs from other languages can be used judiciously on occasion. In Japanese writing, proverbs and aphorisms are used with considerable frequency in conjunction with moral statements and didactic remarks, especially in the concluding sections of compositions (Davies & Ide, 1997, p. 42; Davies, 1998a, p. 36). As Scollon and Scollon (1995, p. 107) point out, however, one of the most important characteristics of written discourse in English is that it be *individualistic*: "[W]riters should avoid set phrases, metaphors, proverbs, and clichés, and strive to make their statements fresh and original...by producing original phrasings and statements."

It may be that above injunction to be "fresh and original" in one's writing is also responsible for another common axiom that it is preferable to avoid repetition of

words and phrases within sentences in written English, or even in sentences that are juxtaposed. It may also be that the "immensely diverse vocabulary" of modern English is at least partially responsible for this feature of the language, as "to a greater or lesser extent all modern prose strives to avoid lexical repetition," and the language provides large numbers of partial synonyms which all good writers attempt to employ (Ball, 1975, p. 197). Harder and Harder (1982, p. 22) provide the following example from an essay written by a Japanese student which illustrates the negative effects of lexical repetition: *Religion is easy to be connected with political power, because of this character of religion the Communists hate religion. There are few fixed rules in this regard, but providing students with training in the use of a thesaurus can be of value in assisting them in their search for synonyms.

Contractions and colloquial language, which Japanese EL2 students commonly employ in writing letters to pen pals, as well as in classroom journals and personal diaries, are another aspect of writing which is considered inappropriate in academic contexts. Students will often need to be taught that although these expressions are frequently used in spoken English and informal writing, they are frowned upon when writing academically (Davies, 1998a, p. 36).

A related concern in student writing has to do with the avoidance of so-called sexist language. The human race is, after all, composed of equal proportions of males and females and Japanese EL2 writers will need to know that expressions such as "men" should be written as "people" when referring to all human beings, while "he" should be replaced with "he or she" in similar situations (ibid., p. 38). It should also be pointed out, however, that there is continuing debate on this issue in the academic world and students will need to be made aware that these strategies can result in a serious syntactic difficulties on occasion, in which case a shift to plural "they" can be a practical alternative.

1.2.8 Mistakes in mechanics and basic manuscript conventions

According to Davies (ibid., p. 28), one of the most striking features in the writing of Japanese students of English, even at advanced levels of study, is the surprising lack of mastery of the fundamental manuscript conventions. This aspect of writing is normally subsumed under the heading "mechanics," and according to Jacobs et al. (1981, p. 96), includes elements such as spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing (i.e., indenting), and handwriting.

A review of the literature has furnished very few sources which even mention this component of the writing of Japanese EL2 students. Davies (op. cit.), however, reports on a number of problem areas at this level which frequently occur in students' compositions, and claims that most Japanese university students will require "entry-level instruction" on such basic elements as the placement of names

and titles, the amount of space that should be left at the margins for instructors' comments, the double spacing of written work, rules for the capitalization and punctuation of titles, the indentation of new paragraphs rather than simply starting a new line, and the hyphenation of words at the end of lines at syllable breaks rather than arbitrarily (*ibid.*, pp. 28-29). Other issues that often arise include the use of italics to indicate words and expressions from other languages, standards for writing numbers either as words or numerals, and confusion between British and American conventions in such areas as spelling and the listing of words in a series (*ibid.*). According to Davies, punctuation is also a major source of difficulty for many students, especially with regard to the use of colons and semi-colons, the position of quotation marks in relation to other punctuation marks, the punctuation necessary to set off introductory elements and embedded relative clauses in a sentence, and the punctuation required with sentence connectors (*ibid.*, pp. 29-30).

It should also be noted that there is a marked disparity between handwriting and keyboard skills among Japanese university students. Even today, handwriting is of great importance in Japanese life and handwritten communication is still considered the norm for business and government. People in all walks of life are critically judged on the basis of their writing (i.e., calligraphic) skills: letters for job applications, for example, *must* be written by hand. Calligraphy is a highly esteemed art form in Japan and is regularly practiced at all levels of schooling, with advanced courses even offered in universities. In addition, students have to master four different scripts in learning to write the Japanese language, and do so in the time-honored tradition of rigorous and exhaustive rote practice. As a result, many Japanese students are able to write in a surprisingly elegant and graceful script in English. Computer literacy and keyboard skills remain largely undeveloped at the present time, however, and large numbers of students, even at later stages of university life, will require extensive practice in typing compositions (*ibid.*, p. 31).

1.3 Sample compositions

Although extracted samples of students' written work are sometimes furnished in the literature, integral and unabridged versions of the academic writing of Japanese EL2 students beyond the basic sentence level, as originally drafted in the classroom, are rare (for an exception, see Kubota, 1992). As a result, the reader is often left with only a vague idea of what these learners can and cannot accomplish in their written work, and as Eskey (1981, p. 318) points out, "in attempting to determine what our students need most, one look at a set of real student papers...is...worth a year's study of research reports...." In order to redress this shortcoming, the following sample compositions are presented as a means of

providing an introductory, macro-level picture of student writing, one in which many of the infelicities described above should be readily discernible.

These writing samples are pre-instruction essays written by third-year Japanese university students enrolled in entry-level English composition courses in pilot study carried out in preparation for this thesis (see Davies, 1998a).⁹ All the writers were specializing in English in some form and can be considered representative of this level of study in Japan. The essays were written during the first class of a course in academic writing skills, and the prompt used was "English Education in Japan," a topic which the students had extensive prior knowledge of and interest in. No specific guidance was provided on any aspect of their writing, and after a short period of collective brainstorming for ideas, students were given 80 minutes to complete their assignments. The following essays would be considered roughly "average" for this group:¹⁰

It is said that English is an international second language. So in Japan, all junior high school student, high school student, even children, older learn English, and they want to speak English skillfully. of course so am I.

Why we Japanese learn English? Learning English has a lot of merits, such as communicate with foreigner, we can unite each other and so forth.

First of all, I mention about communicate with foreigner. I think that learning English is an important social way with foreigner. It is not too much to say that we only speak English, we can be in touch with many people who live in all over the world.

Secondly, I mention about unite each other. If we learn English skillfully, we can not only communicate with foreigner but also ~~unite~~ ~~blanckly~~ feeling each other.

So.

English is very difficult for me. Especially I am hard to hear English correctly, so I am at a loss what to say when I speak English.

I would like to go abroad next summer vacation. But I think my English level is low, I know there will be many troubles in communication.

I don't know what to write. I really think to write English is very hard. I can think a sentence in Japanese, but I can't write in English it.

I know it is right way to think something in English. But, my head is Japanese it is.

Oh, I have only five minutes! I can write any more.

Title: English for my future

I think I want to be English teacher in school or in juku. To do so, especially I want to skill my English composition and grammar. I guess that I have the force which translate Japanese into English is important at first. Next, I am to have right English composition. As a matter of course, I need to have grammar skill perfectly. For me, it is much more important English composition than conversation. After a few years, as I may be able to teach English, the previous thing is to attach importance.

Even if I can't be teacher, to skill my English is important. But the things I need is three (except speaking) out of four basic skills. Because "Reading" is helpful for specific book or foreign interesting book. As I like Math the best, some day I want to read it. Also, "Listening" and "Writing" would often be necessary.

"Know about English"

I heard that "It's different. 'know English' and 'know about English'". I've learned English since junior high school and what I've learned is 'know English'.

But now I guess I want to learn about English.

When I think about English I have to think culture where English is used. If I read books or watch movies which Americans wrote or made, I can understand surface. But is it "know about English"? I guess no.

In order to know about English more, I think I read more English papers or talk with Americans. Moreover

I need to learn about Japan and Japanese.

It's important to compare with English and Japanese. I believe if I do so, I'll get some answer about "know about English".

I can't write anymore.

I don't know what I wanted to say...

The inadequacies of the above compositions are readily apparent and will not be commented on at this time, except to state that many of the shortcomings they exhibit clearly fall within the categories of error production discussed above. It must be stressed, however, that writing of this quality is by no means the exception—rather it would seem to be the norm for this level of study in Japan. There are, however, Japanese EL2 students who are capable of written work of a higher caliber, as the following examples illustrate:

English Education in Japan

In Japan almost of university students can't speak English even though they have studied it for 6 years since they entered junior high school. Before I went to America to study English, I was one of them, too.

I think this problem is causing by the Japanese English education system. When I was a junior high school student, I was taught only how to read ^{English} and basic grammar. English classes were given only for entering good high school. In high school I experienced same type of English education, too.

When I attended English classes in America, I was really given shock by European students because they spoke English very well. Of course their grammar skills were not so good as their speaking skills.

I examine that in European education system, they place importance on how to communicate in English. I don't think we can use European education system in Japan because we have university entering examination, but I really think now is the time we have to change Japanese education system. So that we can educate more student who can work in international stages.

English education in Japan

We study English for 6 years in junior highschool and highschool in Japan. However, in fact, we can't express something in English. There have been a lot kinds of problems with English education in Japan.

First of all, it is not need to think ^{for} oneself at school. Everything have ^{already} decided, and then, students just memorize knowledge. Therefore students don't know how to alternate ⁱⁿ these knowledge ^{for} themselves.

Especially in English education, Teachers emphasize only grammatical rules. Of course it's also important but it isn't interesting. Many students start to study English with hope which they'll be able to communicate in English. But if English classes was not interesting, they gave up their hope.

The reason why we must study ^{much} grammatical factor is that entrance exam in Japan is too formal. For instence it must be more important not how scores a student take but how think he or she have.

There are also students who are clearly incapable of attaining even minimal standards in written English. The following samples are from such students, who were subsequently invited to take a different kind of English course:

I can't speak English
I can't write
But I want to study English
I have no idea
I am going to come next week
But I will be not down here.
I am sorry
Thank you very much Mr. J. L. L.
see you next Friday.

I don't understand what teacher say. I almost forgot English.
But I started to study English again.
I must study English very hard. I consider what I become to be
able to speak little English.

1.4 Conclusions

As stated previously, the main goal of this chapter has been to develop a preliminary profile of the writing of Japanese students of English in order to establish baseline parameters of infelicity in their written work. By definition, a profile is not designed to be exhaustive—it is a portrayal of the most important features of a subject, the exemplification of a topic in outline (Webster's, 1990, p. 939). Although many other minor features of the writing of Japanese EL2 students could be referred to, doing so at this time would not significantly advance our cause, since the main components of this profile are now in place. In brief, (1) it has been demonstrated that there is clearly something amiss in the academic writing of Japanese EL2 students; (2) representative samples of written work produced by these students have been furnished to illustrate this assertion; (3) the ways in which their writing can be considered deficient has been explicated on several different levels and with the testimony of established authorities; (4) a number of key features which characterize such writing have been identified; and (5) where possible, the reasons underlying these shortcomings have been alluded to.

This survey also reveals numerous problems inherent in the research carried out to date. Firstly, because many of the descriptions of the writing of Japanese EL2 students are impressionistic and anecdotal in nature, unsubstantiated generalizations are commonplace and systematic statistical evidence in support of allegations is rare. Furthermore, terminological confusions and ambiguities are widespread: many of the characterizations of Japanese EL2 writing simply enumerate lists of qualities in which seemingly unrelated items are randomly juxtaposed, while the issues themselves are seldom defined or elaborated upon, as exemplified below:

[T]he problems which Japanese...college students have in terms of content and organization of compositions [include the following]: lack of focus, wandering from the main point, lack of logical development, no clear thesis statement, statement of emotional opinion rather than reasoned thought, etc. (Teele, 1983, p. 16)

[There seems to be] a certain indistinctiveness, an unwillingness to define exactly one's position, [which, to the native English speaker, is perceived as] an intolerable lack of unity, clarity, and coherence. (Claiborne, 1993, p. 76)

[There are] problems with focus, logic, statement of the thesis, classification and coherence. (Harder, 1984, p. 126)

Such statements make it clear that there are indeed some serious issues to be addressed, but what, one may ask, do "focus," "logic," "statement of thesis," "classification," and "coherence" have in common? Why are such disparate terminological hierarchies intermixed in this way? And what precisely do the authors mean by labels such as "focus," "clarity," and "unity?" Finally, although descriptions in the cited literature present partial explanations to account for students' writing difficulties, solutions to their problems in the form of strategies for pedagogical intervention and remediation are almost non-existent. A primary objective of this thesis is to redress this imbalance in developing an approach to composition instruction that will result in significant improvements to the academic writing skills of Japanese students of English.

In the chapters that follow, the analysis of written discourse will first be examined within a conceptual framework of applied linguistics, illustrating the complex interdisciplinary and multidimensional nature of the field and clarifying many of the terminological problems that result. English and Japanese rhetoric will then be contrasted from a sociohistorical perspective in two roughly analogous pairs of chapters that define the cultural and educational contexts in which written text is produced and taught in both languages. These analyses establish a frame of reference for specifying solutions to students' writing problems which are set forth in an approach to composition instruction that integrates applied linguistic theory with general principles of L2 pedagogy. This approach is evaluated in an empirical study of student writing and the results are discussed in terms of the importance of integrating composition pedagogy along diachronic, synchronic, and human dimensions.

Chapter 2: Applied linguistics, contrastive rhetoric, and the analysis of written discourse

2.1 Introduction

Although structural evidence obtained from purely descriptive, taxonomic approaches to the analysis of written discourse, such as the profile of student writing presented in Chapter 1, is often a useful initial heuristic (Givón, 1981, p. 166), it also has a number of important limits, especially in accommodating cross-language linguistic evidence, and in offering a theoretical basis for understanding students' writing difficulties. Such issues cannot be resolved at this level of analysis and are more appropriately addressed within a framework of applied linguistic theory:

Applied linguistics has concerned itself with the development of writing skills for at least the past 50 years.... If one is to take seriously the relatively straightforward definition of applied linguistics as an attempt to resolve real-world language-based problems, then the development of writing abilities...falls well within [this] domain.... (Grabe & Kaplan, 1996, p. 1)

Enkvist (1987, p. 23) describes applied linguistics as "an eclectic discipline, perhaps best likened to a corridor for two-way traffic between linguistics and those of its sister disciplines that also study language together with their various applications." There is a fundamental difference in approach, however, between linguistic theorists and practitioners—the former work towards the creation of "unified theories and models,"¹¹ [raising] concepts and arguments to higher levels of abstraction," while the latter are more concerned with the applicability of these concepts to concrete problems, particularly in the realm of language teaching (*ibid.*, pp. 23-24). This basic dichotomy underlies studies in applied linguistics which attempt to create a conduit between linguistic theory and teaching practice. On the one hand, this involves ensuring that higher-level linguistic knowledge is made pedagogically relevant and comprehensible for teaching contexts; on the other hand, it requires that pedagogical approaches themselves be construed within established frameworks of linguistic theory; i.e., be theoretically valid. One of the primary goals of research in applied linguistics is thus to provide a pedagogically-relevant and theoretically-valid analysis of specified linguistic features in target languages that will be of practical value to L2 learners, teachers, and syllabus designers alike.

When applied linguistic research is directed towards foreign language study, as is most often the case, a contrastive element is added and cross-linguistic features between languages must also be taken into account. When these contrastive analyses take place at the level of discourse and include sociocultural factors beyond the level of text itself, as in the cross-cultural study of second language writing, the field of

inquiry becomes extraordinarily complex: "[A] comprehensive study of writing in first language contexts is itself a difficult interdisciplinary undertaking, [as] one must consider perspectives from English, education, linguistics, psychology, and sociology" (Grabe and Kaplan, 1996, p. ix); in second language contexts, a diverse set of academic disciplines converge on the study of L2 writing and compete for pride of place, giving rise to a sometimes bewildering variety of research paradigms, teaching methodologies, and terminological problems that make the analysis of written discourse across cultures "a daunting task" (ibid.), and one of the "trickiest problems of language description and teaching" (Mauranen, 1993, p. xi). As a result, the cross-cultural study of second language writing requires a broad theoretical frame of reference within which the influence of a wide range of contributing disciplines can be specified and assessed:

The varieties of writing to be accounted for, the increased complexity of purposes for learners to write, and the added cross-cultural variations created by different groups of second-language learners all force the study of writing into a larger framework [requiring]...a broad interdisciplinary orientation.... (Grabe & Kaplan, op. cit.)

The area of research known as contrastive rhetoric, which incorporates or interfaces with many of these contributing disciplines, offers such an interdisciplinary and multidimensional approach to the study of written discourse across cultures, thus providing a theoretical basis for the investigations that follow and defining the conceptual parameters of the present study. As Swales maintains, although "the comparison of languages is notoriously difficult..., especially at the discursal level, there is one investigative area that is directly relevant to a pedagogically-oriented study of academic English, one known as *Contrastive Rhetoric*" (1990, pp. 64-65). Connor (1996, p. 5) concurs: "It is fair to say that contrastive rhetoric was the first serious attempt by applied linguists...to explain second language writing [and] in the past two decades the study of writing has become part of the mainstream in applied linguistics." The underlying assumptions of contrastive rhetoric are neo-Whorfian and derive from the theory of linguistic relativity; its development has been influenced by such major movements in applied linguistics as contrastive analysis and error analysis; it is immediately dependent on research in discourse analysis and text linguistics; it has a direct relationship with both classical and modern rhetoric; its applications are influenced by theories of composition pedagogy; and it is fed by ancillary streams as varied as cultural anthropology, cognitive science, L2 reading research, and literacy studies. The following chapters will examine the impact of each of these areas of research on the study of written discourse across cultures from the perspective of current thinking in contrastive rhetoric.

Chapter 2 traces the evolution of models of analysis in contrastive rhetoric and examines formative influences from research in other fields such as contrastive linguistics and discourse linguistics. The focus then shifts from applied linguistics to rhetoric/composition, with the aim of establishing a descriptive framework for the analysis of rhetorical features in English and Japanese along parallel cultural, historical, and educational dimensions. Chapter 3 defines the writing canon of modern English from the perspective of historical developments in rhetoric and discourse education in the western tradition, while Chapter 4 examines the wide range of approaches to composition pedagogy currently proliferating in the field, outlining their underlying theoretical assumptions and characteristic features. Chapters 5 and 6 provide a similar analysis of the cultural and educational context in which written text is produced and taught in Japan, providing a frame of reference for specifying solutions to students' writing problems. Building on the conclusions drawn from these investigations, Chapter 7 sets forth a proposal of pedagogic action designed to offer solutions to the writing difficulties of Japanese EL2 students in an approach to L2 composition instruction which integrates applied linguistic theory with general pedagogic principles. This proposed pedagogy is tested in a study of student writing based on a pretest/posttest, experimental/control group design, and the results are discussed in terms of the importance of *integration* in composition pedagogy and the need for classroom action research in curriculum planning.

It should also be emphasized from the outset that this investigation covers a very broad range of inquiry and each of the disciplines and areas of research described above could easily be the focus of a complete and separate study in its own right. As a result, the breadth and complexity of the issues involved will often have to contend with the need for brevity in the discussions that follow. As Coe (1987, p. 15) points out, however, "any analysis of this nature reduces the complex variety of what is actually happening—that is how it achieves clarity and defines the core of the issue." In addition, many of these disciplines are still in their "preparadigm period" (Kinneavy, 1971, p. 2), and definitive answers to many of the discrepancies alluded to earlier may not always be feasible. Finally, the descriptions and analyses that follow have a strong "sociohistorical" orientation, based on the belief that "history crucially influences current language practices" (Atkinson, 1999, p. 12), a viewpoint supported by the following statement on the importance of historical approaches to the analysis of discourse:

With rare exceptions, linguistically oriented discourse analysts have avoided granting *any* status to historical concerns in their research, perhaps, due to Saussure's foundational separation of synchronic and diachronic perspectives on language, and his subsequent banishment of the latter (Atkinson, 1999, p. 4). [However], linguistic and rhetorical practices as carried out by particular individuals within particular historical circumstances have direct bearing on how and what we read and write now.... We live and communicate within the

social consequences of our history, and only by developing a sociohistoric understanding of where we are can we...inform our current teaching of language.... (Bazerman; cited in Atkinson, 1999, pp. viii-ix)

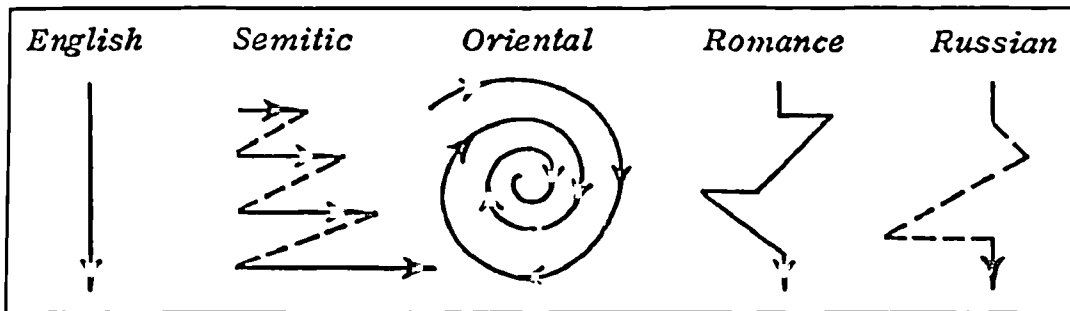
2.2 Contrastive rhetoric

When students from other cultures produce written texts in English as a second language, they will often organize and present their ideas in ways that violate the expectations of native readers. Even if the texts are syntactically accurate, the discourse structures may be perceived as "alien," as not conforming to the standard norms of written English. Where there is an inadequate management of lower level linguistic features, and errors in grammar and usage become superimposed upon anomalous organizational patterns, the resulting texts can be incomprehensible. The American applied linguist, Robert Kaplan, was one of the first to notice these discrepancies in students' cross-cultural writing, and he coined the term contrastive rhetoric¹² to account for the phenomenon in a ground-breaking work which provided the impetus and set the basic parameters for a whole new generation of cross-cultural research into written discourse.

In a seminal article comparing the expository writing styles of several different language groups, Kaplan (1966) claimed that L2 patterns of rhetorical organization will often be transferred to English language compositions with largely negative effects. Contrastive studies across cultures at the time were limited to the level of the sentence, but Kaplan suggested that linguistic and cultural factors beyond the sentence level influenced L2 learners' writing skills. He further maintained that "foreign students who have mastered syntactic structures have still demonstrated inability to compose adequate themes, term papers, theses, and dissertations," and that instructors often complain that their written texts are somehow "out of focus," "lacking in cohesion," and "lacking in organization" (p. 3). According to Kaplan, these deficiencies arise because L2 students are employing a rhetoric and a sequence of thought (i.e., logic) based on their mother tongue. He suggested that "logic (in the popular, rather than the logician's sense of the word) which is the basis of rhetoric, is evolved out of culture; it is not universal. Rhetoric, then, is not universal either, but varies from culture to culture..." (p. 2). Kaplan's initial research was based on the belief that differences within the internal logics of languages lead to the development of different rhetorics, and that linguistically and culturally defined interpretations of rhetorical organization cause difficulties in writing for L2 students:

These differences involve both high-level syntactic phenomena and the areas normally included in semantics and rhetoric: thus they involve logical concepts but not in the sense of universal logic so much as in the sense of logic in relation to culturally and linguistically defined interpretations of the phenomenological world. (Kaplan, 1976, p. 13)

Kaplan's study, which was later to achieve a certain notoriety in applied linguistic and language teaching circles, involved the analysis of paragraph structure in some 600 compositions written in English by L2 students from five different language groups: English, Semitic, Oriental, Romance, and Russian. Graphic representations of the rhetorical patterns of each language group were provided, giving rise to its well-known sobriquet, the "doodles" article:



Kaplan's comparisons of these five language groups can be briefly summarized as follows. The expected sequence of thought in English is essentially linear—paragraphs are expected to exhibit unity and coherence and to never be digressive. In the Semitic language group, the paragraph is based on a complex series of parallel constructions and coordination is stressed over subordination. Writing within the Oriental group of languages is characterized by an approach by indirection—the development of the paragraph is said to circle around a subject, providing a variety of tangential views. In the Romance languages, digressions are permitted, there is more freedom to move away from the central topic, and although one is expected to eventually return to the main theme, interesting asides that do not contribute to the basic thought of the paragraph are allowed. Russian permits major digressions, and often material irrelevant to the main idea of the paragraph is presented, somewhat like parenthetical amplifications which would be written as footnotes in English.

Characteristically of any paradigmatic work, Kaplan's theories attracted considerable criticism. As Holyoak and Piper (1997, pp. 125-126) point out, "his graphic representations of rhetorical patterns in selected languages were simplistic, his database was too small, his reliance on English texts as a basis for conclusions about other languages naive." Kaplan himself (1987) acknowledges the validity of these criticisms, but continues to support the premise of his original position, especially in light of "his critics' failure to provide quantitative evidence to the contrary" (op. cit., p. 126). For example, "Kaplan and Ostler (1982), in a review of the literature, conclude, despite a minority of studies to the contrary, that different

languages have different preferences for certain kinds of discourse patterns" (Swales, 1990, p. 64), and Kaplan, writing some two decades later, states that...

...it is now my opinion that all of the various rhetorical modes identified in the "doodles article" are possible in any language—i.e., in any language which has written text. The issue is that each language has certain clear preferences, so that while all forms are possible, all forms do not occur with equal frequency or in parallel distribution. (1987, p. 10)

Early investigations into contrastive rhetoric continued to emphasize Kaplan's hypothesis that differences within the internal logics of languages lead to the development of different rhetorics causing interference with L2 writing performance. The focus of these studies was primarily on higher level textual features and initial approaches were mostly concerned with descriptions of macrostructures (i.e., larger rhetorical patterns of organization, schemata, discourse structures) in the expository writing of selected languages. Later research was redirected towards a more text analytic approach, including the isolation of contrastive features at lower levels of macrostructure (or higher levels of microstructure, depending on one's point of view) such as cohesive ties and the analysis of propositional movement. More recently, the field has moved beyond the boundaries of text itself to encompass cognitive and pragmatic variables in writing, in particular the context in which text is produced, both situational and cultural: "contrastive rhetoric has shifted its emphasis... to deeper levels of discourse meaning in context, assuming that L2 writing displays preferred conventions of the L1 language and culture rather than reflects L1 thought patterns" (Allaei & Connor, 1990, p. 23). Contemporary theories of contrastive rhetoric continue to stress that language and writing are cultural phenomena, and that transfer between the mother tongue and target language will typically include not only lexical, grammatical, and syntactic elements, but also patterns of rhetorical organization and stylistic preferences, which in turn are shaped and influenced by implicit, underlying cultural assumptions and traditions that are forged within linguistic communities over long periods of time.

At present, a wealth of materials exists on the application of contrastive rhetoric to many languages throughout the world, yet conceptual problems remain, and approaches, methodologies, and conclusions tend to be extremely varied and often contradictory. It may be, for example, that some learners' writing problems are predominantly developmental, rather than reflecting issues in rhetorical transfer. As Holyoak and Piper (1997, p. 128) point out, "suprasentential features of the written language will be of no avail where the management of lower level linguistic concerns takes up short-term processing capacity, rendering developmental factors just as relevant as transfer..." In addition, as Grabe (1987) notes, one of the main

difficulties often lies in comparing text types across languages. For instance, expository or persuasive prose may be distinct and important text genres in English, but not in other languages. It may be that researchers are seeking to compare what is, strictly speaking, incommensurable. Ways must be found to relate the internally defined linguistic categories of one language with those of another, but as yet, there is no agreed upon theory of discourse from which descriptive categories can be applied to a variety of languages (Houghton & Hoey, 1983).¹³

In orientation, contrastive rhetoric is essentially pragmatic and pedagogical, not in a methodological sense, but in providing teachers and students with knowledge of the links between culture and writing, and how discourse structures and stylistic choices are reflected in written products. As Kaplan (1988, p. 279) states, "[c]ontrastive rhetoric has never pretended to be a teaching *system*, rather it has claimed to be able to contribute to pedagogical systems that have a concern with reading and writing." Today, contrastive rhetoric can be broadly defined as an area of research "that identifies problems in composition encountered by second language writers, and by referring to the rhetorical strategies of the first language, attempts to explain them" (Connor, 1996, p. 5). In the 1990s, however, "significant changes have taken place in contrastive rhetoric [and] a broader definition that considers cognitive and sociocultural variables of writing in addition to linguistic variables has been substituted for a purely linguistic framework interested in structural analysis of products" (ibid., p. 18). The principal concerns of contrastive rhetoric at the present time are thus three-fold: the organizational parameters which shape the overall form of a written text, intersentential textual relationships, and written discourse as a cultural activity, including cognition, literacy, and the social functions of writing.

2.2.1 Writing, culture, and cognition

As stated previously, contemporary research paradigms in contrastive rhetoric have moved beyond the boundaries of text itself to also include the cognitive and sociocultural dimensions of language transfer, in particular the context in which text is produced, both situational and cultural. This approach to the cross-cultural study of written discourse is based on a new conceptualization of the nature of writing itself, not as a skill, but as a *culturally-determined, cognitive activity*, an assumption which we will return to later from a somewhat different perspective in discussions of the recent reappraisal of notions associated with the theory of linguistic relativity and insights from cognitive approaches to the analysis of text.

The work of Purves and Purves (1986) and Purves (1986, 1988, 1992) "has been important in shaping the direction of this new contrastive rhetoric" (Allaei & Connor, 1990, p. 23), providing one of the most influential accounts of a modern theory of writing. They argue that writing is a cognitive activity taking place in a

cultural context that brings into play a complex body of knowledge—semantic, formal, and social. From this perspective, every writer acts as a member of a rhetorical community, whether this is narrow as in a community of scholars within a certain discipline, or broad in the sense of "the educated citizenry of a nation-state":

[T]he culture exerts pressure on both the individual's activity as a writer and on the individual's view of text by the force of tradition, convention, and potential comment on what the individual will write. The culture has expectations about the nature of texts and how texts are to be received and viewed. The culture accepts models for text that help individuals know when the activity of writing is completed and it establishes rules for individuals to help them determine both when the activity of writing is completed and what particular acts within the activity of writing should be emphasized at what times and in what situations. The culture sets rules as to when it is obligatory for an individual to write and when writing is an optional activity. The culture, finally, establishes standards for "good writing," and all that that phrase entails with respect to orthography and penmanship, diction, syntax, grammar, structure, genre, and format. (Purves & Purves, 1986, p. 193)

As a result, cultural literacy, or learning to write within a culture, is a large undertaking requiring time and knowledge of cultural expectations. Once the individual has learned the accepted models of writing production prescribed by the culture in general, there arises the task of developing an individual mode of expression and the development of the personality through writing.¹⁴ Learning to write, therefore, is part of learning to be a member of a culture; in other words, writing is "one of the primary manifestations of an individual's acculturation, perhaps the one most marked by culture" (ibid., p. 195). According to Purves and Purves (1986), on the basis of current thinking in cultural anthropology, cognitive science, literacy, and linguistic theory, three overlapping issues, all of which are at least partly culturally determined, are of importance in understanding the nature of writing: (1) the interrelationships of the acts making up any writing activity, (2) the role of knowledge underlying writing as an activity, and (3) the idea of texts and textuality.

2.2.1.1 Writing as an activity

From a cognitive perspective, Purves and Purves (1986, p. 175) stress that writing should be described as an *activity* rather than a *process* because of some of the unfortunate connotations associated with the latter term:

[T]he term *activity* to describe what people do when they engage in writing to produce a text...implies something which has an independent goal of which the subject is consciously aware. An activity consists of a number of *acts*, which in turn consist of *operations*, about which the subject is not necessarily conscious. The acts comprising an activity may not necessarily occur in a fixed order of sequence, although operations often occur as sequences. In addition, what at one point in an individual's life may have constituted an activity (e.g., forming letters) will later become so well practiced and so habitual that it is "chunked" as an

act or even an operation. To think of writing as an activity is to allow for change in what is an act or an operation and to allow for modification and rearrangement of those acts and operations in particular contexts. To think of writing as an activity is also to realize that in virtually every instance there is a purposive nature to the act, a planned result, which is a particular text for a particular occasion in a particular cultural context. With such a framework one cannot divorce the process from the product as has so frequently been done in recent research and discussion about writing. (see also sections 4.3 & 7.3.2)

From this point of view, the activity of writing consists of a complex interplay of acts and operations, with frequent shifts among the acts of planning, drafting, revising, and editing and their subservient operations, and although the acts themselves occur in a sequence, they are also recursive and intermingled (*ibid.*, p. 176). These acts and operations are not separate and discrete, but form a matrix embedded within the larger activity of writing, and "the nature and arrangement of the acts in the matrix...vary according to the context in which a person writes and the culture or community that a person inhabits" (*ibid.*, p. 183):

The relations of acts and operations as the parts of a matrix may vary in different cultures because each culture presents a particular set of demands on the writing activity and the resultant text may affect the form and function of the texts as well as the attitudes of writers and readers towards that text. Indeed the matrix of interrelationships may be as difficult to define as is the culture itself. (*ibid.*, p. 177)

The matrix also consists of both chunked and unchunked elements. Chunking includes both declarative knowledge (i.e., substantive) and procedural knowledge (i.e., of operations and acts); in other words, not only operations are chunked, but also aspects of content and form, which depend on knowledge of the components of a text, including whole structures such as story forms, paragraph types, organizational strategies, and types of language to be used in specific circumstances:

They become so embedded in the writer's mind that they are brought forward without any conscious planning. The mature writer then, has acquired complex sets of knowledge and has chunked many of them so that either in terms of the operations of writing or in terms of the models concerning what is to be written, much becomes automatic or habitual. (*ibid.*, p. 178; see also section 7.3.1)

2.2.1.2 Knowledge as the basis for writing

Purves and Purves (1986) describe writing as "an activity dependent on the prior acquisition of knowledge" (*ibid.*). They argue that in addition to knowledge of the material to be written about, there are "three basic forms of knowledge requisite for the writer in any culture, or, to put it another way..., three major sets of constraints imposed by a culture upon a writer" (*ibid.*, pp. 178-179): (1) knowledge of the grammatical constructs to be used, or the meaning of language in its phonological-graphological and lexico-grammatical forms; (2) knowledge of text

structures and their concomitant styles, such as the text models used for specific written genres (e.g., the general shape of a story or an essay, with particular forms for beginning, middle, and end, providing a frame that can be filled with various kinds of information, as well as what registers are appropriate, what phrases are likely to occur, and so on); and (3) knowledge of social and cultural norms inherent in various writing activities (sometimes called pragmatics), including an understanding of appropriate aims, expectations, and content for certain kinds of writing (e.g., knowing when it is obligatory to write and the procedures for doing so, such as writing a thank you note or responding in writing to an invitation). Purves and Purves suggest that "these kinds of knowledge are based on experience with the world, with language, and with the norms of culture" (ibid., p. 178), and on the basis of this knowledge, the individual in a particular culture engages in the activity of writing:

These three kinds of knowledge lie at the heart of any activity of writing. A person cannot write without bringing such knowledge to bear.... [They] dominate the acts of planning, drafting, revising, and editing, as well as every operation therein. As a result of these kinds of knowledge, the activity of writing then becomes a conscious and purposeful activity to bring a text into being. (ibid., p. 179)

There are a number of important research implications related to these kinds of knowledge which are directly relevant to this study. For example, early writing research focused almost solely on linguistic knowledge at the sentence level, in particular on lexical, orthographic, and syntactic elements. This scope has now been broadened because "knowledge of forms and structures and knowledge of pragmatics are of at least equal importance as knowledge of smaller units of discourse" (ibid., pp. 179-180). As a result, although our knowledge of forms and structures and pragmatics is not inconsiderable, based on a long history of literacy and rhetorical studies, "[w]e are now beginning to be aware of the extent to which these forms and structures are culturally determined; they are not in the structure of the language, but they are in the rhetorical and literary history of a culture" (ibid., p. 180). For example, a particular type of written discourse, such as an essay or a story, takes a certain form as the result of its development throughout the history of a culture; i.e., "it may have its way of beginning, its way of developing, and its way of reaching a conclusion [but] to another culture, such a structure may seem alien: [s]uch is the assumption of the emerging field of contrastive rhetoric" (ibid.).

2.2.1.3 Writing and text models

A further consequence of viewing writing as a culturally-determined, cognitive activity, is that the act itself becomes inextricably linked to its results, or as Purves and Purves point out, "[w]ith a cultural approach to writing we cannot disentangle

'process' from 'product'" (ibid., p. 184). However, "we do need to consider the concept of a 'finished text' and ask the overriding question: 'When does a text emerge?'" (ibid.). This question has been the subject of debate among literary scholars for some time, but no definitive answers have yet emerged, although it is clear that "model texts" exist in certain genres:

Throughout the history of literary criticism in the West, there has been agreement that particular genres can be defined and described. Since Aristotle, writers about literature have defined a play or a poem or a novel. Their definitions have established sets of rules for a genre and have set forth exemplary texts as models for future writers. Subsequent critics and authors have challenged these previous definitions and rules only to establish their own. ...What has been true for literature has entered other worlds of writing as well, witness the business letter, the personal letter, the essay, or the technical manual. ...Over the years there have been changes in the models and there are clearly cultural variations in the exemplary text or model, but the idea of a model persists, whether that model be a model of content, of organization, of style, of layout, or of a combination of the four.¹⁵ (ibid., p. 185; see also section 7.3.3).

There are, however, differences among cultures regarding the nature of text models and when they are approximated, not only in terms of the shape of a particular text, but also the point at which a text is finished (e.g., in some cultures, a single draft is all that is required; in others, redrafting and polishing are demanded). As Purves and Purves (ibid.) point out, a number of important research questions can also be asked concerning the nature of text models in different cultures. For instance, how do writers know when their individual performances match the model for a finished text? What operations are chunked by writers (e.g., in some cultures orthography and neatness are the focal point; in others, content and organization are more important)? How much time should a writer allocate to the individual acts of writing (i.e., planning, drafting, and so on), and do these acts occur in systematic sequences in particular contexts? What are the values placed on these different acts by different cultures (e.g., some cultures put more emphasis on editing; others stress planning and drafting)? Furthermore, the relationship between the reader to the text may also vary among cultures and this affects what is appropriate in writing because expectations concerning the reception of a text will also affect the writer's attitudes towards the production of that text. For instance, does the reader see the text as bearing a message or as something with which to engage in an aesthetic transaction, or will he or she receive the text as a judge or editor, as a reviewer or gatekeeper, as a scholarly critic, or as a teacher and prescriber?

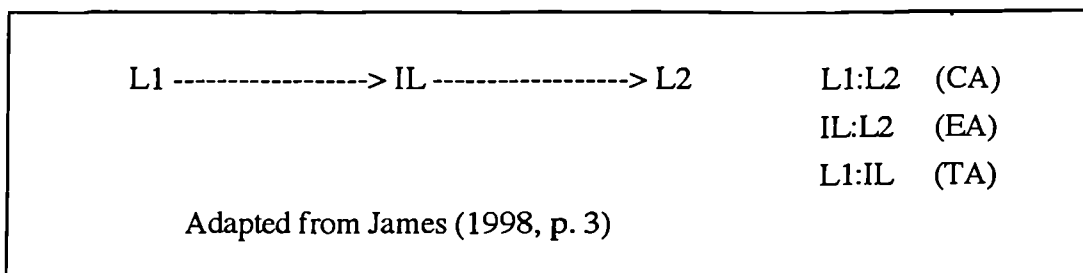
In conclusion, "[c]ultures...may be distinguished as to how individual members view text, how they use text, and how they value text [and] these differences may well influence how members of a given culture engage in the activity of writing" (ibid., p. 192). There are major research questions to be addressed, therefore, as to the values and views of a culture concerning text models

and the relation of those values to the activity of writing, including the fact that linguistic and cultural pluralism also exists within larger cultures or subcultures, resulting in significant differences in the way text is viewed by individuals even within national rhetorical communities.

2.3 Contrastive linguistics

In second language writing research, "contrastive studies have received more attention than perhaps any other single issue" (Connor, 1996, p. 5). Contrastive linguistics has provided a succession of research paradigms which reflect the evolution of theoretical positions within the field of applied linguistics concerning the notion of language transfer and the nature of the relationship between first and second languages, developments which have been paralleled by "similar shifts in emphasis" in contrastive studies of second language writing.

As James (1998, p. 2) points out, "in the applied linguistics of FL/SL learning, there are three 'codes' or languages to be described": L1 (NL, MT), IL, and L2 (TL, FL). When these are compared, we arrive at three successive research paradigms: contrastive analysis (CA), error analysis (EA), and transfer analysis (TA). Since "paradigms, like fashions, have their heyday" (ibid.), however, CA, EA, and TA should be viewed in historical terms.¹⁶



2.3.1 Contrastive analysis and error analysis

In the 1950s and 1960s the dominant paradigm governing the teaching of second languages was contrastive analysis, which came into being at a time when structural linguistics, behavioral psychology, and audiolingual teaching methodologies were at their height. Structuralists such as Fries (1945) and Lado (1957) felt that L2 learners, as well as teachers and syllabus designers, would benefit from comparisons and contrasts on different levels between the mother tongue and target language. CAs came in many different forms and were carried out for a variety of purposes, but the methodology for conducting them generally involved a two-step process of description and comparison, as well as provisions for pedagogical advice in the teaching of target items (James, 1980, p. 63):

The procedure involved first describing comparable features of MT and TL..., and then comparing the forms and resultant meanings across the two languages in order to spot the mismatches that would *predictably... give rise to interference and error.*¹⁷ (ibid., 1998, p. 4)

Early contrastive analyses were conducted within a framework of structural linguistics, leading to the establishment of taxonomies displaying similarities and differences between languages in terms of the form and distribution of comparable units. Associated with these CAs were didactic claims related to the selection and grading of items in preparation for teaching, as well as for their actual presentation in the classroom. Contrastive analyses are thus concerned with the formal properties of language on the one hand, and with L2 learning on the other, particularly "the way in which NL affects FL learning *in the individual*" (ibid., 1980, p. 9).

The underlying theoretical assumptions of contrastive analysis are neo-Whorfian and derive from the theory of linguistic relativity; i.e., that "culture, through language, affects the way we think, and especially our classification of the experienced world" (Gumperz & Levinson, 1996; after Whorf, 1956). The psychological basis for contrastive analysis is transfer theory; i.e., the assumption that language learners will transfer to their L2 the formal features of their L1, "that, as Lado puts it 'individuals tend to transfer the forms and meanings and the distribution of forms and meanings of their native language and culture to the foreign language and culture'" (James, 1980, p. 14):

In its simplest form *transfer* refers to the hypothesis that the learning of a task is either facilitated ('positive' transfer) or impeded ('negative' transfer) by the previous learning of another task, depending on, among other things, the degree of similarity or difference obtaining between the two tasks. (Sridhar, 1981, p. 211; see also Odlin, 1989).

In the 1960s, a wide range of contrastive analyses were published, typically between English and other languages, but in the 1970s, CA came increasingly under attack. With the advent of generative grammar, taxonomic CAs, like taxonomic descriptive linguistics in general, were criticized for their preoccupation with surface structures. The relativity hypothesis was replaced by the universal base hypothesis (i.e., all languages are alike at an abstract underlying level), and the focus shifted to a search for universal (i.e., non-language specific) sets of basic grammatical primes. Contrastive studies went into decline: "linguistically, the basis of contrastive description seemed to be unable to withstand the stresses of constantly changing models of analysis and theoretical approaches," while psycholinguistically and pedagogically, CAs were successful in predicting only part of learners' problems and were unable to account for developmental errors or idiosyncrasies of language unrelated to either L1 or L2 (Candlin; cited in James, 1980, p. v).

Perhaps the most serious criticism leveled against contrastive analysis is that interference from the L1 is not the sole source of error in L2 learning, and that there are other sources that it fails to predict, such as errors which are not linguistic in origin but rather psychological or pedagogical. As James states, however, "[t]he most obvious way to answer this criticism is to point out that contrastive analysis has never claimed that L1 interference is the sole source of error (1971, p. 88)," and errors may be attributable to a number of other factors, such as overgeneralizations within the L2, improper training methods, or inadequate knowledge of the target language (1980, p. 98). Another common criticism has been that the predictions of student errors produced by contrastive analysis are not reliable. It is more likely, however, that "the paucity of linguistic knowledge" we have at our present stage of knowledge about languages is more to blame (ibid., p. 91). Linguistics cannot yet describe any language "in toto," and in addition, the non-occurrence of errors does not necessarily invalidate the underlying theoretical basis of CA; rather it may point to the need for more precise characterizations.

Nevertheless, criticisms of CA began to be voiced more strongly in the 1970s, largely because of its association with "an outdated model of language description (structuralism) and a discredited learning theory (behaviorism)" (ibid.), and the CA paradigm was replaced by EA:

This paradigm involves first independently or 'objectively' describing the learners' IL (that is, their version of the TL) and the TL itself, followed by a comparison of the two, so as to locate mismatches. The novelty of EA, distinguishing it from CA, was that the mother tongue was not supposed to enter the picture. The claim was made that errors could be fully described in terms of the TL, without the need to refer to the L1 of the learners. (James, 1998, p. 5)

Early work in error analysis went little beyond "impressionistic collections of 'common' errors and their taxonomic classification into categories..." (Sridhar, 1981, p. 221). There was no attempt to systematically define the term "error," nor to account for errors in linguistic or psychological terms. Initially, EA was little more than "an *ad hoc* attempt to deal with the practical needs of the classroom teacher" (ibid.): its goals were pragmatic in terms of its feedback value in helping design pedagogical materials. Error analysis was revolutionized in the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, by the work of British linguists and those they influenced. S. Pit Corder (1967), in particular, was influential in suggesting a new way of looking at "errors" and was one of the first to distinguish between "errors" and "mistakes":¹⁸

Mistakes are deviations due to performance factors such as memory limitations.... They are typically random and are readily corrected by the learner when his attention is drawn to them.

Errors, on the other hand, are systematic, consistent deviances characteristic of the learner's linguistic system at a given stage of learning. (Sridhar, 1981, p. 224)

By the 1980s, however, a heated debate had begun that still continues today concerning the importance of traditional attitudes of correctness. James (1983) comments on this controversy, stating that "[r]ecent enthusiasm for Communicative-Functional language teaching has caused great disquiet simply because the new desideratum of communication has led to neglect of the formal conventions of correctness" (p. 26). As James points out, "we are still struggling with the ERROR/MISTAKE dichotomy" (1994, p. 188), and it is important to realize that "errors have social effects, like failing exams, being barred from jobs and clubs or 'gated'...in other ways" (ibid., p. 191). Today, definitions of the term "error" are more cautious, and an error is often simply described as "a form which would 'not be produced by the speaker's native speaker counterparts'" (Lennon; cited in James, 1994, p. 193).

Controversy also arose regarding classification of the sources of L2 students' errors. Prior to this time, at the height of contrastive analysis and the dominance of audiolingualism in L2 pedagogy, L1 interference was considered the primary source of student errors. But as James (1980, p. 146) notes:

[N]ot all errors are the result of L1 interference, i.e. interlingual errors. Other major sources of errors have been recognized...which are of a 'non-contrastive' origin. These include: the effects of target-language asymmetries (intralingual errors); transfer of training; strategies of L2 learning; and L2 communication strategies. Several attempts have been made to determine the proportion of interlingual errors among all errors [but] one must be careful not to exaggerate the claims made on behalf of CA.

Richards (1971) proposed a three-way classification of errors which is still widely used today: (1) interference errors, caused by the influence of L1 on the production of L2, especially in those areas where the two languages differ; (2) intralingual errors, originating within the structure of the L2 itself due to overgeneralization of rules, incomplete application of rules, and failure to learn conditions for the application of rules (all learners, regardless of L1 background, will tend to commit similar errors); and (3) developmental errors, reflecting strategies by which the learner acquires the L2, such as making false hypotheses about the target language based on limited exposure. The main difficulty with this error classification system, of course, is to accurately determine the proportion of errors attributable to each category from a given set of data. According to James (1980, p. 146), attempts have been made in this regard, but with limited success, as the diagnostic tools necessary to solve the problem have yet to be developed.

By the mid-1970s, EA came in for increasing criticism because of its lack of objectivity and statistical rigor, the subjectivity of its interpretations of errors, its

lack of predictive power, and its one-sided emphasis on errors to the detriment of the analysis of non-errors. It has also proved to be impossible to totally deny the effects of L1 interference since they are "ubiquitously and patently obvious" (ibid., 1998, p. 5). CA had failed in its predictive goals, but was still able to explain or diagnose the subset of errors which resulted from mother tongue interference. To account for this, Wardaugh (1970) proposed two versions of CA, a strong and a weak version, both equally based on the assumption of L1 interference. The strong version claims predictive power, while the weak claims merely to have the power to diagnose errors that have been committed (James, 1980, pp. 184-185): "[t]he strong version is *a priori*, the weak version *ex post facto* in its treatment of errors" (ibid., p. 185). The weak version of CA was easily incorporated into EA in the form of transfer analysis (TA), and predictive CA gave way to the description and explanation of actually occurring mother tongue transfers: "This has led to some contentious relabelling as CA got swept under the carpet, and it is now more politic to talk of '**crosslinguistic influence**' (Kellerman and Sharwood Smith, 1986) or of '**language transfer**' (Gass and Selinker, 1983; Odlin, 1989)" (James, 1998, p. 5). The term James (1998, p. 5) reserves for this enterprise is transfer analysis (TA), though he stresses that TA is no longer CA "since the ingredients are different in that when you conduct Transfer Analysis, you are comparing IL with MT and not MT with TL. Nor are you comparing IL and TL, so you are not doing EA proper" (ibid., pp. 5-6).

In summary, James (1994, p. 179) points out that although CA and EA can be described as a "dual interdiscipline," they are not simply alternatives for achieving the same end: EA can only be fully explanatory if errors resulting from L1 interference are taken into account and can thus make statements about potential as well as actual errors (ibid., 1971, pp. 89-90). CA and EA "should [thus] be viewed as complementing each other rather than as competitors for some procedural pride of place" (ibid., 1980, p. 187), and should be combined as a practical classroom research tool for teachers wishing to adjust their teaching to the state of knowledge of their learners (Candlin; cited in James, 1980, p. vii). On the other hand, according to James (1998, p. 6), "TA is a sub-procedure applied in the diagnostic phase of doing EA"; it is not, in fact, "a credible alternative paradigm but an ancillary procedure within EA for dealing with those IL:TL discrepancies... that are assumed to be the results of MT transfer or interference."

2.3.2 Implications for contrastive rhetoric

Although studies in contrastive linguistics today are often viewed as problematic and "fraught with controversy," paradoxically, the field remains "highly vigorous" (James, 1994). In fact, in the 1990s a widespread revival of

interest in contrastive linguistics has taken place with important implications for research in contrastive rhetoric that can be attributed to two main factors: (1) a reappraisal of the constellation of notions associated with linguistic relativity, and (2) the extension of contrastive studies into discoursal and functional domains.

Of primary importance for contrastive studies in general, and contrastive rhetoric in particular, is the recent change in intellectual climate towards a more intermediate position between linguistic relativity and universalism (Gumperz & Levinson, 1996), as linguistic and cultural diversity are now being viewed within the context of what has been learned in the last 30 years about universals. Classical Whorfian versions of the linguistic relativity hypothesis were mainly concerned with how languages vary in terms of semantic structure and what the implications of this variance are for cognition. These issues arose initially from structuralist approaches to meaning, where the focus was on lexical and grammatical items contained within a larger system of opposed elements. Theories of meaning have since been extended to encompass the interaction between the content of linguistic expressions and the contexts in which they are used, leading to the belief that meaning is at least partially dependent on use, and that languages vary systematically in their use. This then suggests a much greater dependence of meaning on cultural context, and consequently, a much broader formulation of the notion of linguistic relativity (*ibid.*, p. 225). As Gumperz and Levinson (*ibid.*, p. 11) point out, there are "diverse sources of difference and incommensurability across languages and varieties. Whorf emphasized the grammatical, because he felt that unconscious, repetitive, coercive patterning on the grammatical level would be reflected in a regimentation of thinking." There are many other levels of linguistic patterning to be examined, however, including, among others, the functional and discoursal. As a consequence, the scope of linguistic relativity has been greatly expanded and now "spans a large terrain, from the classic Whorfian issues of the relation of grammar to thought on the one hand to consideration of language use in sociolinguistic perspective on the other" (*ibid.*, p. 9). These perspectives also need to be placed within the context of an ever-increasing set of universal cognitive constraints which are still being discovered today, allowing for the formulation of an intermediate position (i.e., between relativity and universalism) which could be described as follows: "There are no acquired human skills that are not simultaneously supported by universal cognitive predispositions and transformed by specific cultural traditions" (Levinson, 1996, p. 141).

In parallel with this evolution in perspective towards the notion of linguistic relativity, the scope of contrastive linguistics has been broadened in recent years along two dimensions: (1) vertically in terms of larger linguistic units—the *formal* level, or how sentences are organized into larger, suprasentential units or texts; and

(2) horizontally in terms of incorporating sociocultural settings within linguistics—the *functional* level, or the ways in which people put language to use (James, 1980, p. 102). This extension of contrastive studies into discursual and functional domains has led to a renewal of interest in the field, as exemplified in a recent description of contrastive linguistics at the 1999 World Conference of Applied Linguistics:

Based on the revived reputation of Contrastive Analysis (CA), due in part...to the extension of CA to Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis..., much could be done to create an integrated approach to the use of contrastive studies for linguistic analysis and language education. Extending the analysis beyond the sentence as a unit added a new perspective to CA. Contrastive and Cross-Cultural Pragmatics, Discourse Analysis, Text Analysis and *Contrastive Rhetoric* have all contributed to the revival of CA. (Nickel, AILA '99; see Davies, 1999; my italics)

In conclusion, research perspectives in contrastive rhetoric have paralleled those in contrastive linguistics in general. Early studies of second language writing "had a pedagogic rationale, and combined the contrastive and error analysis approaches" (Connor, 1996, p. 14):

Contrastive rhetoric, like contrastive analysis, began as an effort to improve pedagogy and its adherents believed that interference from L1 was the biggest problem in L2 acquisition. It was initially founded on error analysis; 'errors' in beginning-level students' paragraph organization were examined and reasons for them were hypothesized based on the language background from which the student came. (ibid., pp. 14-15)

Later research developed a more text-linguistic approach and used a variety of analytical models, although there was little emphasis on the study of syntactic structures at the level of the sentence. A unified methodology never developed, however, and although contrastive rhetoric has been criticized for its lack of a single research program, Connor (ibid., p. 7) suggests that this multidimensionality may have been a blessing, as "it allows for multiple analyses of the same issue" and prompted contrastive rhetoric to move rapidly ahead "to compare discourse structures across cultures and genres" (ibid., p. 15).

2.4 Discourse linguistics

Although contrastive rhetoric has been strongly influenced by movements in applied linguistics such as contrastive analysis and error analysis, and is "ultimately affected by the relativist/universalist debate about language," it is more immediately dependent upon research in discourse linguistics (Houghton & Hoey, 1983, p. 3), which "helped revitalize contrastive rhetoric in the 1980s by providing it with new, valid, and reliable tools for the analysis of texts metatextual features [and] a

descriptive apparatus for describing textual cohesion, theme dynamics, and metatextual features" (Connor, 1996, pp. 11 & 80).

2.4.1 Definitions and terminological issues

Discourse is an extremely difficult concept to define because it is used in very different ways by different scholars, creating a good deal of confusion which has yet to be resolved. The term was first coined by Zellig Harris, well known as Chomsky's mentor, and according to Widdowson, "Harris is, in many ways, a figure who casts a long shadow. A number of issues arise from his work on discourse analysis which have caused much...confusion and contradiction..., and still remain stubbornly problematic" (1995, p. 160). Fairclough (1992, p. 3) states that "discourse is a difficult concept, largely because there are so many conflicting and overlapping definitions formulated from various theoretical and disciplinary standpoints," which fragment into a wide range of theories, procedures, data bases, and goals.¹⁹ Widdowson (1995, p. 157) agrees, claiming that discourse is "a contentious area of enquiry..., a diverse, not to say, diffuse concept..., and one which rouses strong feelings. [A]s the notion of discourse became popular, so, naturally enough, it took on different meanings for different people." Tannen (1990, p. 109) concurs, stating that "[d]iscourse analysis is uniquely heterogeneous among the many sub-disciplines of linguistics. In comparison to other sub-disciplines of the field, it may seem almost dismayingly diverse."

Today, discourse linguistics is generally acknowledged as dealing with units of language larger than the isolated sentence, but its parameters are difficult to specify. Syntactics and semantics are normally considered beyond the borders of discourse linguistics, but define its lower boundaries, so that while discourse linguistics is normally thought of as dealing with issues *beyond* the level of the sentence, it also incorporates elements that are clearly *within* the realm of the sentence, such as cohesive ties. On the other hand, its upper limits range "beyond the textual into the vast social and cultural effects of language phenomena" (Kinneavy, 1971, p. 23). Contemporary discourse studies cover a very wide spectrum indeed, from a technically narrow definition exemplified by the analysis of grammatical and other relationships between sentences, to a broader perspective related to the functional uses of language in social contexts, to the study of whole systems of communication within cultures (Davies, 1997; after Scollon & Scollon, 1995):

We have shifted our understanding of the word 'discourse' as we have moved...from a very limited concept with a concentration on the basic forms used for cohesion...to a meaning which now seems to enclose a very large portion of society and culture. This...reflects a shift in the topics which discourse analysts have studied in the past two decades. At first the focus of discourse analysis was cohesion, mainly within and between clauses in sentences. As analysts began to see that it was difficult, if not impossible, to understand how discourse

cohesion works through such a close lens, they began to take context into consideration in their studies. Of course, once context came into view, it was difficult to say just what should be included and what should not be included. (Scollon & Scollon, 1995, pp. 118-119)

One of the more contentious issues existing in the field today is the difference between *discourse* and *text*. For some, "text" refers only to written language, and the analysis of writing beyond the sentence level is therefore text analysis—the result is a distinction between "spoken discourse" and "written text." Grabe (1985, p. 101), for example, maintains that "the most basic division in discourse analysis is that between the analysis of oral and written language." From this perspective, there are strong arguments for viewing writing and speech as distinct systems, which result in the need to distinguish oral from written discourse analysis as related but independent fields of research: "It is now recognized that writing and speech are distinct systems [and] there is hardly a dimension of textuality or text processing that does not reflect some significant difference between the spoken and the written modalities" (Beaugrande, 1984, pp. 256-257). *The Linguistics Encyclopedia*, for instance, distinguishes between discourse analysis and text analysis on the basis of differences between spoken and written language: "Although the line between the study of speech and the study of written text is not hard and fast (see...TEXT LINGUISTICS), I draw it here on practical grounds, and this entry [i.e., discourse analysis] is concerned with studies directed at spoken discourse" (Malmkjaer, 1995, p. 101). In addition, as Hoey points out, "there is a tendency...to make a hard-and-fast distinction between discourse (spoken) and text (written). This is reflected even in two of the names of the discipline(s) we study—discourse analysis and text linguistics" (1983; cited in Malmkjaer, 1995, p. 461).

Others argue for a different set of distinctions between *discourse* and *text*. Widdowson, for example, maintains that texts can be in written or spoken form and "come in all shapes and sizes..." (1995, p. 164). Discourse analysis is a matter of "deriving meaning from text by referring to its contextual conditions, to the beliefs, attitudes, values which represent different versions of reality. The same text, therefore, can give rise to different discourses" (ibid., p. 168). From this perspective, discourse is seen as a "process," with text as its "product," while on another plane, discourse is seen as "meaning" and text as its "interpretation." In other words, "it is your discourse you read into my text" (p. 165), or according to James (personal communication), "when you put a text into a context you get a discourse":

The concept of text does not have to be restricted to grammar 'above the sentence', as was once customary in linguistics. As Widdowson (1995: 164) puts it: 'Texts can come in all shapes and sizes: they can correspond in extent with any linguistic unit: letter, sound, word, sentence, combination of sentences.' Halliday & Hassan (1976: 1) make it clear that text may be spoken

or written and is not limited to larger units: 'The word *text* is used in linguistics to refer to any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that...form[s] a unified whole.' (James, 1998, pp. 147-148)

In addition to the fact that "the distinction between 'text' and 'discourse' is not always so clear-cut," Connor (1996, p. 19) notes that "'text' formerly referred to the structural qualities of discourse, whereas today 'text' is increasingly seen through the processes of text production and comprehension, bringing the term 'text' closer to the connotation of 'discourse.'"

This proliferation of terminology to describe discourse linguistics has resulted in a great deal of debate, as well as criticisms of the field as "a confused, fuzzy, and blurred discipline" (Enkvist, 1987, p. 27). Connor (1996, pp. 11), for example, treats the terms text linguistics, text analysis, discourse analysis, discourse linguistics, and discourse linguistics of texts synonymously. Enkvist (op. cit., p. 26), on the other hand, maintains that there is a distinction between text linguistics, discourse analysis, and conversation analysis, and tentatively proposes *discourse linguistics* as "a superordinate cover term" to describe the field:

By *text linguistics* we usually mean the study of linguistic devices of cohesion and coherence within a text. *Discourse analysis* and *conversation analysis* imply looking at texts in their interactional and situational contexts, including reference to the interchanges and communicative moves between speakers in face-to-face communication. The distinction between these two terms seems to be traditional rather than substantial, *discourse analysis* being a term particularly popular in Britain. I have myself—with little success so far—suggested *discourse linguistics* as a superordinate cover term for text linguistics together with discourse and conversation analysis. But as all texts involve interactional and situational contexts of some kind, a well-founded case may be made against all such distinctions.

The terms *text linguistics* and *discourse analysis* seem to have gained relatively wide currency in recent times—the former is most often associated with European traditions, the latter with Anglo-American research doing the same things. They can also be viewed as complementary, however, with discourse analysis seen as starting with outer frames of situations in order to ascertain the formal correlates of situational variables, while text linguistics can be viewed as working in the opposite direction—i.e., from linguistic forms to appropriate contexts. From this perspective, text linguistics is concerned with formal devices for establishing intersentential connections in units above the sentence, whereas discourse analysis deals more with considerations of use, the concomitant assumption being that text linguistics usually focuses on written, and therefore monologic texts, whereas discourse analysis emphasizes unscripted spoken interaction. This distinction between text linguistics and discourse analysis is by no means established, however, and as firmer outlines have emerged in recent times with the publication of new overviews of the history and schools of thought within the field (e.g., van Dijk, 1977; Beaugrande &

Dressler, 1981; Brown & Yule, 1983), these two orientations seem to be converging: "Although 'text linguistics' and 'discourse analysis' originally emerged from different orientations, they have steadily converged in recent years until they are usually treated as the same enterprise..." (Beaugrande, 1990, p. 26).

In addition to these unresolved issues, there are fundamental differences between British and American schools of discourse analysis. The British school, which has been greatly influenced by Halliday's functional approach to language, principally follows "structural-linguistic criteria, on the basis of the isolation of units, and sets of rules defining well-formed sequences of discourse" (McCarthy, 1991, p. 6), which is sometimes also labeled text analysis. American discourse analysis, on the other hand, is "dominated by work within the ethnomethodological tradition (see, for example, Gumperz & Hymes), ...which examines types of speech event such as storytelling, greeting rituals, and verbal duels in different cultural and social settings" (ibid.). This is often called conversation analysis, and the emphasis is not on building structural models of discourse as in the British model, but on the close observation of individuals as they interact within authentic social settings. The American work has produced a large number of descriptions of discourse types and insights into social constraints on conversational patterns (e.g., turn-taking, politeness strategies, face-saving phenomena, etc.), and overlaps in some ways with studies in pragmatics (ibid.).

In contrast to North American approaches to discourse analysis which generally focus more on spoken forms of language (e.g., conversation analysis, ethnomethodology, etc.), text linguistics has received much more attention in Europe. However, it is "not a single theory or method, but rather has gradually evolved as a loose amalgam of diffuse and diversified approaches to the study of text" (Carrell, 1984a, p. 113). Text linguistics arose from precursors in the traditions of rhetoric, stylistics, literary studies, and semiotics, as well as earlier developments in American descriptive linguistics, British systemic linguistics, and Czech functional linguistics (Beaugrande, 1990, p. 18), and its gradual and uneven evolution has resulted in a great diversity and range of positions, which has been "accompanied by a widening scope, a profusion of models, theories, and terms, and a diversification of the phenomena it is intended to capture or designate" (ibid., p. 17). Other names for the discipline have been suggested, including text studies, text science, and above all, discourse analysis, but as of yet, text linguistics has not been absorbed into a broader linguistic framework (ibid.).

2.4.2 Approaches to the analysis of texts

When discourse linguistics emerged in its own right in the 1960s and 1970s, the dominant paradigm in the field was TG grammar. The centrality it assigned to

the sentence as a unit of analysis was a "burden that proved too great," however, and linguists started looking at text as "a higher-level construct for constraining and explaining elaborated structures" (ibid., p. 19). In other words, it was through increasing awareness of the limitations of Chomskian paradigms that discourse linguistics first started to attract notice. As it became clear that sentence-level analysis as the upper boundary of linguistic research was no longer tenable, there began a growing interest in research on language used in context, including its textual settings. A text is not merely a linguistic unit, however; it is also a unit of human action, interaction, communication, and cognition. As Beaugrande (ibid., pp. 17 & 19) points out, a text is not simply a unit larger than the sentence or even sequences of sentences strung together, for it includes both linguistic and socio-psychological properties. In order to understand texts, they must be studied within a context of communicative interaction. Carrell (1984a, p. 113) concurs: "what makes a text a unified, meaningful whole rather than just a string of unrelated words and sentences—lies not *in* the text per se as some independent artifactual object of study, but rather in the human activities (social and psychological) human beings perform with it." In other words, "the actual documented text transcribed in words and phrases is increasingly viewed as the tip of an iceberg, or the eye of a hurricane—as a manifested focal point for a complex of human activities in communication and cognition" (Beaugrande, op. cit.).

Approaches to the analysis of texts reflect this complexity and are "diverse, flexible, and still developing" (Connor, 1987a, p. 691). Enkvist (1987), for example, has developed a four-part taxonomy of text-linguistic approaches: sentence-based, predication-based, cognitive-based, and interactive-based. Connor (1987a) conflates the latter three and proposes a simplified model of sentence-based and process-centered approaches, while Carrell (1987b) also suggests a two-part system based on linguistic (i.e., structural) and cognitive (i.e., psychological) perspectives.

2.4.2.1 Linguistic approaches

In the initial search to understand the fundamental properties of texts, textual analyses paralleling sentence analysis techniques were employed, and these approaches, sometimes called "text grammars," were based on sentence-based, linguistic theories of text. Two separate, though related, perspectives developed which viewed discourse relations as grammatically marked (Bates & MacWhinney, 1982, p. 197): functional sentence perspective (FSP), originating in the Prague School of Linguistics (e.g., Firbas, 1964; Daněš, 1974); and cohesion theory, associated with British functionalists (e.g., Firth, 1957; Halliday, 1967).

Functional sentence perspective is a structural approach to the analysis of texts which describes how information is distributed in sentences (i.e., information structure; also described by James, 1998, as information structure and information load). It deals primarily with the effects of the distribution of known (i.e., old, or given) and new information in texts, with the resulting sequence of information structure usually discussed under the headings given-new, theme-rheme, topic-comment, background-focus, or focus-presupposition. Old or given information is normally what a speaker or writer thinks a receptor already knows and has activated and foregrounded in the mind. New information is unactivated and is identified by markers such as articles, intonation, and word-order patterns. In other terminological frameworks, the known information, or theme, refers to information that is not new to the reader or listener, while rheme refers to information that is new; similar distinctions apply for the terms topic and comment.

FSP continues to be used in text linguistic research, although less frequently than in the past.²⁰ One of the major drawbacks to this approach is that the terminological pitfalls of information structure create a formidable obstacle, even for specialists in the field:

To some... a theme (or topic) is a 'logical subject' as opposed to a 'logical predicate.' To others it is a psychological concept indicating 'what the clause or sentence is about.' To others it is a starting-point or 'take-off point' of a sentence. Many linguists define theme or topic as old, or contextually bound, elements; others like to define it in more formal terms, as coinciding with a subject and occupying initial position in the sentence. (Enkvist, 1987, p. 31)

In criticizing competing positions within the functionalist school itself, Bates and MacWhinney (1982, pp. 197-198) state that "the topic-comment system...turns out to be very difficult to describe," and list no fewer than 13 separate pairs of alternative descriptors of topic-comment that are presently employed in the literature:

[T]here are now a number of proposals describing the relationship among the topic-comment system.... The semantic-pragmatic meanings that constitute topic and comment have proven elusive and frustrating to linguists who want to incorporate them within a formal grammar. There is very little agreement about the internal structure of this system, and every investigator who studies it feels the need to add new terms and new distinctions.

Grabe (1985) also points out that there are "widely ranging sets of definitions for the assorted terminology of information structure," arguing that "[g]iven the present state of confusion over such notions as given-new, theme-rheme, and focus-presupposition, there is a need for careful definition if some common ground is to be established" (p. 111). Enkvist (op. cit.) is even more critical, describing the area as a "terminological minefield" that he prefers to avoid. At present, it appears that FSP has somewhat limited applications for L2 composition pedagogy, as

terminological problems in the description of information structure make access difficult for anyone but specialists in the field.

Another structural approach to the analysis of texts was developed by British functionalists based on the property of cohesion (see Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Cohesion theory attempts to describe patterns in the texture (i.e., coherence) of a text through the analysis of its cohesive ties. Grabe (1985, p. 110) provides a definition:

Cohesion is the means available in the surface forms of the text to signal relations that hold between sentences or clausal units in the text; it is the surface manifestation of the underlying relations that bind a text; it is a set of signals coded into the syntactic and semantic linear structure—much like a road map. There are various means by which cohesion operates, principally including reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical relations of repetition, other iterative forms, and collocation. ...All these operations provide means for linking the surface text structure. As such they reflect both the communicative intents and choices of the authors in the structures used and in the linear ordering of the text.

Whereas cohesion is concerned with formal features operating within text structure, coherence, or texture, is said to represent the semantic relations inherent within a text. Beyond the surface forms, semantic relations among units of a text must be organized in certain prescribed ways, and coherence refers to the underlying relations that hold between assertions, and how they contribute to the overall discourse theme. Coherence and cohesion are important concepts for contrastive rhetoric and its applications in L2 composition pedagogy, but because these concepts also fall within the domain of more recent text linguistic investigations taking place in cognitive science and reading research, they will be discussed in further detail below.

2.4.2.2 Cognitive approaches

Recent approaches to text analysis have had a cognitive, or psychological, rather than a structural basis, with texts being viewed in terms of the cognitive processes involved in producing and comprehending them. Since text comprehension and text production complement and support one another, reading research has played an important role in developing cognitive models designed to assess the text comprehender's understanding, emphasizing "superstructures of texts over a linear representation of sentences as evidenced in the sentence-based approach" (Carrell, 1987a, p. 55). Influential models include Meyer's (1975a) semantic content structure analysis and Kintsch's (1974) propositional system, which led to the development of Kintsch and van Dijk's (1978) concept of *macrostructure* (Carrell, 1987a, p. 48). From this perspective, textual macrostructures, or superstructures, are thought of as units beyond the sentence which function in the organizational patterning of different types of text and

discourse. According to Connor (1987a, p. 686), "all these analyses have in common a notion of proposition, defined in various ways, from the relationships between a predicate and an argument...to the psychological status of the semantic representation involved, that is, what the hearer or reader has in mind after hearing or reading a text."

Research in cognitive science related to information processing and reading comprehension has also revealed "the important role played by the mental representation of a text in the mind of a reader" (Carrell, 1987a, p. 49; after Meyer, 1982). This representation is not identical to the text itself, but is the product of an interactive process between the text and the prior background knowledge or *memory schemata* of the listener or reader (Carrell, 1982, p. 482). This modeling of semantic relationships in terms of schemata, frames, or scripts is known as schema theory, and schemata are defined as mental codifications of experience that include a particular organized way of perceiving cognitively:

What a reader understands from a text is not solely a function of the linguistic or even hierarchical structure of the text. Reading comprehension is not solely an analysis problem, a bottom-up process of constructing meaning from the linguistic cues in the text. Rather, reading comprehension is an interactive process between the content and formal, hierarchical structure of the text and the reader's prior knowledge of structures, or schemata, for content and form. Reading comprehension is simultaneously both a top-down and a bottom-up process. It is bottom-up in the sense that readers must take in linguistic cues of the text and integrate them into their ongoing hypotheses about the content and form of the text; it is top-down in the sense that readers must formulate hypotheses, expectations, anticipations, based on their background knowledge of content and form.... (Carrell, 1987a, p. 49)

Research on memory schemata has also been conducted in terms of frame theory research (Tannen, 1979), which suggests that readers and writers normally share many of the same expectations about the sequencing of information in a text and these expectations are categorized or structured in *frames*, defined as a system of linguistic choices which becomes associated with a particular language use. It is believed that different modes of discourse (e.g., exposition, narration, description, and persuasion) conform to certain conventions of structure, or frames, and studies have been conducted to determine the surface features and content organization that make up such frames and how these influence reader comprehension.

Schema-theoretical views of text processing have important implications in a number of different areas, including the development of a theory of audience, in which "the reader is seen as someone who possesses both formal and content schemata..., which are activated by the text as the reading process begins" (Johns, 1990, p. 30), as well as our understanding of the notions of cohesion and coherence discussed above. As James (1998, p. 170) points out, "[c]oherence is related primarily to content, to the conceptual relatedness of propositions. We are no longer

looking at 'markers' on the surface: we are looking for underlying 'conceptual' relationships." From the perspective of reading comprehension research, which focuses on the concept of interactivity between the reader and the text, "[c]oherence of text is thereby established through the fit between the schemata of the reader (or audience) and the organization, content, and argument of the text" (Johns, op. cit.). Carrell (1982, p. 486) maintains that "[c]ohesion is not the cause of coherence; if anything, it's the effect of coherence. A coherent text will likely be cohesive, not of necessity, but as a result of the coherence. Bonding an incoherent text together won't make it coherent, only cohesive":

Cohesion concerns the ways in which the surface elements of a text are arranged and mutually connected within a sentence. This notion of cohesion is extremely broad, including all means of signaling surface grammatical dependencies (cf. Halliday 1964:303; Halliday and Hassan 1976). *Coherence* concerns 'the ways in which the components of the TEXTUAL WORLD, i.e. the configuration of CONCEPTS and RELATIONS which underlie the surface text, are mutually accessible and relevant' (Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981, p. 4). *Concepts* are configurations of prior knowledge (cognitive content) in the mind, and *relations* are links between concepts which appear together in a textual world. (Carrell, 1984a, p. 114)²¹

2.4.3 Implications for L2 composition pedagogy

Cognitive research in reading comprehension taking place within schema theory has direct implications for L2 composition instruction because an understanding of the mental representation of a text and how it is retained in long-term memory is important in text production as well. Such implications suggest that when there is a mismatch in cultural background knowledge, there will be a loss of textual cohesion, making it essential to supply learners with appropriate background schemata underlying texts. For instance, in the example, "The picnic was ruined—no one remembered to bring a corkscrew," the cohesive tie between *picnic* and *corkscrew* exists because "we can access a familiar schema for interpreting it in which picnics and corkscrews go together. For anyone who cannot access such a schema the text will fail to cohere" (Johns, 1990, p. 484). Furthermore, "teaching ESL writers about the top-level rhetorical organization..., teaching them how to choose the appropriate plan to accomplish specific communication goals, and teaching them how to signal a text's organization through appropriate linguistic devices should all function to make ESL writing more effective" (Carrell, 1987a, p. 47).²² In other words, explicitly teaching macrostructures in "the identification of text structure apart from content, as well as providing practice in using different text structures on a variety of topics, should provide benefits to ESL writers" (ibid., p. 52). Moreover, research by Meyer (1975b, 1982), Kintsch and van Dijk (1978), and Mandler and Johnson (1977) has shown that "the hierarchical content structure of a text plays an important role in reading comprehension and reading recall"

(Carrell, 1987a, p. 53). For instance, it has been found that "content at the top of the hierarchy—the superordinate information in the text—is better recalled and retained over time than content at lower levels" (ibid.). The recognition that there is a hierarchy of content in most texts leads to conclusion that the use of outlines is important, because they "can function to keep the writer returning periodically to the high levels of the content hierarchy" (ibid.). In this regard, outlining and semantic mapping can be effectively used in teaching composition skills for different types of written discourse. Meyer's (1982) study indicates, however, that "directions for outlining are often vague," and that the relations between lower and higher levels of hierarchy are sometimes not clear, so that EL2 writers, in particular, may require detailed, explicit instruction.

Meyer's research also found that "when writers use express signalling devices to label these hierarchical relationships there is a facilitating effect on reading comprehension" (ibid.). Carrell (op. cit., p. 54) concludes that...

...if the writer uses one distinct text structure and is aiming for an audience of skilled, well-informed readers, signalling may be dispensed with. Such readers will have no difficulty identifying the proper text structure and using it to organize their comprehension and recall. However, to reach larger audiences of average readers, and in particular audiences of other ESL readers, an ESL writer probably ought to learn to include appropriate uses of signalling expressions to aid readers in organizing their comprehension of text.

James (1998, pp. 166-167) also notes that while the use of signalling devices is "discretionary, and at times even undesirable [as in] the case when the logical relations between sentences of a text are not obscure per se, or when the reader is one who is able to make bridging inferences," including explicit cohesion markers can also "be a courtesy to the reader, reducing his uncertainty and often his processing effort." In the case of many EL2 writers, however, for whom lower level linguistic concerns are still a major problem, appropriate signalling can be crucial in ensuring that their written texts are comprehensible (see also section 5.2).

2.4.4 Implications for contrastive rhetoric

Robert Kaplan (1988, pp. 275-279) once defined contrastive rhetoric as a subset of text linguistics, "a kind of text analysis that has floated on the periphery of more formal linguistic studies for nearly a quarter of a century." Although initially largely an American development, contrastive rhetoric was "not compatible with either general or applied linguistic traditions in the United States." Early attitudes among structuralists which limited linguistic investigations to the level of the sentence, as well as the strictly syntactic focus of later developments in TG grammar, were antithetical to contrastive rhetoric as they tended to inhibit research into suprasentential units and intersentential relationships. Underlying neo-Whorfian

assumptions further served to alienate contrastive rhetoric from mainstream linguistics in the United States in the last few decades. As a result, Kaplan argued that contrastive rhetoric belongs to the basic tradition of text linguistics, which has "its roots in the Prague School of Linguistics and in the Firthian influence in Britain," while acknowledging that there are "important differences between the research tradition in European text-linguistics and the immediate and pragmatic objectives of contrastive rhetoric," especially in terms of its pedagogical motives and applications.

In the last decade, however, there have been significant changes to many of these viewpoints, including a major reappraisal in linguistic circles of the theory of linguistic relativity (Gumperz & Levinson, 1996), a renaissance in contrastive analysis research, especially at the level of discourse, and a gradual merging of the fields of text linguistics and discourse analysis. In the light of these developments, Kaplan's original stance needs to be re-evaluated and a new theoretical frame of reference for defining contrastive rhetoric established. Recent shifts in discourse linguistics from an early emphasis on grammatical and other forms used to mark cohesive relationships between sentences, to the inclusion of larger units of social context related to the functional uses of language, to the study of whole systems of communication within cultures and societies (Scollon & Scollon, 1995) have been roughly paralleled by developments in contrastive rhetoric, which has also moved beyond the level of text to include both the situational and cultural contexts of writing. Contrastive rhetoric can thus be best defined today, not as the alienated, hybrid offspring of text linguistics, but more accurately as *contrastive written discourse analysis*.

2.5 Conclusions

In summary, the evolution of research paradigms in contrastive linguistics and discourse linguistics has had a strong impact on contemporary thinking in contrastive rhetoric, providing a theoretical basis for understanding the writing difficulties of Japanese EL2 students. In keeping with related perspectives in discourse linguistics, written text is now viewed not simply as an exploded sentence, but rather as a multiplex structure composed of interrelated and overlapping substrata structured along several dimensions (Kaplan, 1990, p. 202). In other words, any text is layered "like a sheet of thick plywood consisting of many thin sheets lying at different angles to each other..." (ibid., 1988, p. 279). The basic substratum is composed of the syntax of the language and of the lexicon; i.e., grammar, morphology, phonology, and semantics, with the consequence that some minimal grammatical and lexical accuracy is essential before other strata can be considered. The next substratum, that of rhetorical intent, includes not only genre

structure but also "superstructural frames." The following layer, the substratum of coherence, can be seen as "a string of language around which the receptor can build a coherent, noncontradictory universe of discourse" (Enkvist; cited in Kaplan, 1990, p. 202). The final complex substratum consists of the worldview that the author and receptor bring to the text, including considerations of audience and other sociolinguistic and cultural factors, such as the conventions that surround the act of writing and the discourse community of which the writer is a member (ibid.). Thus, in keeping with current thinking in contrastive linguistics, if rhetorical transfer from Japanese along each of these dimensions can be presumed to contribute to students' writing difficulties in English, then it is essential to have a thorough accounting of the rhetorical conventions of both languages, including the cultural and educational traditions from which they arise, which is the goal of the next chapters in this study.

Chapter 3: Defining English rhetoric

3.1 Introduction

Although contrastive rhetoric has been greatly influenced by movements within contrastive linguistics and is immediately dependent on research in discourse linguistics, it also has a direct relationship with both classical and modern rhetoric (Houghton & Hoey, 1983, p. 3). Enkvist (1987, p. 26) points out that there has been an interest in the structure of texts ever since "the ancient Greeks...began the study of effective communication under the term *rhetoric*...." Beaugrande and Dressler (1981, p. 15) also note that "the oldest form of preoccupation with texts can be found in RHETORIC, dating from Ancient Greece and Rome through the Middle Ages right up to the present," and that classical rhetoric, "despite its different terms and methods," shares a number of vital concerns with modern text (i.e., discourse) linguistics. Mauranen (1993, p. 29) concurs, stating that "in current linguistic work..., rhetoric is frequently associated with text organisation in units larger than the sentence," and the terms rhetoric and discourse are often used interchangeably in descriptions of language beyond the level of the sentence. Kinneavy (1971, pp. 23-24) was one of the first to treat rhetoric and discourse synonymously, tracing the origins of contemporary discourse linguistics back to the ancient art of rhetoric and placing the notion of text within an historical context:

[B]eyond text lies the context of the situation of which the text is a part. This includes such areas of investigation as psychological and social motivations for speaking and writing.... Beyond the situational context lies the cultural context, the nature and conventions of which make the situational context permissible and meaningful.... *In this large sense, no text is autonomous—it exists within a biographical and historical stream.* (my italics)

Therefore, in order to understand the standards, norms, and conventions that govern and direct the production of written discourse in English today, as well as the historical antecedents of contemporary fields of study such as discourse linguistics, contrastive rhetoric, and composition pedagogy, it is important to take into account the long and complex development of rhetoric in the West.

3.2 A brief history of western rhetoric

The history of rhetoric in the western tradition covers some 2500 years and during this time the discipline has accumulated a variety of principles and incorporated shifts in emphasis that reflect the changing needs of those who practice it. Modern rhetoric finds its roots in the past but also responds to contemporary concerns, as it is a field of study which constantly changes to suit the purposes of language use by human beings. As Lindemann (1995, p. 40) states, "[r]hetoric

enables writers and speakers to design messages for particular audiences and purposes, but because people in various cultures and historical periods have assumed different definitions of what makes communication effective, rhetorical principles change." The term *rhetoric* itself has taken on a wide range of meanings, and every historical period has characterized the rhetorical tradition differently, sometimes focusing on oral discourse, sometimes on written texts, sometimes defining it narrowly as having to do solely with style, delivery, or invention, sometimes viewing it as including a wider range of the arts and forms of communication in general. Rhetoric has thus accumulated a multiplicity of connotations over the centuries, making the formulation of a comprehensive definition difficult, for it denotes both a practice and a body of knowledge describing that practice (ibid.).

The term *rhetoric* is derived from the Greek nouns *rhêma* (a word) and *rhêtôr* ("a teacher of oratory"), which stem from the Greek verb *eirô* ("I say"). The English noun *rhetoric* comes from the Greek adjective *rhetorikê*, which is elliptical for *rhetorikê technê* ("the art of the rhetor or orator"), although the term itself derives directly from the French *rhétorique*. Thus, etymologically, rhetoric has to do with speaking or orating, though in later times came to include writing as well, first as a preparation for oratory, and later as an art in its own right. Contemporary definitions of rhetoric have shifted and the focus today is on the notion of audience: "rhetoric is the art or the discipline that deals with the use of discourse, either spoken or written, to inform or persuade or motivate an audience, whether that audience is made up of one person or a group of persons" (Corbett, 1990, p. 3). From another perspective, rhetoric has also been defined as the way "people use language and other symbols to realize human goals and carry out human activities. [It] is ultimately a practical study offering people greater control over their symbolic activity" which has an impact on both social and political domains (Bazerman, 1990, p. 6). The term *rhetoric* thus has an "elastic" quality and carries a great many connotations, depending on the context, the academic discipline,²³ and the historical period referred to. For pedagogical purposes, rhetoric can be defined as the study of the principles and rules of composition, as well as skill in the effective use of speech. It might be more accurate, however, to describe both written composition and speech-making as goals, while rhetoric itself is the study of the organizing and stylistic principles which underlie and direct one's efforts in attaining these goals. In other words, at one end of its range of meanings rhetoric is concerned with the ordering of ideas; at the other end, it is concerned with the presentation of these ideas in language (Jordan, 1965, p. 3).

The following survey of the history of western rhetoric draws freely from a number of excellent historical reviews of the field, in particular Corbett's (1990)

Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student, Lindemann's (1995) *A Rhetoric for Writing Teachers*, and Kinneavy's (1971) *A Theory of Discourse*. This overview is designed to be extremely broad in scope and makes no pretense to completeness; rather, it is an attempt to describe the historical foundations of discourse studies and composition pedagogy in the West by identifying the most significant intellectual movements of the field, as well as its leading figures and their main contributions.

3.2.1 Rhetoric in classical times

For most of its history, rhetoric in the western tradition was a prominent, if not dominant, discipline in both schools and society at large. Its origins are to be found in the Hellenic world of the fifth century BC at which time the great oratorical traditions of public address were systematically developed. Rhetoric in this period was closely allied with other studies, such as aesthetics, logic, and ethics, and was considered a means for communicating great and serious ideas in public forums. However, as Corbett (1990) notes, "the practice of an art antedates its codification" and the codified principles of any discipline are almost always formulated inductively from the study of long-standing practices (p. 540). This is certainly true of the persuasive oratory of the Greeks, which played an important role in the ancient world many centuries before the first studies on the subject were written.

Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (c. 330 BC) is perhaps the most important treatise on the art of rhetoric ever written and has had a profound influence on intellectual thought in the western tradition, becoming "the fountainhead of all later rhetorical theory" (ibid., pp. 543-544): "the Rhetoric not only of Cicero and Quintilian, but of the Middle Ages, of the Renaissance, and of modern times, is, in its best elements, essentially Aristotelian" (Cooper; cited in Corbett, ibid.). The most important of Aristotle's contributions to rhetorical theory which have had a strong influence on modern discourse education are as follows: the three modes of proof (i.e., *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos*); deductive and inductive methods of logical argumentation; the topics, or *topoi*, as a means of discovering available arguments; and the stress on audience as the chief informing principle of persuasive discourse (ibid., p. 544).

The notion of *topoi* (Greek for "places"), or topics, does not mean a list of subjects as it does now, but rather a way of discovering arguments and evidence on any subject (i.e., invention). These discovery procedures included a small number of *common topoi* and a larger secondary set of lines of inquiry, such as arguing from cause and effect, from definitions, from parts to the whole, from opposites, and so on. Later, in Renaissance England, the meaning of *topoi* changed and came to mean "commonplaces," or subjects to write about. Today, topics are "subjects for writing about" rather than "ways of approaching a subject" as in Aristotle's day (Lindemann, 1995, p. 43). Many of Aristotle's *topoi* have survived, however, and

are now found in modern textbooks on composition pedagogy as modes of paragraph development.

Another important aspect of rhetoric articulated by Aristotle involved the nature of argumentation. He suggested that all arguments should have two main parts—the first part states the case, the second part proves it—and advocated four divisions in doing so: the introduction (prologue), an outline or narration of the subject (the statement of the case), the proofs for or against the case (the argument), and the summary (epilogue). These divisions were expanded upon by later rhetoricians and eventually became the classical arrangement of the parts of discourse which still serves as a model in English oratory and speech writing today. Aristotle also argued for a plain, natural style of argumentation, one that displays the qualities of clarity, dignity, propriety, and correctness, which contrasted with rhetoricians who both preceded and followed him. These ideas became a guiding force in the development of principles governing the writing canon of modern English prose when they were rediscovered prior to Renaissance times.

Classical rhetoric was primarily a spoken, not written, art. It also focused almost entirely on *persuasion*, to enable politicians, lawyers, and statesmen to argue their cases. To these ends, classical rhetoricians divided the art of rhetoric into five departments, or canons: (1) invention (Latin *inventio*; Greek *heuresis*): finding or researching one's material and discovering arguments and supporting evidence; (2) arrangement (Latin *dispositio*; Greek *taxis*): organizing one's material into the parts of an argument (see above); (3) style (Latin *elocutio*; Greek *lexis*): the fitting of the language to the audience, including the ornamenting of a discourse with traditional rhetorical devices and figures of speech; (4) memory (Latin *memoria*; Greek *mneme*): the training of the mind to ensure accurate recall, often through the use of mnemonic techniques; and (5) delivery (Latin *pronuntiatio*; Greek *hupocrisis*): techniques for presenting speeches, also known as performance. As Corbett (1990) points out, our approach to oratory and composition, even today, is very much based on these divisions of classical rhetoric.

"In oratory and rhetoric, as in so much else, the Romans were heirs to the Greeks [and] Roman oratory, by and large, was an imitation of Greek models, [which] did little more than elaborate, refine, and systematize doctrines originally staked out by Aristotle" (Ehninger, 1965, p. 169). Nevertheless, two important Roman rhetoricians followed in the wake of the Greeks: Cicero and Quintilian. Today, in addition to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, the most influential classical works on the subject of rhetoric are considered to be Cicero's *De Inventione* and *De Oratore*, and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, as well as the *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*, a work now thought to be from anonymous sources.

From Cicero comes the belief that an ideal orator ought to have a broad knowledge of many aspects of culture, resulting in the study of rhetoric becoming essentially a "liberal arts course" in later times, as his writings were particularly influential during the Renaissance among the English and continental humanists. Cicero also expanded Aristotle's division of the argument (i.e., arrangement) from four to six sections, as follows: (1) *exordium*: the introduction (to establish rapport with the audience and arouse interest); (2) *narratio*: the statement of the case (a discussion of what has occurred to generate the issue); (3) *divisio*: an outline of the points in the argument; (4) *confirmatio*: the proofs "for" the position being argued; (5) *refutatio*: the proofs disproving the opponent's claim; and (6) *peroratio*: the conclusion (a review of the argument and a final appeal to the audience). This organizational pattern is known as the "classical arrangement" and is still recommended today in writing handbooks and stylebooks for composing expository and persuasive prose (see for example, Hodges et al., 1994, pp. 371-372). In later centuries, students practiced the above sections piecemeal, and this gave rise to what are now called the "modes of composition" or "forms of discourse" (Corbett, 1990, p. 21): *narratio* became the narrative essay, *divisio* the expository essay, and *confirmatio* the argumentative essay (Lindemann, 1995, p. 44). Alexander Bain (1866), for example, established five modes of composition, four of which are still commonly used today: exposition, narration, description, and argumentation.

The name invariably coupled with Cicero is that of Quintilian, who agreed that a rhetor must be broadly educated, but also insisted that a good orator must also be a moral individual. With Quintilian, the divisions of the argument became reduced to five, as *divisio* became incorporated into *narratio*, and this eventually resulted in "the old familiar 5-division expository composition—which comes straight from classical rhetoric" (West, 1989, p. 25). This pattern of organization continues to be widely used in English as a model for effective speaking and writing, emphasizing the importance of indicating the main divisions of the presentation or composition at the outset (*divisio*) and restating the main idea or the main points of the division in the conclusion (*peroratio*), paraphrasing the thesis and setting it in a wider context.

Another important work from this time was the *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*, which is the earliest extant Latin work on rhetoric and the earliest treatment of prose style in Latin. This treatise has the most complete coverage of style and delivery of any of the ancient works, and suggests three levels of style—grand, middle, and plain—designed to move, delight, or teach an audience, respectively. Although this work was virtually unknown in the ancient world, it enjoyed wide popularity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, and became a basic elementary text in schools in England during the Tudor Age.

Quintilian and Cicero were to have an enormous effect on education in the West from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance and beyond, but during the classical period, higher education in Greece and Rome was composed of two main streams derived from earlier thinkers—rhetoric and dialectic:

Systematic higher education began as a device for military training around 320 BC and continued well into the third century AD. These colleges...spread throughout more than 100 Hellenistic cities. Two ideals dominated the college, the speech-maker and the debater. In a real sense they can be said to be the legacies of Isocrates and Plato, respectively. The first [i.e., rhetoric] dominated all higher education in Greece and Rome. Rhetoric here does not mean a general study of communication—as it now often does. Rhetoric here means a science of persuasion, academic eloquence. (Kinneavy, 1971, p. 7)

Kinneavy (1971) argues that formal education in the western tradition has always emphasized these two interwoven strands, but their importance relative to one another varied according to the particular period of history. In classical times, rhetoric dominated higher education, while its counterpart, dialectic, which arose from the influence of the Platonic and Aristotelian traditions of philosophy, did not have its primary impact in the West until later (*ibid.*, p. 8). Rhetoric clearly played the more important role in the education system of the classical period, and preparatory work for higher education usually included exercises in composition, as well as some history and mathematics and a little debating—but all was essentially in preparation for rhetoric:

[I]n Antiquity, three main aims of language structured the training in the art of discourse: the literary, the persuasive (rhetorical), and the pursuit of truth (dialectical). The analysis of literary texts was the province of the secondary school: the other two aims were 'collegiate' and university concerns. In composition, which was directed to a preparation for rhetoric, certain forms or modes were thought to be basic to all composition (narrative, description, eulogy, and definition) and structured the composition program. (*ibid.*)

The "set speech and the imitation of models" were the primary methods of learning at this time, and these "[m]odels were exemplars of the kinds of compositions to be found in speeches" in which the traditional divisions of the argument were carefully followed, and exercises in composition were done solely in preparation for speech (*ibid.*, pp. 7-8).

3.2.2 Rhetoric in the medieval period

The medieval period witnessed the ever-increasing dominance of ecclesiastical authority, and as a result, public oratory went into a steady decline, being confined mainly to ceremonial occasions or to the schoolroom. For the next thousand years, "[t]he art of rhetoric stood still, if it actually did not retrogress" (Corbett, 1990, p. 549). Rhetoric went through a number of transformations during this period due largely to the influence of the Christian Church and later as a result of the emerging

nation-states of Europe. There was an important shift in emphasis from invention (i.e., the discovery of arguments), as emphasized by Aristotle, to style. Invention became less significant because all truths were assigned by the Bible, as "invented" by God. Principles of style, however, helped convince others of God's truth and to explain God's word. In this way, classical learning and rhetorical principles were accommodated to Christian theology and the interpretation of scriptural truths and in persuading people to live by them.

Educational institutions during the Middle Ages, and in fact well up to the twentieth century, reflect Quintilian's insistence on the moral as well as intellectual training of students. All European education during the medieval period took place in Latin, and as soon as children could read and write, they received basic instruction in grammar, including speaking and writing correctly and the interpretation of poems, as taught by a grammar teacher (the *grammaticus*). Students were taught rules for proper word order, agreement, and vocabulary, and were given lectures on every kind of writer, which they then had to imitate through recitations. Thus, grammar in the medieval period meant the systematic study of both language and literary texts, and learning continued to take place by imitating and paraphrasing models. After students reached an acceptable level, a second teacher, the *rhetoricus*, began rhetorical studies, and all were expected to master the five departments of classical rhetoric. At higher levels of education, debate and disputation within limits laid down by the Christian church became the new focus (cf. scholasticism). In this way, the main concern of the college shifted from rhetoric to dialectic, and composition modes of the Middle Ages were designed to prepare students for dialectic, just as written preparatory exercises in the classical period had been designed for rhetoric:

Whereas in Antiquity, the main determinant of academic success was delivery of the set speech (the declamation), in the Middle Ages, each stage of progress in the academic world was determined by the ability to engage in dialectical debate. This concept...permeated higher education till the nineteenth century. ...Although in Antiquity the literary analyses (*grammar*) and preparatory composition exercises were all oriented to the ultimate delivery of the well-prepared speech, from the Middle Ages till the eighteenth century, all studies were oriented to the defense of ideas in a debate with one's colleagues or with one's masters. The medieval debate was practically coextensive with education, for around the successive debate exercises was organized the student's progress through the school system. (Kinneavy, 1971, pp. 8-9)

In the later medieval period, undergraduate students at universities studied the *trivium* of grammar, rhetoric, and logic, while postgraduate students received training in the *quadrivium* of arithmetic, astronomy, music, and geometry. The province of rhetoric focused on two main arts: the art of letter writing (*ars dictaminis*) was emphasized in the law schools, and the arts of preaching (*artes praedicandi*) were part of theological training. Training in rhetoric was seen as

useful for a career in secular and ecclesiastical courts where letter writing became an important means of conducting legal and diplomatic transactions, and also served the clergy in persuading congregations to follow Christian principles.

3.2.3 Rhetoric during the Renaissance

The Renaissance is said to mark the transition from the medieval to the modern world in Europe, at which time there was a great revival of art, literature, science, and learning. The recent rediscovery of Greek and Roman classics was the main intellectual catalyst, and scholars known as humanists studied them enthusiastically, with early efforts centered on reconciling the newly discovered classical knowledge with Christian precepts, while later efforts were devoted to bringing the classics to terms with the newly emerging sciences.

With the arrival of the Renaissance and the gradual development of free institutions in the western world, rhetoric and public address began to regain much of their ancient influence. The classical revival of rhetoric provided the foundation for the important tradition of scholastic disputation, a question-and-answer procedure used not only for academic instruction but also for exploring problems in philosophy, theology, and the sciences, while the development of the printing press in the fifteenth century brought a new focus to rhetoric, as scholars were now able to apply rhetorical principles to written discourse as well. From its origins ancient Greece, through its flourishing period during the Roman Empire, and into its decline in the Middle Ages, rhetoric had been associated mainly with oratory. In medieval times, letter writing was also included, but with the advent of typography in the Renaissance, rhetorical precepts started to be applied on a large scale to written discourse (Corbett, 1990, p. 20). Equally important was the fact that although rhetoric had been associated almost exclusively with the art of persuasion in earlier times, its principles were now extended to include expository modes.

The most influential contributor to the development of rhetoric in England during the Renaissance was the Dutch humanist Erasmus (*ibid.*, p. 550), who wrote a number of books at the beginning of the sixteenth century which dealt with both pedagogy and rhetoric and which "set the pattern for the English grammar-school curriculum and for rhetorical training in the schools" (*ibid.*). He maintained that students could learn to write and speak well through discriminating reading and constant practice, thus foreshadowing the modern adage that "you learn to write by writing, writing, and more writing" (*ibid.*). He also recommended keeping a "commonplace book" for jotting down new ideas and passages from reading, paraphrasing poetry into prose and vice versa, rendering the same subject into two or more styles, and proving propositions along several different lines of argument (*ibid.*). His books were widely used in Tudor schools to help students develop

elegance and variety in expression in Latin, and his influence on Renaissance rhetoricians led to a widespread concern for classifying and cataloguing *copia*—literally "abundance," but meaning "fullness of expression." That is, one achieves fullness of expression by gathering many things to say on a subject and by developing a variety of different ways of saying the same thing.

Until this time, rhetorics had always been written in Greek or Latin, "and most of the compositions by English schoolboys up to the second decade of the sixteenth century were in Latin" (ibid., p. 553). With the publishing of newly rediscovered classical literature came a renewed interest in the works of the chief Greek rhetoricians, and "it was not long before rhetoric [again] became the dominant discipline in...schools and universities" (ibid.). Although the rhetoric taught in schools was basically Aristotelian, the *Rhetoric* was never widely used, and it was the Latin rhetoricians, especially Cicero, Quintilian, and the anonymous author of *Ad Herennium*, who dominated education. William Lyly's *Grammar of Latin* (1544), for example, was a preparation for Cicero, Virgil, and Ovid—"poetry and eloquence were reasserted in the Renaissance, and Cicero dethroned Aristotle and Plato" (Kinneavy, 1971, p. 10). Secondary schools again began to stress preparation for rhetoric as during the classical period. The dialectical tradition was becoming sterile, even farcical, but at the universities disputations continued, and it was not until 1722 that Cambridge went over to written exams, while Oxford only added them to the orals (ibid.).

A movement also developed at this time to get students to orate and write in the vernacular, and the first known instance of the use of English as the vehicle of instruction in schools was c. 1349 when French was discarded (ibid., p. 5). But even up to the late 1500s, students were still studying in Latin in English schools, and in colleges and universities the use of Latin proved more difficult to displace (ibid.). According to Corbett (op. cit.), vernacular rhetorics produced during the English Renaissance can be classified into three groups: the traditionalists, the figurists, and the Ramists. The traditionalists viewed all five departments of rhetoric as important, the figurists emphasized style above all and were most concerned with rhetorical devices and figures of speech, and the Ramists (after the French scholar Peter Ramus) assigned invention, arrangement, and memory to the field of logic, and allocated only style and delivery to rhetoric. This narrowly defined Ramist orientation and its preoccupation with style and ornamentation eventually led to the decline of rhetoric in the eighteenth century.

3.2.4 Rhetoric from the Renaissance to modern times

During the centuries that followed the Renaissance, there developed in the English-speaking world a "war between the plain, unadorned method of human

discourse and the elegant and ornate" (Winterowd; cited in Lindemann, 1995, p. 48). This conflict centered on how prominent scholars believed classical principles should be adapted to new developments in literature and the sciences. Three perspectives were prominent: the elocutionary, the literary, and the scientific. The elocutionary approach emphasized delivery and tried to advance the art of public speaking. Its main venues were public lectures, parliamentary debates, and pulpit oratory, and many of its principles are still taught in speech communication classes today (e.g., lessons in elocution). The literary perspective was concerned not so much with oratory, but with literary texts. It encompassed a wide range of conflicting views concerning style, some of which later became precursors to modern literary criticism. The scientific approach stressed the importance of invention as a means of discovering truth and advocated a plain style of writing, the separation of logic and rhetoric, and the importance of inductive processes, rather than deductive syllogisms, in the empirical study of nature. Writing in the scientific style was characterized by relatively short sentences, simple words, and little ornamentation, so that research findings could be communicated clearly.

In education, rhetoric remained an important part of the university curriculum, and as late as the nineteenth century, colleges had departments of rhetoric. There was popular interest in public lectures and debates, and university courses generally stressed oratory, rhetoric, and logic, which were often taught by clergymen or moral philosophers. University students attended lectures on rhetoric and formed debating societies, some of which still survive today. During the eighteenth century the disputation system started to disappear in many universities, although at some schools it was still important until the middle of the nineteenth century. Although the dialectical system of examinations and promotions gradually disintegrated, the content remained traditional—freshman and sophomore years were devoted to translating Latin and Greek classics, rhetoric, mathematics, and some natural science, while the final two years incorporated logic, ethics, metaphysics, Christian apologetics, history, modern languages, and sciences such as biology and geology (Kinneavy, 1971, p. 11). The nineteenth century saw the beginnings of the separation of English literature from the classics, but it was late in the century before most universities established English departments. English literature, however, was still tied to logic, rhetoric, and philology. Eventually, logic and rhetoric were delegated back to philosophy (where logic went through further mutations to assume its quasi-mathematical modern forms), rhetoric gradually disappeared in most schools, and philology evolved into the modern science of linguistics (*ibid.*).

In America, as the emphasis in education shifted more and more from speaking to writing and higher education became increasingly diversified into departments and specialized majors, English departments were established and literature studies

began to dominate them for the first time. Rhetoric was also incorporated into these departments by the end of the nineteenth century, but the term *rhetoric* itself fell out of fashion, eventually being replaced by the term *composition*, which dealt exclusively with written discourse. Literature was used to teach freshman composition courses, and Alexander Bain's *English Composition and Rhetoric* (1866) became one of the most influential works of the times, promoting the four modes of written discourse still widely used today. Bain's work also helped initiate a pattern of instruction known as "the doctrine of the paragraph" which moved from the word to the sentence to the paragraph to the whole composition. This was accompanied by a method of instruction centered on various methods for developing the paragraph which were really an adaptation of Aristotle's *topoi* (or "topics"), as well as an insistence on the importance of "the holy trinity of unity, coherence, and emphasis" (Corbett, 1990, p. 572):

Possibly the most important contribution of the nineteenth century, as far as a theory of discourse is concerned, was a clearer classification of the modes of discourse. Alexander Bain, philosopher and psychologist, established the modes (then called forms) of discourse as being: narration, exposition, description, argumentation, and persuasion. The first four quickly became the structuring principles of many composition books in the next half century. They are still accepted modes in many high school and college texts.²⁴ (Kinneavy, 1971, p. 12)

Because of their emphasis on a broad understanding of culture and insistence on intellectual and moral training, Cicero and Quintilian were the two most important classical influences on education in England and America during this entire period. "The moral bias was especially important, because from the seventeenth through most of the nineteenth century the English and American school systems were dominated largely by clergymen" (Corbett, 1990, p. 547). Writing education at this time reflected a combination of two traditions: Aristotelian, based on syllogistic reasoning, and Galilean, based on hierarchical taxonomies (Kaplan, 1988, p. 290). As a result, "traditional school [writing], from the middle of the eighteenth century well into the twentieth..., placed great value on clarity and precision in the framework of a rigorously logical system..." (ibid.), and this is the origin of our modern approaches to written discourse.

Although the study of rhetoric had been the central discipline of the school curriculum for extended periods of its long history, and skill in oratory and writing had been a key to success in the courts, the parliament, and the church from ancient times, in the twentieth century it fell into disfavor in the educational institutions of the western world, and along with Latin, has largely been expunged from most modern curricula. It is now little known in western society at large:

The first two decades [of the twentieth century] saw some very violent readjustments, more violent undoubtedly than any before or since in the history of western civilization. Beginning

around 1913, the formal divorce of speech from English was sought by people who felt that speech was being neglected in English departments.... Departments of speech were created and courses such as elocution, eloquence, declamation, and rhetoric were popular early. These emphases declined in the twenties, and public speaking, debate, argumentation, and discussion received more emphasis.... In a sense, the speech people took rhetoric (the art of persuasion) with them; only now is it being invited back. Secondly, logic also departed and found a haven in philosophy and later—with the marriage of logic and mathematics in Russell and Whitehead—in departments of mathematics. ...With the departure of logic and rhetoric, discourse education as the locus of the traditional liberal arts can be said to have effectively ceased. These removals cleared the way for English to be a department of literature and philology.... Philology, mainly in its historical facets, often dominated the literature component of the department in these early decades [but later left literature behind to become what is known today as linguistics]. (Kinneavy, 1971, p. 13)

In summary, towards the end of the nineteenth century and at the turn of the twentieth, the study of rhetoric ceased to be a separate discipline in most educational institutions in the English-speaking world with the exception of a small number of American universities which have maintained separate departments of rhetoric. In most cases, the traditional functions of rhetoric were transferred to other disciplines such as philosophy, speech communication, composition pedagogy, and linguistics. Composition pedagogy now provides a venue for the practical application of rhetoric in written form, while in the field of linguistics, the relatively recent disciplines of discourse analysis and text linguistics have assumed responsibility for many of the theoretical underpinnings of the ancient art of rhetoric.

3.2.5 The new rhetoric

The latter half of the twentieth century has witnessed a resurgence of interest in rhetoric in a different form. Scholars such as Burke, Kinneavy, Perleman, and Toulmin have all helped to develop this "new rhetoric" in very different directions, incorporating recent perspectives and refinements in linguistics, anthropology, psychology, and political science, while from later practitioners such as Christensen and Berthoff come practical applications for teaching composition.

Burke, who has perhaps had the greatest impact on rhetoric in this century, focuses on language itself, asserting that all human beings are linguistic animals, using and misusing symbols. He views rhetoric as a function of language that enables people to overcome the divisions separating them, and "identification" is a key concept in his theory: "The key term for the old rhetoric was 'persuasion' and its stress upon deliberate design. The key term for the 'new' rhetoric would be 'identification'...., as when the politician seeks to identify himself with his audience" (Burke; cited in Lindemann, 1995, p. 54). Burke's major contribution to rhetorical theory has been his attempt to broaden its scope and connect all acts of language within the social fabric of the culture in which they occur. Kinneavy's work brings together the classical and contemporary elements of rhetoric—his theory is

essentially Aristotelian, but also incorporates perspectives from modern linguistics, literary criticism, philosophy, and sociology. He avoids the term *rhetoric* because it can now take on multiple and often shifting meanings and focuses instead on the term *discourse* as "the full text...of an oral or written situation." He also emphasizes the use of language to purposefully communicate ideas to an audience, thus bringing the notion of "audience" to the forefront of modern theories of rhetoric. Another important contributor to the "new rhetoric" is the Belgian philosopher Perelman, who along with his colleague Olbrechts-Tyteca, applied non-formal modes of reasoning, such as the kind of "dialectical" proofs Aristotle utilized in the *Rhetoric*, to argumentation in jurisprudence. The English philosopher Toulmin was also dissatisfied with the applicability of formal logic to the problems of human affairs and developed a specific method of argumentation based on claims and warrants. In other manifestations, the "new rhetoric" has focused more on political and social relationships, viewing rhetoric as a tool for social change. From a social constructionist perspective (sometimes termed *constructivist*), there has been an investigation into "how the use of...languages reproduces and maintains social activities and relations, how languages are sustained by social institutions..., [and how language is] one of the chief mechanisms by which our sense of reality is negotiated" (Bazerman, 1990, pp. 77-78). Closely related to this perspective is critical discourse analysis which examines "how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations, and systems of knowledge and belief" (Widdowson, 1995, p. 158).²⁵

3.3 English rhetorical style

Although rhetoric is a notoriously difficult concept to define, three constituent elements have generally been recognized by researchers: "organization, style, and argumentation" (Purves, 1986, p. 50; see also Kinneavy, 1971). Rhetorical organization has been the subject of extensive research in English and can be readily accessed from composition textbooks and handbooks on writing,²⁶ but the latter two components, style and argumentation, are far more difficult to explain and are often conflated into a single, often vague, constellation of notions, that of *style*, as in "the preferred writing style" of a language. An understanding of the qualities reflected in this preferred style of writing, how they originated, and why they continue to be valued in the language, will allow us to develop pedagogical approaches to L2 composition that can provide answers to questions such as the following: "What are we aiming for in student writing, and why are we aiming there?" "What qualities or attributes are we seeking in student writing?" "What standards, norms, and

conventions would we like our students to emulate in terms of a desired style of written English?"

For most EL2 students, the acquisition of a mature and sophisticated writing style, especially in academic fields, is a most difficult task, not only because the process always requires a lengthy apprenticeship and cannot simply be acquired from textbooks (Holyoak & Piper, 1997), but also because the concept of style itself is problematic, as it falls within the realm of a diverse collection of disciplines, including rhetoric, composition pedagogy, linguistics, stylistics, and literary criticism, each of which has its own particular agenda and understanding of what style should mean:

Many of the terms used in the study of language are 'loaded', in that they have a number of different, sometimes overlapping, sometimes contradictory and controversial senses, both at popular and scholarly levels. The word *STYLE* is a particularly good example of the kind of confusion that can arise. The multiplicity of meanings which surround this concept—or perhaps set of concepts—testifies to its importance in the history of English language studies.... (Crystal, 1975, p. 199)

3.3.1 Definitions of style

According to Crystal, (ibid., pp. 199-201), the term *style* is used in the following three ways: (1) in a narrow sense, mostly in literary criticism, referring to the distinctive characteristics of some single author's use of language (e.g., Wordsworth's style, or the style of the mature Shakespeare); (2) in a collective sense, in the development of particular genres of literature, referring to the style of "schools" of literary figures (e.g., the style of the Romantic poets); and (3) in the sense of a *quality of expression*, which is extremely difficult to precisely define because it involves intuitive judgments, including the need for both descriptive and evaluative elements for which there is not likely to be a single clear answer.

Hymes (cited in Kinneavy, 1971, p. 359) views the concept of style from a somewhat different perspective, stating that "[it] may be investigated both as deviations from a norm and as 'a system of coherent ways or patterns of doing things.'" In this sense, there are two distinct notions which define style—style as deviation and style as "systematicity"—and these two perspectives are "probably the dominant views of style in linguistics, stylistics, and literary theory in this century."

In yet another approach, Enkvist (1965) suggests that style is a kind of mysterious and objectively unverifiable essence, a "higher, active principle of composition by which the writer penetrates and reveals the inner form of his subject" (pp. 10-11). He notes that it is difficult to be objective about such an "ineffable notion" and provides an overview of some of the less subjective ways in which style has been defined. In addition, his analogy of style as a "shell"

surrounding a pre-existing core of thought or expression has attained some measure of popularity in recent times (p. 12).

All definitions of style continue to raise serious problems, however, because they must address both individualistic and institutionally collective levels of understanding. For some, the most intractable problem in the linguistic study of style (i.e., stylistics) is that linguists are not normally permitted an evaluative role—their task is basically descriptive, not in deciding if one particular style is good or bad, but in ensuring that all the features of that style are understood; in other words, linguists are involved with quantitative assessments, not qualitative. For others, it is literary criticism, not linguistics, that should be given the task of articulating our collective feelings about style. Because it does not claim to be a science, literary criticism is allowed an evaluative role, which is, at least in part, subjective (Adolph, 1968, p. 2). On the other hand, Crystal (1975, p. 220) argues that the notion of style is related to "the study of meaning...at the level of discourse" and "the way in which the overall meaning of a use of language is organized," which seems to place it back within the purview of linguistics, thus lending itself to the argument that it is both possible and acceptable for linguists to be qualitative in their descriptions without being evaluative (James, personal communication).

3.3.2 The origins of modern English prose style

The origins of the modern style of written English can be traced to a period some 350-400 years ago during the time of the Restoration (c. 1660) when a great stylistic shift took place in the way prose was written: "Scholars, critics, and more common readers agree that today's standard literary prose style arose around the time of the Restoration" (Adolph, 1968, p. 1). Restoration prose has since come to mean many things—"ease of comprehension, elimination of ornament, fluency, brevity, and neatness of structure"—but "the critical terms most frequently applied..., both then and now, are its *precision, clarity, and plainness*" (ibid., pp. 2 & 222; my italics). English prose after this time and continuing up to the present day has become "a means of useful communication rather than self-expression or overt artifice," and once the norm was established, "infinite possibilities for artistic expression through variation" were made possible (ibid., p. 7). As Kinneavy (1971, p. 170) states, "[t]he main prescriptions of [the modern prose style] in English had been consciously written by the mid-seventeenth century. There have been refinements since but only rare dissension." The style of writing established in Restoration times thus remains the standard today, and though variations on the norm are quite rightly of interest to specialists in the field, the primary concern for composition pedagogy is to isolate the norm itself so that its main features can be taught to students.

In the late Middle Ages, the English language was still very much in the process of development. During the period of roughly 1100 to 1300 AD, for instance, it was essentially a hybrid language composed of French (spoken by the nobility), Latin (used by the Church and by scholars and in such schools as existed in those times), and English, or more accurately, Anglo-Saxon dialects (spoken by the common people) (Sedland, 1994, p. 10). In the early sixteenth century, as English pride in the achievements of the nation grew, a movement developed to get students to orate and write in the vernacular, although it was not until the next century that written and spoken forms of English became codified into patterns that all members of society were expected to follow. However, "when English first became respectable enough to replace French and Latin as England's institutional language, our first impulse toward elegance produced a prose style thick with Latinate abstraction..." (Williams, 1989, p. 3). Later historians would complain that "...of all the studies of men, nothing may sooner be obtained than this vicious abundance of phrase, this trick of metaphors, this volubility of tongue which makes so great a noise in the world..." (Thomas Sprat, 1667; cited in Williams, 1989, p. 3). The shift in prose style in Restoration times was a move away from this ornamentalism and artifice, and it was accompanied by many of the codifications of the English language which remain with us today. For example, the sentence replaced "the period" as the logical unit of discourse, punctuation, grammar, and forms of speech were standardized, and the spread of typography helped seventeenth century writers replace Latin and establish the regulation and fixation of European vernaculars by reducing all expression to "linear" sequences (ibid., p. 19). "From the Restoration on, normal literary prose is, to use Marshall McLuhan's terms, a 'linear' product of the 'print culture.' The chief aim of such prose is useful public communication. Therefore it is made to seem 'rational' or 'precise'..." (ibid., p. 245).²⁷

Nevertheless, "the seventeenth century was very self-conscious about its stylistic reforms [and] in an interminable series of arguments, observations, manifestos, and programs it wrestled with the problems of style and the uses of language in general" (ibid., p. 3). Although the great stylistic shift in English prose occurring in Restoration times is now accepted as an established fact, there have been vigorous debates as to *why* this shift took place at this particular time in history. There is general agreement that it had something to do with the emergence of the new science, but there has been much disagreement about the dates and causes of the shift. This disagreement centered on a lengthy debate between two scholars and their followers earlier in this century known today as "the Croll-Jones controversy." For Croll the conflict of the times was between ornamental and plain styles of writing deriving from competing perspectives on communication that dated back to Christian humanism and classical times,²⁸ and the transition toward true

modernity in English writing occurred sometime around 1600. For Jones, the opposition was between the newly emerging scientific style of writing and the dominant ornamental style of earlier times, and he argued that the shift occurred more gradually in the period from 1600 to 1660 AD. According to Adolph (1968), the present-day view tends towards the importance of the rise of the new science at this time, but without denying the significance of other factors as well. In fact, it is generally believed that it was not science per se that gave rise to the new prose style, but rather the underlying utilitarian philosophy that defined this particular period of history. There is general acceptance today that the prose style of modern English is continuous with the wider western traditions of classical antiquity and Christian humanism, as Croll argued, but also with Jones' standpoint that science played a pivotal role in this shift, within a wider framework of the utilitarianism of the times.

The emerging scientific perspective of the seventeenth century emphasized the importance of invention²⁹ as a means of discovering truth and advocated a plain style of writing. Francis Bacon was considered a leading proponent of this style. He argued for the separation of logic from rhetoric and stressed the importance of inductive processes rather than deductive syllogisms in scientific research, as well as a new way of communicating the findings of this research in plain and clear language. Bacon thus had an important influence on the development of conciseness and clarity in scientific writing:

The utilitarianism of Bacon's style can be shown more dramatically by a comparison of his prose with that of his [Elizabethan] predecessors and contemporaries. ...[T]he distinctive qualities of Elizabethan prose which readers have always felt—its exuberant artifice, its sensuousness, its moralizing cast—are largely lacking in Bacon, even when he is most rhetorical. ... Though living amidst the great Elizabethan delight in language for its own sake, Bacon distrusted [such use of] words [and his] stylistic legacy to his Restoration followers is great. (Adolph, 1968, pp. 68-76)

A later spur to the development of the "restrained prose" of the scientific style was the Royal Society of London for the Advancement of Science which was established to provide scientists with government support for their research. In 1664, two years after its founding, the Royal Society named a committee for the improvement of the English language. Although this project never went much beyond the planning stage, it had a good deal of influence on the kind of prose being written at the time, giving impetus and support to the formation of a "scientific" style of writing:

Havelock (1963, 1976) points out that with the emphasis on literacy both in classical Greece and in post-reformation England there was a great concern to make sentences say exactly, neither more nor less than what they meant. Poetry and proverbial sayings, which mean more and less than what they say, were rejected as means of expressing truth by Plato and 2000 years later by members of the Royal Society of London who, according to their historian

Spratt (1667/1966), were devoted both to the advancement of science and to the improvement of the English language as a medium of prose. (Hildyard & Olson, 1982, p. 20)

The question of the intellectual and sociological roots of the Royal Society are complicated and there is probably no completely satisfactory explanation for so much scientific talent appearing at the same time at this period in history. Nevertheless, it was the Royal Society's preference for utilitarianism that helped shape the prose style of the day in its appeal for a "close, naked, natural way of speaking" (Adolph, 1968, pp. 96 & 112).

One of the members of the Royal Society's committee for improving the English language was John Dryden, known today as the father of modern English prose. According to Sedland (1994), Dryden was undoubtedly the best writer of his time and wrote in all the main literary forms except the novel—poetry, drama, translation, and the critical essay. He set the literary standards for his age and for generations to follow by working tirelessly to develop a new prose style, suitable for the emerging modern English. With other members of the Royal Society, he urged the use of a plain and clear style to convey scientific truths. In poetry as well, Dryden urged his countrymen to write more simply (as opposed to the metaphysical poetry of the preceding century), and led the way toward a more restrained, natural, and "easy" style. In the essay, too, Dryden advocated clear, reasonable, and carefully controlled writing, with well-developed reasoning "brought to a conclusion in the final strong assertion" (ibid., p. 79). Dryden was perhaps most influential in the development of a "middle style" of writing which tempered the more extreme elements of the plain, utilitarian style promoted by some of his colleagues who advocated the establishment of literary symbols having the precision and stability of mathematical symbols. Closely allied with this concern was his encouragement of the use of vernacular rather than Latinate syntax, allowing for more naturalness, ease, and spontaneity in writing (ibid.). As a result, during the seventeenth century, the groundwork was being laid for "the development of the kind of easy, natural, colloquial prose style that prevails today...[as illustrated in] the plain but elegant prose found in such magazines as *The New Yorker* and *Harper's*..." (Corbett, 1990, p. 563). This kind of writing "had its origin during the Restoration period with writers like Dryden, Bunyan, and Temple..." (ibid.).

According to Adolph (1968, pp. 6-7), in addition to the rise of science and a reaction against the ornamental style of writing in previous centuries, there were other influences on the development of the modern prose style: the new journalism, the rise of rationalism, and the newly emerging Protestant ethic, especially in the form of Puritanism. All had a general requirement that "prose be a vehicle of useful communication rather than a medium which calls attention to itself either as

conscious art or self-expression" (ibid.). The movement toward a plain and utilitarian style of writing was particularly strong among early Puritan writers, foreshadowing the style of the Restoration—"its passionate austerity is profoundly Christian, and especially Protestant"—and "Bunyan's and Defoe's austere narratives are worlds apart stylistically from Elizabethan fiction" (ibid., pp. 164 & 246):

In the Restoration prose became prosaic. Writers as different as Bunyan and Dryden understand prose as a vehicle for communicating intelligibly rather than revealing the mind of the author or speaker or showing off his command of literary devices. A writer like Defoe is close to this norm and is the best possible evidence that great art can emerge from utilitarian presuppositions [viewing] things not in themselves but leading up to ends. The style then must progress, and it must be plain and, at least for Defoe, impersonal—in a word, modern. Once the norm is established, writers like...Swift achieve fine effects by artful deviations from it. Before the Restoration there is no settled norm at all. (ibid., pp. 302 & 288)

Like Puritan prose, 'scientific' style sacrifices rhetorical devices because its real significance is not in itself, but in another purpose beyond itself, new discoveries leading ultimately to 'good works' (that favorite word of both Puritans and Baconians). Both 'science' and Puritanism are intensely empirical, for in both the most inconsequential-seeming details of life are significant, and therefore to be observed closely. Inevitably there is the same concentration...on things rather than on words and rhetoric. (ibid., p. 276)

Linguistically, as well, this new prose style can be distinguished from its predecessor. Prior to the Restoration, the dominant style of writing was characterized by...

...various rhetorical devices, such as figures, tropes, metaphors, and similes, or similitudes, to use a term of the period. The sentences are long, often obscurely involved, and rhythmical, developing in...a stately cadence.... The penchant for interlarding a work with Latin and Greek quotations is also apparent. The diction reveals a host of exotic words, many Latinisms, and frequently poetic phraseology of rare beauty." (Jones; cited in Adolph, 1968, p. 21)

After the Restoration, however, there was an predominant shift in emphasis to...

...a detached point of view, causal explanations, syntax like mathematical ratios, technical terms, and the series of balanced progressions.... Restoration prose...make[s] for an impersonal style [which can be traced to a] desire...to base...generalizations upon objective procedure divorced from the variable of individual subjectivity. ...[T]he special devices the Restoration used to achieve the utilitarian goals it designated for prose are the basis of modern prose style [and] the stylistic result is the impersonal, progressive kind of plainness that seems 'modern' to us. (Adolph, 1968, pp. 244, 279, & 301)³⁰

Whether one stresses the influence of the newly emerging science, the reaction against the ornamentation and artifice of a previous age, or the passionate austerity of Puritan writers, it is widely accepted among scholars today that the ultimate influence on the new prose style was "the new utilitarianism around which the values of the age are integrated" (ibid., p. 6), although terms such as "utility" and "science" were never used in such a clear-cut way in those days:

[Utilitarianism at this time was never more than a] vague, undefined instrumentalism. Except for its generally pragmatic, empirical, 'English' quality, it never had much in common with the more systematic doctrines of Bentham or Mill. But though vague, it was extremely powerful. 'Utility' was one of those words, like our 'Freedom' or 'Democracy'.... 'Science' is a much more potent word for us than for the seventeenth century, in which it referred, in a formal way, to any body of systematic thought or skills. Medieval philosophy and rhetoric were 'sciences.' The nearest equivalent to our word 'Science' were tentative circumlocutions like 'the New Philosophy' or 'the experimental way'. (ibid., pp. 7-8)

Although the seventeenth century conceived of utilitarianism in "a very broad and quite unphilosophical way to refer to that outlook which values things as means to ultimate ends rather than things...for their own sakes" (ibid., p. 243), it was nevertheless utilitarian concerns that motivated the development of the new prose style. As Adolph (ibid., p. 302) states, "utilitarian prose is written in all ages. To my knowledge though, the Restoration is the first time in English history when utilitarian criteria become the official doctrine for literary prose in general" (ibid.).

3.3.3 The writing canon of modern English

According to Scollon and Scollon (1995, p. 94), the writing canon of modern English, expresses a philosophy of communication in which all information should be conveyed as clearly, briefly, and sincerely as possible (the C-B-S pattern found in many composition textbooks), and this style of communication is now widely seen as the norm in contemporary academic and professional communication of all kinds. The historical question is this, however (ibid., p. 99): "[W]hen did we come to assume that communication should be analytic, original, move rapidly forward, have a unified thesis, avoid unnecessary digressions, and in essence, present only the most essential information?" The answer, of course, is to be found in the seventeenth century and the emerging utilitarian ethic as the preferred style for scientific deliberations in institutions such as the Royal Society of London. As Scollon and Scollon note, "[a]s science and technology have risen in the west to their current central position, business has risen together with them, and this preferred style has been carried with it into near total dominance in our thinking about effective communication" (ibid., p. 101):

It is not just a matter of convenience that the C-B-S style has come to symbolize the communication of international business exchanges. Both the communication style and the economic principles were laid out together at the same time in history, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and often by the same writers. They are products of exactly the same psychology, philosophy, and worldview. (ibid.)

The utilitarian ethic which arose in Restoration England as a rather vague and undefined notion became codified and systematized a century later as a mature body of philosophical thought called Utilitarianism during the Enlightenment, setting the

course "for western and world development for the next two or three centuries" (ibid., p. 100). All writing during the Enlightenment was "based on the flowering of scientific and philosophical writing of the immediately preceding period" and communication styles were based on the underlying utilitarian ethic that gave it form (ibid., pp. 100-101). The term "Utilitarianism" was coined by Jeremy Bentham, whose writings became "extremely influential in the development of contemporary western economic, political, and social life..." (ibid., pp. 101-102). It was further developed by John Stuart Mill, becoming "the philosophical basis of the core of contemporary western social and economic life" (ibid., p. 102). In the last two hundred years, Utilitarianism "has come to the position of the central and dominating discourse system throughout the western world" (ibid., p. 114), and it is now widely believed to be the key to success in our international political and economic systems (ibid., p. 120).

According to Scollon and Scollon (ibid., pp. 114-115), the predominant ideology underlying the Utilitarian discourse system is one of individualism and egalitarianism, its preferred forms include deductive rhetorical patterns, and the essay or research paper are its prototypical forms in academic circles, while the business letter exemplifies Utilitarian principles in the business world:³¹

Within this system there is a reinforced emphasis on direct talk, on avoiding elaboration and extravagance, and on promoting close, egalitarian social relationships. The Utilitarian discourse system has little tolerance for hierarchical social relationships, and even when they exist, it is assumed they should be set aside in contexts of public communication. (ibid.)

Scollon and Scollon identify six main characteristics of the forms of discourse preferred within the Utilitarian system, among which "the essay is the most typical example" (ibid., pp. 107). It is (1) anti-rhetorical (in the pejorative sense), (2) positivist-empirical ("one should reject any evidence but the empirical and positive evidence of his...own observations"), (3) deductive (an overall preference for a deductive strategy in the introduction of topics), (4) individualistic ("writers should avoid set phrases, metaphors, proverbs, and clichés, and strive to make their statements fresh and original...by producing original phrasings and statements"), (5) egalitarian (even if individuals have unequal positions in society, from the point of view of the discourse system, it is implied that they are equals), and (6) public (institutionally sanctioned; i.e., there is a screening process that one must go through in order to get one's written ideas published).

These principles of Utilitarianism are clearly reflected today in handbooks on writing such as *The New Oxford Guide to Writing: A Rhetoric and Handbook for College Students* (Kane, 1988) and *Harbrace College Handbook* (Hodges et al., 1994), stylebooks such as *Ten Lessons in Clarity and Grace* (Williams, 1989) and

The Elements of Style (Strunk & White, 1979), and publication manuals such as the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* [APA] (1994) and *The Chicago Manual of Style* (1993). Textbooks such as these act as a "repository of the accumulated knowledge of the field, a distillation of successes and failures over many years" (*APA Manual*, 1994, p. 1). The advice that they offer is the end result of a concerted effort on behalf of many individuals in the English-speaking world dating back at least two centuries to establish and clarify the standards of good writing as determined by a confluence of established authorities and common usage. The characterizations that follow, which have been selected from these handbooks, stylebooks, and publication manuals, are by no means exhaustive, but are representative of principles that govern and direct the writing canon of modern English, exemplifying the C-B-S model of clarity, brevity, and sincerity, as well as other important qualities such as simplicity, concision, directness, and eloquence:

The prime quality of prose style is *clarity* [which] comes from selecting words carefully and arranging them well. (Corbett, 1990, p. 389)

[The most common reason for substandard compositions is that many writers] have just never learned how to write *clearly* and *directly*.... (Williams, 1989, p. 4; my italics)

[Success in writing] depends on the ability to make a point precisely, directly, and persuasively. (Williams, 1989, preface)

...the importance of organizing one's thinking and writing and making every word contribute to clear and concise communication... (*APA Manual*, 1994, p. xxvi)

[In English, writing we admire we describe as] clear, direct, concise, flowing.... [Writing we do not admire we call] turgid, indirect, unclear..., opaque..., obscure..., and so on. (Williams, 1989, p. 8)

Anything is better than not to write clearly. There is nothing to be said against lucidity, and against simplicity.... (Somerset Maugham; cited in Williams, 1989, p. 148)

Say only what needs to be said (p. 26), make each sentence maximally informative (p. 9), [and] be as brief as possible (p. 9). (*APA Manual*, 1994)

[The best style is] clear, simple, and direct. As important as directness and clarity may be, there are times when we want to go beyond it, to a style that is a bit more...elegant. (Williams, 1989, p. 5)

But clarity and brevity, though a good beginning, are only a beginning. By themselves, they may remain bare and bleak [and may require the addition of some forms of eloquence]. (F. A. Lucas; cited in Williams, 1989, p. 148).

[E]loquence does not arise from a laboured and far-fetched elocution, but from a surprising mixture of simplicity and majesty.... (Laurence Sterne; cited in Williams, 1989, p. 148)

These qualities of the preferred writing style of modern English prose are also reflected in certain recurring structural features of discourse organization. Many writing handbooks and composition textbooks for students, such as *Harbrace*

College Handbook (Hodges et al., 1994) and *Writing Academic English* (Oshima & Hogue, 1991), promote an approach to essay organization which was first enunciated by Alexander Bain in the last century in "the doctrine of the paragraph," in which essays are developed in a linear, hierarchical fashion, from sentence to paragraph to essay. In this way, the same structural pattern repeats itself at each level of organization; i.e., "[a]n essential unit of thought in writing, paragraphs develop the main idea of a paper in the same way that sentences develop the main idea of a paragraph" (op. cit., p. 308; see Appendix 10). Paragraphs are defined as groups of sentences functioning together to express one unified idea that relates directly to the theme of the whole composition (ibid.), and all the sentences in a paragraph serve in some way to support this idea. Accordingly, paragraphs should be *unified, coherent, and well developed* (described by Corbett (1990, p. 572) as the "holy trinity"); i.e., paragraphs have unity when each sentence contributes to a single main idea or central thought, they achieve coherence when the sentences are appropriately linked by transition signals so that the thought flows smoothly from sentence to sentence, and they are well developed when specific details adequately support the main idea (op. cit.). This pattern of organization, which was represented graphically by Kaplan (1966) in his "doodles article," can be described as follows:

[Essays written in English have] a clearly defined topic, introduction, body which explicates all but nothing more than the stated topic, paragraphs which chain from one to the next, and a conclusion which tells the reader what has been discussed...[and] no digression, no matter how interesting, is permitted on the grounds that it would violate unity. (Kaplan & Ostler, 1982, p. 14; cited in Swales, 1990, p. 65)

The concepts of cohesion and coherence are particularly important in expressing the preferred style of written English. Thomas de Quincey (cited in Williams, 1989, p. 37), for example, maintains that the secret of effective composition lies in transition and connection, or "the art by which one step in an evolution of thought is made to arise out of another: all fluent...composition depends on the connections." Hodges et al. provide the following advice to students in this regard:

A paragraph is coherent when the relationship among ideas is clear and the progression from one sentence to the next is easy for the reader to follow. To achieve coherence, arrange ideas in a clearly understandable order. Link them by effective use of pronouns, repetition, conjunctions, transitional phrases, and parallel structure. These transitional devices also ease the transitions between paragraphs. (op. cit., p. 315)

Corbett (1990, p. 292) agrees, stating that the issue of transition is related to coherence: "We want the parts of our discourse to 'hang together,' and while we would like the sutures to be as unobtrusive as possible, we nevertheless want our readers to be aware that they are passing over into another division of the

discourse." Publication manuals also concur, often linking coherence with an express concern for appropriate logical argumentation:³²

[C]lear and logical communication...ensure(s) smooth expression...by presenting ideas in an orderly manner and by expressing yourself smoothly and precisely [and] by developing ideas clearly and logically and leading readers smoothly from thought to thought.... [A]im for continuity in words, concepts, and thematic development from the opening statement to the conclusion. (*APA Manual*, 1994, pp. 23-25)

Finally, at lower levels of discourse, word choice and sentence structure also affect organizational and stylistic preferences, as illustrated in the following publication manual advice:

Although writing only in short, simple sentences produces choppy and boring prose, writing exclusively in long, involved sentences creates difficult, sometimes incomprehensible material. Varied sentence length helps readers maintain interest and comprehension. ...Direct, declarative sentences with simple, common words are usually best. [Avoid] the personal pronouns I and we [and] as much as possible, use the third person rather than the first person. (*APA Manual*, 1994, p. 28 & pp. 9-10)

The main causes of uneconomical writing are jargon and wordiness. Jargon is the continuous use of a technical vocabulary where that vocabulary is not relevant. ...Unconstrained wordiness lapses into embellishment and flowery writing, which are clearly inappropriate.... (ibid., p. 27)

According to Kane (1988, p. 190), diction, or word choice, is at the very heart of effective writing, and even at this level, exemplify the preferred qualities of the writing canon of modern English prose: "Sentences are important; paragraphing and clear organization are important. But words are fundamental. The essential virtue of words is that they be clear. At the same time it is desirable that they be simple, concise, and original."

Thus, the qualities expressed in the writing canon of modern English prose reflect fundamental principles of composition which are structured along multiple dimensions of written text, including the interrelated and overlapping substrata of syntax and the lexicon, rhetorical superstructure, coherence, and the worldview of the author and receptor (Kaplan, 1988, 1990; see section 2.5). As this chapter has demonstrated, these principles evolved over many centuries and have a long and complex history in the English-speaking world. Yet they exemplify the standards and norms of good writing that we continue to value today and that our students will have to emulate if they wish to be successful in their written work.

Chapter 4: English composition pedagogy

4.1 Introduction

If fields of study such as discourse linguistics and rhetoric help specify the writing canon of modern English prose, informing us of the standards, norms, and conventions that define effective writing, how they originated, and why they continue to be valued, the goal of research in composition pedagogy is to develop approaches, methods, and techniques for the classroom which will tell us *how* such writing should be taught. Unfortunately, however, most theories of composition pedagogy today "operate more on a principle of critical reaction to a previous approach than on cumulative development" (Raimes, 1991, p. 412). The result is that "the present anarchy of the discipline of what is commonly categorized as 'composition'" (Kinneavy, 1971, p. 1) is "less clearly defined now...than it was [three decades ago]" (op. cit.).

In order to make sense of the multiplicity of approaches to composition pedagogy currently proliferating in the field, it is essential to have a clear understanding of the theoretical assumptions that underlie them. However, the emergence of L2 composition instruction as an independent area of specialization within applied linguistics with its own theoretical models and empirical research has only come about within the last two or three decades; as a result, like other developing fields, "ESL writing [has] looked to and borrowed theories from its L1 counterpart" (Santos, 1992, p. 1). Therefore, in order to clarify current approaches to L2 composition instruction, it is first necessary to examine the assumptions and ideologies that define L1 composition theory.

4.2 Ideologies of L1 composition pedagogy

Of primary importance for understanding composition instruction in L1 contexts are crucial differences between British and American spheres of influence in the English-speaking world. The blunt fact is that L1 composition instruction in post-secondary institutions is "markedly noninternational" and the United States is "all but alone in offering L1 basic writing courses and programs at the university level,"³³ with one of the consequences being "a certain insularity in the [American] L1 composition profession" (Santos, 1992, p. 10; after Faigley, 1986). Composition instruction in America generally falls under the auspices of English departments, in which there is normally a clear-cut divide between literature and composition specialists, with the latter often complaining of "a lack of respect and understanding" (ibid., p. 7) and their lack of status as "unprivileged instructors" (Swales, 1990, p. 11; see also Johns, 1997). Significant numbers of researchers

contend that many of these departments often have an express and radical ideological and sociopolitical agenda (e.g., Crews, 1986; Clifford, 1989; Kimball, 1990; Santos, 1992). As Santos (1992, p. 2) states, "to an outsider, one of the most striking features of L1 composition [in the modern American college] is the extent to which it sees itself ideologically."³⁴ Although it is difficult to accurately determine the type and quality of instruction taking place in the wide range of American post-secondary institutions today, it seems clear that while there continues to be a strong emphasis on teaching practical, form-based writing skills in many university composition courses, the English departments in a large number of American universities also promote approaches to writing which are overtly ideological in nature.

The British situation is somewhat different, perhaps because the UK has never had to process tens of thousands of students through Freshman English courses as in America. This is partly due to the fact that British education has traditionally been "more elitist and therefore requires more from the intending student in the way of qualifications and skills, and partly because most...specialist undergraduate courses never actually demand a formal measurement of students' ability to write" (Hebron, 1984, p. 91). It is also true that British secondary school students score markedly higher in almost all areas of writing competence than their American counterparts (see, for example, the results of a project of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), entitled the *International Study of Written Composition*, reported on in Purves, 1992). Nevertheless, as Hosbaum (1984) points out, standards of literacy have also been declining in the UK,³⁵ and in addition to accepting increasing numbers of university entrants with marginal levels of L1 writing competence, there is a determined effort in Britain at the present time to attract more foreign students, most of whom will have to be provided with basic instruction in academic writing skills (often in sheltered, semi-autonomous writing centers specifically designed for this purpose).³⁶ Thus, although discussions about L1 composition pedagogy are generally centered on the American academic experience, since this is where most of the data is to be found, a "major concern of current tertiary education [worldwide] is academic writing and educational institutions are paying extraordinary attention to the writing skills of students [as evidenced by] a recent burgeoning of 'writing laboratories' at universities...across the world" (Kachru, 1997, p. 337).

Taxonomies for categorizing theories of L1 composition vary greatly, reflecting perhaps the continuing, and often heated, ideological debate in the English-speaking world over how mother tongue writing skills should be taught. Many current theories focus on the notion of "process," which should be understood as an "antithesis" to previous ways of teaching L1 writing, "proffering an antidote" to the

perceived inadequacies of traditional, product-oriented approaches which focus mainly on form and structure (Coe, 1987, p. 13).³⁷ There is not one process approach, however, but many, and today "conflicts...among adherents of 'the process approach' to teaching composition...are far more significant than the opposition between process and product..." (ibid.). Models of instruction depend very much on which particular writing process one chooses to emphasize: writing as communication (expressivism), writing as learning (cognitivism), or writing as a social act (social constructionism):

[A]ny process approach, by definition, concerns itself with one or more of the *hows* formalists traditionally ignore: *how* writers create; *how* writers think, feel, and verbalize to enable writing; *how* writers learn while writing; *how* writing communicates with readers; and *how* social processes and contexts influence the shaping and interpreting of texts. (ibid., p. 14)

As Faigley (1986) and Johns (1990) point out, these three major perspectives on L1 composition process are also relevant for understanding developments in L2 composition instruction, and each can be identified by their "emphasis and their advocates." The expressivist view (e.g., Elbow, 1981; Moffet, 1982; Murray, 1982) stresses the personal voice in writing, the cognitivist view (e.g., Flower & Hayes, 1980; Flower, 1989) focuses on the intellectual processes a writer goes through while composing, and the social constructionist (also termed constructivist) view (e.g., Bizzell, 1982; Bruffee, 1986; Trimbur, 1989) considers writing as a social artifact with political and ideological implications. Social constructionism is also "commonly associated with critical theory and critical pedagogy, as represented...by Pennycook (1989) and Peirce (1989)" in L2 contexts (Santos, 1992, p. 2).

According to Santos (ibid.), to the extent that the teaching of L2 writing has borrowed from L1 composition pedagogy, "it has done so primarily from two of the three perspectives within L1 process theory; namely, the cognitivist (e.g., Raimes, 1987) and the expressivist (e.g., Spack, 1988), while neglecting the third, the social constructionist." This viewpoint has been challenged, however, and depends largely on how the term "process theory" is defined. There are also multiple, and often conflicting, views regarding the label "social constructionism" and its place within this scheme. Some researchers, such as Johns (1990), classify social constructionism as distinct from process theory, and as having an important influence on the development of L2 writing pedagogy, while others, such as Silva (1992), make no mention of it at all in this context. Each of these approaches to composition process will be discussed below within a historical framework of theories of L2 composition pedagogy.

4.3 Approaches to L2 composition pedagogy

L2 composition instruction can be viewed historically as "a succession of approaches and orientations to L2 writing, a cycle in which particular approaches achieve dominance and then fade, but never really disappear" (Silva, 1990, p. 11). According to Silva (1990), the four most influential approaches to L2 composition instruction in modern times can be considered as follows: (1) controlled composition, which stresses the lexical and syntactic features of a text; (2) current-traditional rhetoric, which emphasizes discourse-level text structures; (3) the process approach, which attends to writers' composing behaviors; and (4) English for academic purposes (EAP), which focuses on the writer as a member of the academic discourse community.³⁸ However, the divisions between these approaches to L2 composition instruction are "by no means discrete and sequential" (Raimes, 1991, p. 412), resulting in a "merry-go-round of approaches [which] has a number of negative effects on the discipline [including] a great deal of confusion and insecurity among ESL composition teachers" (op. cit., p. 18), as well as a polemical and sometimes rancorous debate among their proponents over the value of these models in the classroom.

4.3.1 Controlled composition

Silva (ibid., pp. 12-13) states that controlled composition, or guided composition, had its roots in Fries' oral approach, the precursor to the audiolingual method of L2 teaching which stressed the primacy of speech. Writing was considered of secondary concern, used essentially to reinforce oral habits, and functioning mainly as "the handmaid of the other skills." It was learned through habit formation with the writer simply manipulating previously learned language structures and primarily concerned with formal linguistic features. Typical exercises included reordering scrambled sentences, identifying topic and supporting sentences, doing paragraph completion exercises, and so on. The text itself was seen as a collection of sentence patterns and vocabulary items, and there was little concern for either the notion of audience or the purpose of writing. As Silva (p. 13) notes, although this approach receives almost "ritual condemnation" in the literature today, it is still alive and well in many L2 composition classrooms and textbooks.

4.3.2 Current-traditional rhetoric

With the coming of the 1960s, increasing attention began to be focused on EL2 students' needs in producing written discourse, leading to the belief that controlled composition was not enough, that there was more to writing than building grammatical sentences, and that there needed to be a bridge between controlled and

free writing. This new approach became known as current-traditional rhetoric and can be characterized by its...

...emphasis on the composed product rather than the composing process; the analysis of discourse into words, sentences, and paragraphs; the classification of discourse into exposition, narration, description, and argument; a strong concern with usage (syntax, spelling, punctuation) and with style (economy, clarity, emphasis); the preoccupation with the informal essay and research paper; and so on. (Young, 1978, p. 31; see also Berlin & Inkster, 1980)

According to Silva (1990, p. 14), in current-traditional rhetoric there is a central concern with "the logical construction and arrangement of discourse forms"; a primary interest in the paragraph, as composed of topic sentences, supporting sentences, concluding sentences, and transitions; an emphasis on various modes of reasoning (e.g., illustration, exemplification, comparison and contrast, classification, definition, cause and effect, and so on); and emphasis on essay organization, comprising an introduction, body, and conclusion.

Expository and argumentative writing are considered of primary importance for university-level L2 writers, and classroom attention is focused on form, teaching students how to organize syntactic units into larger patterns and providing them with forms within which they can operate. In such contexts, teachers generally insist that writers should "pre-reveal the form of the text...and the content...within the first paragraphs..., provide generalizations at appropriate points in the discourse, and maintain and develop topics in a manner accessible to the reader," employing appropriate forms of discourse organization and using proper cohesive devices (Johns, 1990, p. 27).

In short, from the perspective of current-traditional rhetoric, "writing is basically a matter of arrangement, of fitting writing into prescribed patterns" (Silva, 1990, p. 14). The text is seen as a collection of "increasingly complex discourse structures (sentences, paragraphs, essays), each embedded in the next largest form" (ibid.), while the "implicit context" for writing is academic, and "the instructor's judgment is presumed to mirror that of the community of educated native speakers" (ibid.). Although it is still dominant in L2 composition textbooks and classroom practices today (Silva, 1990, p. 14), current-traditional rhetoric has also been criticized for teaching forms in prescriptive patterns. According to its opponents, this type of form-dominated approach differs from its predecessor (i.e., controlled composition) only in that rhetorical patterns rather than grammatical features are now presented as the paradigm (Raimes, 1991, p. 412).

4.3.3 Process approaches

Starting in the 1970s, L2 teachers and researchers began to react against form-dominated approaches to writing motivated in large part by dissatisfaction with their ability to foster creative thought and expression. Current-traditional rhetoric was thought to be too controlled, too linear and prescriptive, and the process approach became the new dominant paradigm, as researchers argued that L2 writers who already knew how to compose in their L1 would benefit from the use of similar strategies in their L2. As stated above, however, the process approach actually embodies a variety of different perspectives, depending on the particular writing process being emphasized: expressivism, cognitivism, or social constructionism.

4.3.3.1 Expressivism

Expressivism, which reached its zenith in the early 1970s, sees writing as a creative act in which the "true self" of the writer is discovered and expressed. Proponents of the expressivist movement encourage students to "take power over their own prose," and teachers advocating this point of view are likely to be "nondirective," facilitating writing activities which "promote writing fluency and power over the writing act" (Johns, 1990, p. 25). Composition tasks, such as journal writing and personal essays, typically emphasize self-discovery, and students are encouraged to write "with honesty, for themselves" (ibid., p. 30). Advocates of expressivism contend that writing is an individual act and that writers should "create" their own audience within, establishing the "purpose, meaning, and form" of their writing in a way that conforms with the text and its purposes (ibid.).

4.3.3.2 Cognitivism

According to Johns, the cognitivist approach has had far more influence on L2 composition instruction than expressivism (ibid.). Its leading proponents have tried to identify "higher-order thinking skills with problem-solving" in the process of writing, and research is most often based on think-aloud protocols which have revealed that "complex writing processes are not linear or formulaic but rather individual and recursive" (ibid., p. 26). Students are typically required to do extensive planning, which includes "defining the rhetorical problem, placing it in a larger context..., exploring its parts, generating alternative solutions, and arriving at a well-supported conclusion" (ibid.). Once the problem has been identified and the solution planned, "students continue the *writing process* by translating their plans and thoughts into words, and by reviewing their work through revising and editing" (ibid.). The goal is to create writers who can "guide their own creative process" (Flower; cited in Johns, ibid.) and develop a self-awareness of their inner process of writing through the use of a large repertoire of powerful writing strategies.

Researchers such as Zamel (1983), Spack (1984), and Raimes (1987) have applied L1 cognitivist theories to L2 composition research, and conclude that L1 and L2 students are very similar in terms of the processes they go through when writing. Teachers using this approach in L2 writing contexts will generally try to "prepare students to write through invention and other prewriting activities..., encourage several drafts..., require...revision at macro levels [often through group collaboration], and delay...correction of sentence-level errors until the final editing stage" (Johns, 1990, p. 26). This approach sees composing as non-linear and exploratory, and writing as a complex, recursive, and creative process or set of behaviors in which writers discover and reformulate their ideas.

The two central tenets of this approach to process writing are that content determines form and good writing is involved writing. Thus, content, the need to communicate meaning, and the desire to express ideas take precedence over organizational and syntactic concerns—the focus is on the writer and the process he or she undergoes, rather than the form of the product. To facilitate this endeavor, the classroom is designed to be "a positive, encouraging, and collaborative workshop environment where students have ample time and a minimum of interference" (Silva, 1990, p. 15). Guidance from teachers is thought to be preferable to control, and the teacher's role is to help students develop strategies at different stages of writing, while feedback and correction often take place in the form of peer collaboration.

4.3.3.3 Social constructionism

Social constructionism is an approach to L1 composition pedagogy which is particularly difficult to characterize because the concept carries a wide range of connotations and is defined in different ways by different researchers. Furthermore, there is little agreement on the extent to which it has impacted L2 composition instruction. Social constructionism is generally viewed as "consciously ideological," with an implicit political agenda for social reform in which writing is seen as "a social act that can only take place within and for a specific context and audience" (Johns, 1990, p. 27). Social constructionists argue that "reality, knowledge, thought, facts, texts, selves and so on are constructs generated by communities of like-minded peers" (Bruffee, 1986, p. 776), and the nature of written discourse is determined for the writer by this "discourse community." Social constructionism rejects "the traditional view that writing is an act of an individual mind attempting to express itself" (Santos, 1992, p. 3) because "what we normally regard as individual, internal, and mental is actually social in origin" (Brumfee, 1986, pp. 784). This implies "a drastic reorientation of a wide range of ideas" such as cognition (socially based), knowledge (socially justified belief dependent upon social relations, not reflections of reality), and objectivity (impossible to achieve,

since the social is naturally subjective); as a consequence, speech and writing are perceived as social constructs (Santos, 1992, p. 4).

Allied with the more extreme versions of social constructionism is a political ideology which is "left-wing or Marxist in nature" and which provides "a major part of the pedagogical framework of the theory" (ibid.). Radical social constructionists such as Berlin (1988, p. 478) advocate a "Marxist liberatory pedagogy" which is "self-consciously aware of its ideological stand, making the very question of ideology the center of classroom activities." Inherent in this stance is the belief that "education must be understood as inherently political and ideological" (Santos, op. cit.), and that "students must be taught to identify the ways in which control over their lives has been denied them, and denied in such a way that they have blamed themselves for their powerlessness" (Berlin, 1988, p. 490). When applied to teaching, "the unequal power relations between student and teacher in the traditional classroom must be circumvented," and learning itself must be "negotiated among students and between students and teacher" (Santos, op. cit.). Collaborative learning is one pedagogical result of social constructionist theory, which stresses that learning should take place through group efforts in reaching consensus through negotiation. As a result, "a composition class would proceed via group negotiation and consensus at every stage of the writing process...; [t]he teacher's role is initially to introduce the task, making sure it is an open-ended one—i.e., with no set answer or pre-conceived, favored result..." (ibid., p. 5).

Social constructionism has "not met with unmitigated enthusiasm," however. It has been "less charitably" described as a response to the "presumptively dreary though necessary labor of teaching composition" (Santos, 1992, pp. 7-8; after Freedman, 1987), and "the call for...politicization...a self-serving excuse to avoid the hard job of teaching the basics" (Siegel, 1991, p. 38). Some have "decried the tendency toward 'groupthink'," others have defended the value of the individual voice of the writer, while still others find the ideological orientation distasteful (Santos, 1992, p. 6), denouncing "the epistemological position which asserts that our use of language is what constructs society, that reality is not described in language—rather that there is no reality except as soaked in discourse" (Moberg, 1990, p. 67). Clifford (1989, p. 517) objects to the "influential resurgence of intellectual Marxism within English studies," while as "no less a figure in L1 composition" than Maxine Hairston expresses the feelings of many in the following letter to *College English*:

I have been reading *College English* with increasing irritation in the last several months, and finally I just have to protest. I find the magazine dominated by...fashionably radical articles that I feel have little to do with the concerns of most college English teachers.... I'm also very concerned about the image of the profession I think the magazine would convey to the

public if they read it...: that of low-risk Marxists who write very badly, are politically naive, and seem more concerned about converting their students from capitalism than in helping them to enjoy writing and reading. (Santos, op. cit.)³⁹

Although critical approaches to pedagogy such as social constructionism illustrate how discourse is "shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations, and systems of knowledge and belief" (Widdowson, 1995, p. 158), critical theory "not only describes discourse but interprets it as social practice" (ibid.), equating social and linguistic theory with sociopolitical and ideological commitment. Because of this ideological commitment, particular interpretations are privileged, and this, according to Widdowson (ibid., p. 159), undermines its validity as a vehicle for analysis, since there is rarely a suggestion that alternative perspectives are possible—the interpretation offered is presented as being uniquely validated by the textual facts.

Finally, to the extent to which social constructionism can be considered part of the process approach to writing (and there is considerable ongoing debate on this issue), the question remains as to the extent of its impact on L2 composition instruction. Santos (1992, pp. 6-7) argues that social constructionism has received scant attention in L2 writing for a number of reasons. One is that "L1 composition, residing mostly in English departments, has been highly influenced by critical literary theories, whereas ESL writing has identified itself as part of applied linguistics, accommodating itself to the prevailing standards of inquiry and research in that field," and adopting a research paradigm in which dominant studies are quantitative rather than ideological (ibid., p. 8). Secondly, there is a powerful school of thought within the ESL community which sees L2 composition instruction in essentially *pragmatic* terms, as exemplified in the following opinion by Swales:

I shall not consider differences that arise as a result of differing ideological perspectives...such as those found in the work of neo-Marxist(s)... A specific reason for this exclusion is that the proposed approach is not activated by a wish to make a contribution to intellectual history..., but rests on a pragmatic concern to help people, both non-native and native speakers, to develop their academic communicative competence. (1990, p. 9)

Thirdly, there are significant differences between ESL and EFL approaches to composition that must be taken into consideration. The primary frame of reference for social constructionism is "American society [with] its inequalities, its exclusions, its power structures" (Santos, op. cit.). Teaching overseas, however, "makes critical pedagogy much more problematic [as the] aims tend to be incompatible with explicit ideology in the classroom" (ibid., pp. 9-10). If this argument is correct, "only features of collaborative learning would seem to have a chance of gaining a

hold in ESL, not for the affiliation with social constructionist theory, but rather for the possible effectiveness of the groupwork procedures" (ibid., p. 12).

Recent developments in the field, however, suggest that these issues may not be so clearcut, and it has been argued that advocates of social constructionism are, in fact, vigorously applying their ideological precepts to many other fields,⁴⁰ including L2 teaching contexts, although increasingly, such studies "may come dressed in elaborate statistical costumes" (Gross & Levitt, 1994, p. 12). Bizzell (1987; cited in Johns, 1990, p. 25), for example, claims that becoming a member of an academic discourse community presents special problems for L2 learners, who must often develop "multiple literacies" in order to be accepted, and maintains that these students should not be forced to acquire academic literacy. Rather, it is the academy itself that should adapt and become more open to the many cultures that the students represent: "We must help our students...to engage in a rhetorical process that can collectively generate...knowledge and beliefs to displace the repressive ideologies an unjust social order would inscribe in the skeptical void" (Bizzell, 1990, p. 671). Canagarajah (1987, p. 303) concurs:

In practicing academic writing, students are acquiring not only a skill, certain cognitive processes, or communicative competence, but also the set of preferred values, discourses, and knowledge content of the academic community. Students coming from non-English-speaking communities will need to confront the temptation to give up their native discourses based on local knowledge and take up the academic discourse which enjoys much more power and prestige. [S]uch ideological reproduction will destroy the distinctiveness of local communities in the long run and simply make them clones or satellites of the Western academic-military-industrial complex. That is, the internationalization of academic discourse through writing will be instrumental in ushering in the international hegemony of Western discourses and institutions.

Such "composition as colonization" perspectives contend that L2 composition teachers should not present just one privileged form of text (i.e., Standard Written English) as the most logical and desirable, and that alternative rhetorics should be valued. This ideology equates L2 composition instruction with "cultural imperialism," and advocates a greater degree of "cultural relativism," as well as an acceptance of "rhetorical pluralism." These accusations of "cultural imperialism" and "composition as colonization" in L2 teaching practices, arising from the ideological influences of social constructionism, have also been strongly criticized in many quarters, however:

[O]ne of the concerns of 'critical linguistics' is the global encroachment of English on other languages and cultures. Applied linguistics is being rebuked... (e.g., Pennycook, 1994) for its complacency and ignorance of critical and postmodern paradigms of language.... This view also exists within cross-cultural rhetorical studies [where teachers are urged] to avoid cultural imperialism in writing courses.... These views have been variously criticized as being overly and impractically sensitive, or even representative of subtle, even unconscious, manifestations of patronizing and postcolonial attitudes of superiority (Makoni, 1995). They have also been

characterized as illogical, in that they assume some apparently utopian ideal of value-free teaching, and over-deterministic, in that it is doubtful that language alone can 'shatter the world view' or otherwise 'culturally demolish' an established society (Barrow, 1990).⁴¹ (Holyoak & Piper, 1997, pp. 139-140)

Interviews conducted by Holyoak and Piper (1997) with a group of postgraduate students studying in various fields and for whom English was a second language would seem to confirm this perspective. The initial reaction of these students to questions regarding whether they felt "victimized or disadvantaged" by English academic discourse was one of incredulity and bemusement: "Their approach was entirely pragmatic: 'I must write for my audience'; 'I want to be understood'; 'I want to be taught "English" English not "Japanese" English'" (p. 140). Holyoak and Piper report that "[w]ithout exception, they indicated that issues of linguistic or cultural domination were not important to them. These were not sensitivities or concerns which they shared" (p. 141):

Our informants [believed] that their respective cultures, and they themselves, were sufficiently strong and dynamic to determine the directions in which the acquisition of English took them. While acknowledging the influence of English rhetoric on academic texts written in their native languages, they viewed as patronizing any suggestion that they were impotent victims of a dominant culture with no control over their cultural destiny. ...Without exception, they indicated that issues of linguistic or cultural domination were not important to them. These were not sensitivities or concerns which they shared. (ibid., p. 140)

In short, it seems that if teachers want to truly "empower their students," perhaps the most effective and practical approach would be to assist them in becoming highly proficient in the academic discourse systems they have elected to learn. As Santos (1992, p. 12) states, "knowledge and experience [are] the strongest force against an ideological emphasis [and will lead to] greater emphasis on the cognitive, academic, and pedagogical rather than on the sociopolitical, which usually only gathers momentum when other explanations appear inadequate."

In conclusion, although the cognitivist approach to process writing was generally well received in L2 composition circles and still has many adherents, "teachers did not all strike out along this new path [and] the radical changes that were called for in instructional approach seemed to provoke a swift reaction" (Raimes, 1991, p. 410). The common thread of criticisms against process writing is that, "in its almost exclusive concern with psycholinguistic, cognitive, and affective variables, [it] has failed to take into account the many forces outside of an individual writer's control which define, shape, and ultimately judge a piece of writing" (Horowitz, 1986b, p. 446). In other words, process writing creates an "erroneous assumption...that writers work in a cultural vacuum..." (ibid., p. 447), and "in its attempt to develop...students' writing skills, creates a classroom situation that bears little resemblance to the situations in which those skills will eventually be exercised"

(ibid., 1986a, p. 144). As Horowitz (1986a, pp. 141) points out, "[t]hough initially offering fresh insight into an important area of teaching..., [the process approach] has now been miscast as a complete theory of writing," and while admitting that it has "undeniable merits" if viewed as a useful collection of teaching techniques rather than a full-fledged theory of writing, he goes on to raise a number of cautions about an "uncritical acceptance" of process writing:

[I]ts emphasis on multiple drafts may leave students unprepared for essay examinations...; overuse of peer evaluation may leave students with an unrealistic view of their abilities...; trying to make over bad writers in the image of good ones may be of questionable efficacy; and...the inductive orientation of the process approach is suited only to some writers and some academic tasks. (ibid., 1986b, p. 446)

Above all, critics have questioned whether this kind of instruction realistically prepares students for higher level academic work. Opponents of the process approach argue that in addition to not addressing a number of theoretical and practical issues central to L2 writing, it does not adequately prepare students for writing compositions of an academic nature: "It creates a classroom situation that bears little resemblance to the situations in which [students' writing] will eventually be exercised" and gives students "a false impression of how university writing will be evaluated" (Horowitz, 1986a, pp. 143 & 144). Leki and Carson (1997, p. 63), for example, question the idea of personal empowerment as a pedagogical goal, arguing that "student-centered pedagogy, with its attendant focus on personal experience...may work against students by denying them access to 'powerful genres.'" They state that "giving students direct acquaintance with text-responsible writing...transforms the class from one that is solipsistic and self-referential into one that becomes central to students' academic and personal growth" (ibid., p. 64). Swales (1986; cited in Horowitz, 1986b, p. 446) maintains that an approach which "emphasizes less the cognitive relationship between the writer and his or her internal world and more the relationship between the writer, the writing environment and the intended readership...has much to recommend it." Although conceding the usefulness of some "soft process" at lower levels of L2 composition (1990, p. 220), he suggests that process writing is of less value "when students are...required to deliver texts to a world outside the ESL classroom...a world populated by readers with highly-developed schemata and fully cognizant of the ground rules of the genres with which they are professionally engaged" (ibid.). In short, the process approach "overemphasizes the individual's psychological functioning and neglects the sociocultural context, that is, the realities of academia" (Silva, 1990, pp. 16-17).

4.3.4 English for academic purposes

An alternative approach, suggested by proponents of English for Academic Purposes (EAP), is to shift the emphasis in L2 composition from the writer to the reader, i.e., to the academic discourse community, and to focus on academic discourse genres and a wide range of academic writing tasks as a means of preparing students for integration into this community. According to Silva (*ibid.*, p. 17), EAP stresses the following: the conditions in which actual university writing tasks are carried out; the close examination and analysis of academic discourse formats; "the selection and intensive study of source material"; "the evaluation, screening, synthesis, and organization of relevant data from these sources"; and "the presentation of these data in acceptable academic English form." In brief, the stress is on audience: writing is seen to involve the production of texts which must meet the standards of the academy, and "learning to write is part of becoming socialized into the academic community—finding out what is expected and trying to approximate it" (*ibid.*). Writers approach these tasks from an essentially pragmatic point of view, orienting their written production to the standards and requirements of the academic discourse community, while the audience is "the teacher as reader," an initiated expert member of the discourse community, who has "the power to accept or reject writing as coherent, as consistent with the conventions of the target discourse community." In academic contexts, this faculty audience is seen as someone who has "well-developed schemata for academic discourse and clear and stable views on what is appropriate" (Silva, 1990, p. 17), but also as someone who is "particularly omniscient" (Johns, 1990, p. 31).

Within English for Academic Purposes, there are actually two separate but related perspectives, each with a different view of the teaching of the language of academia. The first, which is sometimes known as EAP proper, supports the stance that there is a "general set of tasks and a basic academic language" that students can acquire with the help of informed instruction, and the general academic demands that students will be expected to meet in the course of their studies form the basis of instruction. The second, which encompasses both English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and Writing across the Curriculum (WAC), maintains that general knowledge alone will not suffice and that specific academic discourse communities have certain unique characteristics which must be uncovered and taught (Johns, 1990, p. 29). Advocates suggest that L2 writing courses be directly linked to content courses in the "adjunct model" (e.g., Brinton et al., 1989; Snow & Brinton, 1988), or loosely grouped with courses in other disciplines (e.g., Benesch, 1988). In such courses, the main emphasis is on "the instructor's determination of what academic content is most appropriate in order to build modules of reading and writing tasks around that content" (Raimes, 1991, p. 411). In addition, autonomous L2 writing classes are

sometimes wholly or partially replaced by "team teaching, linked courses, topic-centered modules or mini-courses, sheltered...instruction, and...courses/tutorials as adjuncts to designated university content courses" (Raimes, *ibid.*; after Shih, 1986).

English for Academic Purposes has generated its own extensive body of research (Raimes, 1991, p. 412), mostly in terms of surveys of the expectations of faculty members (e.g., Santos, 1988; Johns, 1991), the study of genres (e.g., Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 1993; see below), the identification of basic academic writing skills that are transferable across disciplines (e.g., Johns, 1988a), the analysis of the rhetorical organization of technical writing (e.g., Selinker, et al., 1978), the study of student writing in content areas (e.g., Selzer, 1983; Jenkins & Hinds, 1987), and surveys of the content and tasks students will encounter during their academic careers (e.g., Bridgeman & Carlson, 1983; Canseco & Byrd, 1989). In recent years, the EAP approach to L2 composition instruction has gained many adherents, although critics charge it with too much emphasis on scientific and technical fields, and a need for a more humanities-based orientation toward "general principles of inquiry and rhetoric" (*ibid.*). These issues continue to be actively and publicly debated at the present time (see, for example, Spack, 1988; Braine, 1988; and Johns, 1988b).

4.3.4.1 Genre analysis

A relatively recent field of study with direct links to both EAP and text linguistics is genre analysis. Swales (1990, pp. 1-2) describes genre analysis as a "means of studying spoken and written discourse for applied ends," a bridge between Applied Discourse Analysis on the one hand and L1/L2 writing/composition pedagogy on the other. Typically, this kind of endeavor takes place in post-secondary educational institutions and is categorized as English for Academic Purposes (EAP), English for Specific Purposes (ESP), or Writing Across the Curriculum (WAC).⁴² In terms of its applications for composition pedagogy, genre analysis examines written discourse in academic and professional settings in order to accomplish specific tasks, such as the writing of research articles, business letters, resumés, and so on. This type of research is particularly important in EL2 contexts because "the training of people to process and produce academic and research English is a major international endeavor" and the ability to write advanced academic English remains a major goal of tertiary education worldwide (Swales, 1990, p. 1).⁴³ Long and Richards (cited in Swales, 1990, p. vii) concur: "The role of language in academic settings is of vital interest to all those concerned with tertiary education...", and the principal focus of research in this area is on issues such as "rhetorical styles and discourse types employed in such settings—whether

these are unique to a given language or culture or reflect universal modes of academic discourse...."

Historically, genre analysis arose from "quantitative studies of the linguistic properties of functional varieties or *registers*" such as the occurrence of certain kinds of verb forms in scientific English (Swales, op. cit.). These ground-breaking investigations into syntax, voice, and vocabulary led to studies providing a "deeper or multilayered textual account" of academic writing; in addition, an orientation towards helping EL2 speakers created "a strong interest in the linguistic manifestation of rhetorical and organizational features," as well as a continued focus on issues such as syntactic and lexical choices (ibid., pp. 3-4). Genre analysis successfully adapted a rhetorical approach "originally used for highly-valued literary, political or religious discourse to more mundane academic writing [with] the built-in assumption that discourse is indeed both socially-situated and designed to achieve rhetorical goals" (ibid., p. 5). As such, it integrates the work of several different traditions, and "attempts to make a virtue of eclecticism for..., to be eclectic is to be able to borrow profitably from the activities of several distinct discourse communities" (ibid., p. 13).

The concept of discourse community is central to both genre analysis and composition pedagogy, although the term is not yet well defined: "like many imperfectly defined terms, it is suggestive, the center of a set of ideas rather than the sign of a settled notion":

Use of the term 'discourse community' testifies to the increasingly common assumption that discourse operates within conventions defined by communities, be they academic disciplines or social groups. The pedagogies associated with...academic English now use the notion of 'discourse communities' to signify a cluster of ideas: that language use in a group is a form of social behavior, that discourse is a means of maintaining and extending the group's knowledge and of initiating new members into the group, and that discourse is epistemic or constitutive of the group's knowledge. (Hertzberg, 1986; cited in Swales, 1990, p. 22)

This "cluster of ideas" can be summarized as follows: "language use is a form of social behavior..., discourse maintains and extends a group's knowledge..., and discourse is epistemic or constitutive of the group's knowledge" (Swales, 1990, p. 29; after Hertzberg, 1986). This third claim is expressed in a slightly different form by Bizzell:

In the absence of consensus, let me offer a tentative definition: a 'discourse community' is a group of people who share certain language-using practices. These practices can be seen as conventionalized in two ways. Stylistic conventions regulate social interactions both within the group and in its dealings with outsiders: to this extent 'discourse community' borrows from the sociolinguistic concept of 'speech community'. Also, canonical knowledge regulates the world-views of group members, how they interpret experience; to this extent 'discourse community' borrows from the literary-critical concept of 'interpretive community'. (cited in Swales, 1990, p. 29)

Like the concept of discourse community, the term *genre* also suffers from "variable and uncertain usage" (Swales, 1990, p. 1): It is "a fuzzy concept, a somewhat loose term of art" (ibid., p. 33) which is difficult to classify because genres themselves are "unstable entities"; i.e., "the number of genres in any society is indeterminate and depends upon the complexity and diversity of society" (Miller, 1984; cited in Swales, 1990, p. 43):

A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style. Communicative purpose is both a privileged criterion and one that operates to keep the scope of a genre as here conceived narrowly focused on comparable rhetorical action. In addition to purpose, exemplars of a genre exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience. If all high probability expectations are realized, the exemplar will be viewed as prototypical by the parent discourse community. (op. cit., p. 58)

Because different genres (e.g., research articles, business letters, editorials, presentations, theses, books) have different sets of communicative purposes, their schematic structures are different. Moreover, there can be subgenres within genres, such as the research article being comprised of subgenres such as the survey article, the review article, the state-of-the-art article, and so on. Genres also transcend individual languages and national borders. As Widdowson (1979, p. 61) points out, "[s]cientific exposition is structured according to certain patterns of rhetorical organization which, with some tolerance for individual stylistic variation, imposes a conformity on members of the scientific community no matter what language they happen to use." Moreover, the existence of these "transnational discourse communities" in a wide range of scientific disciplines "is likely to lead to universalistic tendencies in research genres" (Swales, 1990, p. 65).

Although one of the principal aims of genre analysis is to "gain insights into the nature of genre that will be useful in ESP [i.e., EAP] materials writing and teaching" (Dudley-Evans, 1987; cited in Malmkjaer, 1991, p. 176), recent research approaches have also attempted to correlate linguistic features of texts with human cognition, explicitly linking genre analysis with schema-based approaches to reading research (see section 2.3.2.2 for an earlier discussion on this subject).⁴⁴ For example, Hewings and Henderson (1987) conducted a study on the reading comprehension difficulties of students who were unfamiliar with (i.e., had no schema for) academic writing. Their conclusions, which highlight the connections between genre analysis, schema theory, and pedagogy, suggest that instruction which includes a concentration on macrostructural elements, combined with an

emphasis on lexical signaling, can be effective in enhancing the reading efficiency of such students (*ibid.*, p. 173).

As Swales (1990, p. 81) points out, a genre-based approach to academic writing pays particular attention to the rhetorical organization of texts, and this also concerns "the role of *schemata*, their characteristics and their relationships to genre acquisition." From this perspective, the concepts of discourse community and genre can be seen as interlocked, functioning in the following way:

Discourse communities are sociorhetorical networks that form in order to work towards sets of common goals. One of the characteristics that established members of these discourse communities possess is familiarity with the particular genres that are used in the communicative furtherance of those sets of goals. In consequence, genres are the properties of discourse communities; that is to say, genres belong to discourse communities, not to individuals, other kinds of grouping or to wider speech communities. ...Genre-type communicative events (and perhaps others) consist of texts themselves (spoken, written, or a combination) plus encoding and decoding procedures as moderated by genre-related aspects of text-role and text-environment. ...The acquisition of genre-skills depends on previous knowledge of the world, giving rise to *content schemata*, knowledge of prior texts, giving rise to *formal schemata*, and experience with appropriate tasks. (*ibid.*, pp. 9-10)

In other words, our assimilated life experiences give rise to content schemata, while our prior experiences with texts, both oral and written, provide information structures and rhetorical elements which give rise to formal schemata. This prior knowledge of the world, and of texts, not only allows us to interpret facts and concepts (i.e., content), but also calls up "interactive procedures and routines" which have been given a wide range of labels, including scripts, scenarios, frames, and routines. Knowledge of such procedures derives from both non-verbal and verbal experience in terms of prior texts, as well as from prior life experiences, giving rise to the formation of formal schemata, or "background knowledge of the rhetorical structures of different types of texts" (Carrell, 1983, p. 31). Content and formal schemata thus interact to "contribute to a recognition of genres and so guide the production of exemplars" (*ibid.*, p. 86).⁴⁵ When content and form are familiar, texts will be easily accessible, whereas when they are not, texts will be relatively inaccessible—in the latter case, "rhetorical form is a significant factor, more important than content, in the comprehension of the top-level episodic structure of a text" (Carrell, 1987b, p. 476).

4.4 Conclusions

In summary, in Chapter 3, we traced the evolution of the writing canon of modern English prose, describing the standards, norms, and conventions that define effective writing in the English-speaking world today, how they originated, and why they continue to be valued. In the present chapter, we have examined the most influential approaches to L1 and L2 composition pedagogy currently proliferating in

the field, and have provided an analysis of the theoretical and ideological assumptions that underlie the teaching of writing in English and govern *how* such writing skills should be taught. We also reported that there is a polemical and sometimes rancorous debate among proponents of these approaches, in particular the radical dichotomization between process and product (see also section 7.3.2), which has had an extremely negative effect on the discipline, causing "a great deal of insecurity and confusion among ESL composition teachers" (Silva, 1990, p. 18). In fact, however, each of the principal approaches to L2 composition pedagogy—i.e., controlled composition, current-traditional rhetoric, the process approach, and English for academic purposes (including genre analysis as a bridge between EAP and text linguistics)—should be viewed in terms of the contribution it makes to the teaching of EL2 writing skills and a new approach to composition pedagogy established which integrates each of these orientations, a subject which will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 7. In the meantime, in a framework that roughly parallels our investigation of English rhetoric, the following two chapters will provide an analysis of Japanese rhetoric from comparable historical, cultural, and educational perspectives.

Chapter 5: Defining Japanese rhetoric

5.1 Introduction

If rhetorical transfer from Japanese can be assumed to be one of the main reasons for students' writing difficulties in English, then it is essential to have a rigorous accounting of Japanese rhetorical preferences and conventions, including the cultural and educational traditions from which they arise. As Leki (1992, p. 97) points out, Japanese rhetoric and the writing skills of Japanese learners of English have been the focus of more systematic investigation in the West than probably any other foreign language; however, as is often the case in contrastive rhetoric, these investigations vary greatly in terms of quality and in the significance of their contributions to the field. Moreover, much of this research "is not easily available because it is in unpublished form, often consisting of papers presented at scholarly conferences, unpublished master's theses and doctoral dissertations, and papers produced for graduate classes," as well as studies that are published in locations which are difficult for mainstream readers to access, such as Japanese university journals and other in-house publications (Martin, 1992, pp. 10-11). Consequently, the following overview of research in the field will be selective in approach, describing certain studies in detail, while simply referring to others in passing.

To date, most research on Japanese rhetoric has focused on "the organizational parameters which shape the overall form of discourse" (Hinds, 1983b, p. 78), and in the past two decades, numerous studies have been published on expository writing in Japanese. In recent times, argumentative writing has also become an increasingly important subject of investigation, although most other forms of discourse have received "scant attention in the literature" (ibid.).⁴⁶ Because this research has been conducted from a variety of perspectives, many of which are difficult to classify, areas of investigation have been grouped loosely below, moving from predominantly textual concerns, such as discourse types and models, paragraph development, and modes to reasoning, to the inclusion of sociocultural factors beyond the level of text, such as the notion of audience, the nature of logical argumentation, attitudinizing conventions within Japanese culture, and *nihonjinron* studies, although there is inevitably some overlap between categories in which the same recurring themes are interpreted from differing standpoints. This chapter concludes with a summary of the principal features of Japanese and English rhetoric in contrast, as specified by established authorities in the field.

As Kobayashi (1984, p. 25) points out, however, because of a long literary tradition in which the expression of feelings has been paramount, Japanese writing "has not much concerned itself with the conscious arrangement of ideas," and in

contrast to English, "the literature regarding written discourse in Japanese does not clearly define rhetorical patterns." Nagasaka (1992, p. 137) agrees, stating that "text organization is not so emphasized in Japanese as in English essays [and] Japanese expository prose has many different patterns." Yoshimura (1996, pp. 201-202) also concurs: "While the characteristics of English writing have been explored by L1 and L2 researchers in great detail, the characteristics of Japanese writing *have not been revealed yet*" (my italics). This contention is certainly overstated, but it is nevertheless true that research into Japanese rhetoric is still in its formative stages, especially in terms of descriptions of organizational structures and other discourse features, and the conclusions reached in this chapter should be considered tentative, as no final agreements have yet been reached among proponents in terms of definitions, meanings, or the implications of research findings.

5.2 Discourse types and models

The most extensive and frequently cited research to date on discourse types in Japanese has been carried out by the American text linguist, John Hinds, who provides detailed descriptions of the most important rhetorical patterns found in Japanese expository writing (1976, 1979, 1980a, 1980b, 1981, 1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1987, 1990). In a special issue of the *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* devoted to an examination of research directions in contrastive rhetoric, Hinds (1983b) identifies two basic sets of organizational patterns in Japanese which he labels "uncovered" and "discovered": uncovered styles have evolved from major literary traditions and include *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* and *jo-ha-kyû*; discovered styles are more often found in the writings of popular culture and include "fried fish in batter" and "return to baseline theme." In addition, the Japanese have imported organizational patterns from the western rhetorical tradition, collectively known as *ô-beigo-kei*, or Euro-American style (Ricento, 1987, p. 56). However, Hinds (1984, p. 79) maintains that this influence does not transfer in any systematic and coherent fashion to the formal schooling of Japanese students (see Chapter 6).

According to Hinds (1983b, p. 79), *jo-ha-kyû* is a literary form that evolved from traditional *Noh* drama in which the writing "proceeds in a fairly straight line" from introduction (*jo*) to development (*ha*) to climax (*kyû*). However, there are disagreements regarding the nature and origins of this discourse type (see also Barba, 1982, pp. 23-24; and Fister-Stoga, 1993, p. 151), and although *jo-ha-kyû* is said to have important historical antecedents in Japanese culture, it is not well known today, nor has it been investigated to any substantial degree in the literature.

The writing pattern known as "fried fish in batter" did not arise from literary tradition but is commonly employed in popular writing in Japan, such as in newspaper articles. It is characterized by the fact that the central idea is usually

"buried almost three-fourths of the way into the article" (Hinds, 1983b, p. 80). Yutani (1977, p. 53) states that this type of writing is comparable to discovering the kind of food inside *tempura* batter: "the flour must be removed first in order to find out the contents—fish." However, while newspaper articles that employ this writing style may have an indirect influence on student compositions, it is not taught explicitly in Japanese schools (Kobayashi, 1984, p. 29).

"Return to baseline theme" is a discourse pattern that is commonly found in Japanese magazine articles (Hinds, 1983b, p. 81). It is characterized by "a decision on the part of the author to select a baseline theme, and then to return overtly to this theme" throughout the article, although the theme itself may never be explicitly stated; i.e., "the initiation of each [new] perspective, or subtopic, contains a partial repetition of the theme of the article" (ibid.). However, although this discourse structure is certainly worthy of investigation from a text linguistic perspective, it seems to have had little direct impact on composition pedagogy in Japan.

In contrast to the aforementioned organizational patterns, the discourse type known as *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* has been extensively investigated and plays a central role in current debates on Japanese rhetoric and composition pedagogy. According to Hinds (1983a, 1987, 1990), *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* is "characteristic of Japanese expository prose" (cited in Kubota, 1992, p. 26) and "constitutes a norm of Japanese style" (cited in Odlin, 1989, p. 62). Inoue (1986, p. 78) states that it is "applicable for writing on all occasions," while Kobayashi (1984, p. 29) maintains that it is still frequently used in Japan "in various genres from cartoon strips to modern prose."⁴⁷ Hosaka (1978; cited in Ricento, 1987, p. 50) agrees, claiming that it is suitable "for all genres of written discourse, including academic expository prose." *Ki-shô-ten-ketsu* is also said to be a dominant organizational pattern learned by Japanese students at school (Hinds, 1983a; Fister-Stoga, 1993). It can be defined as follows (see Appendix 2 for a sample essay):

- *ki* (起) First, begin one's argument.
- *shô* (承) Next, develop that.
- *ten* (転) At the point where this development is finished, turn the idea to a sub-theme where there is a connection, but not a directly connected association (to the major theme).
- *ketsu* (結) Lastly, bring all of this together and reach a conclusion. (Hinds, 1983a, p. 188; after Takematsu, 1976)

This four-part pattern of opening-development-turn-conclusion was originally taken from a form of classical Chinese poetry known as *qi-cheng-zhuan-he* (起承轉合) (Fister-Stoga, 1993, p. 143). Of interest here is the fact that "the *qi-cheng-zhuan-he* pattern [also] appears in one of the preferred Korean rhetorical

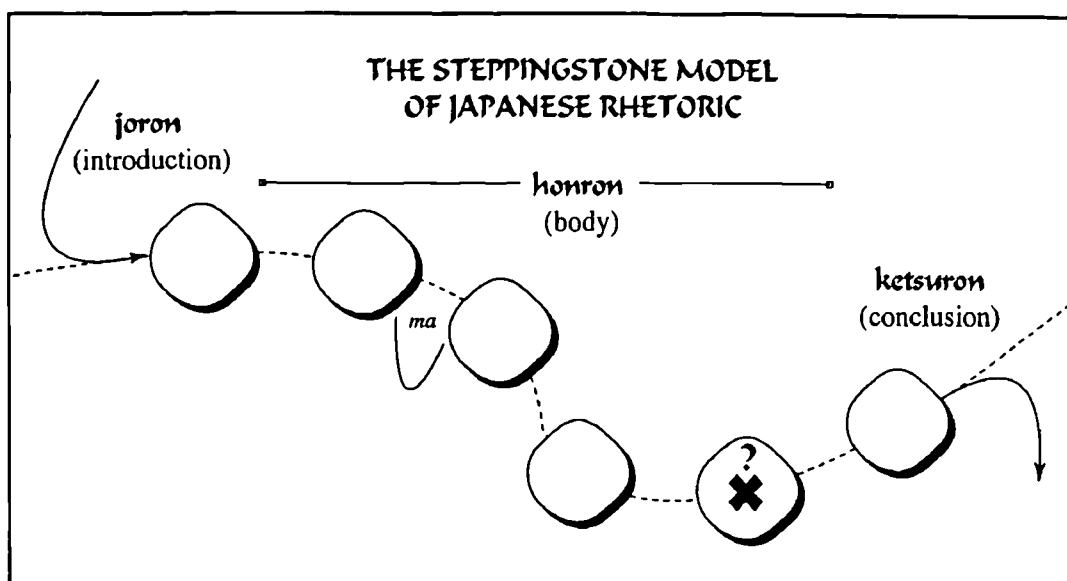
patterns, the *ki-sung-chon-kyul*" (ibid.), which is still used extensively today (Eggington, 1987). Thus, the *ki-shô-ten-ketsu*, like the *ki-sung-chon-kyul*, is an imported pattern from China, adopted into Japan due to the immense prestige of classical Chinese culture (op. cit., p. 145).

According to Fister-Stoga (ibid.), Chinese verse typically contains four couplets designated metaphorically as "head, chin, neck, tail," and this pattern is evident in the traditional essay form, the *ba gu*, or "eight-legged essay," which was "one of the central genres in the Chinese civil service examination from the fourteenth to the twentieth century," and first employed by the Japanese in the Edo era (see Appendix 1 for a chronology of Japanese history). The content of the *ba gu* dealt with the Confucian classics and its structure was rigidly prescribed, even to the point of the number of (Chinese) characters allowed. The first section of the essay introduces the theme, the second section develops it, the third section, or "turn," views the theme from a different angle, and the fourth section sets forth a conclusion (ibid., p. 144). "Since each of the four sections had to contain a *parallel* structure within itself, the form was considered to have 'eight legs'" (ibid.).

From the western point of view, it is the *ten* (turn) section which is the most disturbing in *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* and for which there is no parallel in English. Here, the writer turns to a subtopic that has some connection with the main theme, although no direct association is made explicit. In many school compositions, the more unusual the subject of the *ten*, the more highly the essay is graded, and in general the *ten* section is highly appreciated by the Japanese. However, it must also be emphasized that, in contrast to the rigidly prescribed format of the Chinese *qi-cheng-zhuan-he*, the Japanese *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* permits a much looser arrangement of ideas. As a consequence, there can be multiple "turns," or conversely, the *ten* section may be entirely absent, resulting in an organizational pattern that is roughly equivalent to "introduction-body-conclusion," known as *joron-honron-ketsuron*. (In fact, some Japanese composition textbooks (see Kinoshita, 1994) recommend that students delete the *ten* section from *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* in order to arrive at the *joron-honron-ketsuron*.)⁴⁸ As a number of researchers have pointed out, it is important to realize that the *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* "has multiple meanings" in contemporary Japan (Kubota, 1992, p. 27), and it is now considered little more than a vague set of guidelines for writing: "As long as writers follow this broad framework, they seem to be able to include ideas loosely related to the topic of an essay" (Kobayashi, 1984, p. 30).

The traditional discourse organization of Japanese expository prose can thus be characterized by a loosely-defined *ki-shô-ten-ketsu*, or, in the absence of the *ten*, by an equally malleable *joron-honron-ketsuron*. Compared with the standard pattern for writing essays in English (i.e., introduction with thesis statement, a body which

supports the thesis, and conclusion), however, this form of rhetorical organization appears to be incohesive and digressive. Fister-Stoga (op. cit., p. 148) suggests that "the emphasis seems not to be on the arrangement of ideas but on the *flow* of concrete images," a pattern described by Loveday (1986, p. 116; after Toyama, 1973) as "the dot [or dot/point/space] type presentation of one item after another in a highly anecdotal or episodic vein," also called the "steppingstone" mode by Okabe (1976, pp. 28-29). This steppingstone analogy can be represented graphically as a conceptual model of Japanese rhetoric as follows (cf. Kaplan's representation of the sequence of thought in "Oriental" writing in section 2.2 as a spiral, concentric circle, or "widening gyre"):



According to Fister-Stoga (op. cit.), this "itemization of numerous concrete observed images has a parallel in much Chinese writing in the *ba gu*, where...'*the thinking is neither synthetic nor analytic but accumulative; one concrete image after another is laid out in the order of their occurrence in the writer's mind...*'" Compared to the Chinese *ba gu*, however, Japanese writing is even more digressive, perhaps due to the influence on literary style of the Japanese diary (*nikki*) form, the book of random thoughts (e.g., *Makura no Soshi*, or "Leaves of the Pillow Book"), and the *zuihitsu* (i.e., "following the pen," or stream of consciousness) technique of random reflections on a religious theme developed in the Kamakura period (ibid.).⁴⁹ As a result, discourse structures in Japanese expository writing seem "especially suitable for the accumulation of concrete images," functioning through the simple enumeration of separate observations with analogies drawn between them and an inference or generalization at the end, usually implicit rather than explicit (ibid.). Simple enumeration is so called because it is a

process of simply listing observations and noting certain common properties between them, but it does not involve analysis, and is "quite different from the deductive logic and argumentation with its counter-arguments" of English (ibid., pp. 148-149). In fact, Japanese expository discourse organization is markedly different from what would normally be expected in English:

Western rhetorical style...is quite different from that of *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* pattern or *jo-ha-kyû* which has developed from *Noh* dramas. Although most writing education in Japan now makes use of a loose organizational pattern which has evolved out of such traditional literary patterns...in which compositions are divided into three parts, *joron* (introduction), *honron* (development), and *ketsuron* (conclusion), the roles of each section are radically different [from English]. (Aibara, 2000, p. 49)

Japanese introductions, for example, should not be "equated with introduction in normative English rhetoric," as they usually allow for "a very broad organization" and do "not require a thesis statement nor a blue print" (Inoue, 1986, pp. 76-77). In Japanese, long, indirect introductions are usually standard, with the *daigen-hô* ("the indirect topic oriented" pattern) and *hadoku-hô* (the "turning away from the topic" pattern) most commonly used (Davies & Ide, 1997, p. 41; after Moriwaki, 1995). The writer attempts to approach the main topic tangentially (i.e., at an angle, or slant) without referring to it directly, and analogies to nature are often utilized for this purpose.⁵⁰ A thesis statement is usually not provided and one must often wait until much later in the essay to discover the true purpose of the writing. General or abstract statements tend to be avoided in the introductory section, where individual feelings or observations and personal involvement with the subject are emphasized (Davies, 1998a, p. 33). Of course, this is in direct contrast to the standard introduction of an English essay in which directly relevant background material is provided before setting forth a thesis statement which lays out the plan or blueprint of the entire composition in a clear and impersonal fashion.

The development stage, or body, also differs from that which is expected in English, as ideas are simply laid out one after another in a string with few connecting devices or transition expressions to link them together. "Perspectives are structured paratactically" (i.e., placing clauses or phrases one after another without coordinating or subordinating connectives), and "grammatical reflexes of paragraph structuring are weak," or merely suggestive, resulting in a "loose semantic cohesiveness" (Hinds, 1980b, p. 150).⁵¹ In Japanese, "the thesis does not control the linear argument; instead the ideas are developed through a logic of association among seemingly unrelated points" (Harder, 1983, p. 29). This is in direct contrast to writing in English, where ideas developing the main thesis should be tightly organized and involve reasons, facts, or examples, and these in turn are joined by the overt use of linking expressions both within and between paragraphs. In other

words, for English readers, transition expressions are very important in piecing together "the thread of the writer's logic which binds the composition together. In Japanese, on the other hand, the landmarks may be absent or attenuated..." (Hinds, 1987, p. 146).⁵² In the steppingstone model above, this absence of linking or transition expressions (i.e., the use of "syntactic gaps") is represented by the Japanese expression *ma*, or empty space, a concept which plays a significant role in many Japanese art forms (see section 5.7 below).

The concluding section, as well, is not really what could be considered a conclusion in English. In Japanese, the ending does not have to be decisive—all it needs to do is raise a doubt or ask a question; as a result, it sometimes seems more like an "afterthought than a result of the previous discussion," often appearing to simply "drop off" without any real conclusion at all (Kobayashi, 1984, p. 30). Other strategies employed in writing conclusions in Japanese include adding personal impressions, appealing to the reader, or making moralistic or didactic remarks in such a way that "objective statements and personal comments intermingle" (Davies & Ide, 1997, p. 42). Achiba and Kuromiya (1983, p. 5), for example, comment on "the Japanese tendency to avoid terse, perspicuous endings; that is, they expect the reader to infer the conclusion." They also claim that many compositions written by Japanese students have "some kind of didactic remark at the end," and provide the following example from a student writing on the difference between training and education (ibid., pp. 9-10):

Sometimes we need some special knowledge to get a job, such as physical, or psychological knowledge. But it depends on the job. If you want to lead to good positions, *you should get good education and you shouldn't forget to make efforts towards jobs everyday. Train yourself everyday.*

Achiba and Kuromiya point out that the italicized words constitute "a kind of didactic remark," and that the writing of Japanese students commonly concludes with modal verbs, such as "should" and "ought to," as well as imperatives (ibid.). Thus, as Davies and Ide (op. cit.) note, Japanese writers usually "try to share their feelings with the reader and finish in a harmonious atmosphere," and "strong assertions or judgments are avoided as these will appear arrogant to the Japanese" (ibid.). Of course, this is clearly at variance with the expected pattern in English in which a strong conclusion is essential and where the writer attempts to tie up the main ideas previously discussed in a summary or paraphrase before providing a final evaluation or judgment as decisively and impersonally as possible.

This steppingstone model of Japanese rhetoric can be readily illustrated in an examination of newspaper articles from the column "Tensei Jingo" ("Vox Populi, Vox Dei," or "voice of the people"), published in the *Asahi Shimbun*. These articles

are written in Japanese by professional journalists for Japanese readers and are then translated the following day for publication in the English edition of the newspaper. This translation is done sentence by sentence and maintains the organizational framework of the original Japanese column. The essays in "Tensei Jingo" address a wide range of social issues of current interest in Japan and are used in the school system as models for students learning how to write *shōronbun* (short essays) in Japanese (Ochi & Davies, 1999, pp. 35 & 42; after Ikeda, 1997). The following sample column has been adapted from Fister-Stoga (1993, pp. 162-163; see Appendix 3 for an integral version and additional samples in both languages), who interprets its discourse organization from the perspective of *ki-shō-ten-ketsu*. This interpretation, however, is only tenable if *ki-shō-ten-ketsu* is defined in the broadest possible terms. In fact, the steppingstone mode described above provides a far more effective model for analysis:

A Bird's-Eye View

⁽¹⁾Extending in a long, sweeping arc from the southern tip of Kyushu to Taiwan is a chain of large and small islands known collectively as the Nansei, or Ryukyus. Flying over them is quite an experience. Seen from the air, each island stands out in stark contrast against the water. To the left stretches the Pacific Ocean; to the right, the East China Sea. I feel as if I've become a bird—only a bird sees panoramas like this. Being in a small plane helps. It wouldn't be the same view from a 747. Speaking of birds, our flight plan follows the migration route of the *sashiba*, a medium-size hawk which appears in Japan in summer, breeds here, and then in autumn steers a course for southeast Asia.

⁽²⁾These birds' long south-bound journey begins around Cape Irago in Aichi Prefecture, the whole flock flying together as one—over Shikoku, Kyushu, and the Nansei Islands. Sometimes they send a scouting party down to an island, and if conditions seem favorable, land for a while to rest their wings and feed. If only we could travel like that!

⁽³⁾I'm looking down over the *kuroshio*—the Japan Current which flows from south to north like a great belt. Here and there, though, it forms eddies flowing from north to south. Once a group of students from Ryukyu University rode the *kuroshio* on a raft from Okinawa to Kagoshima. I hear that at times their drifting speed reached nine kilometers an hour.

⁽⁴⁾One can travel among these islands by air, by sea—what about under the sea, I wonder? At one time, people made their way up from the south, advancing island by island, by ship or by raft. Trade developed. Later, the powerful feudal Shimazu clan moved in the opposite direction, proceeding south from their base in southern Kyushu, and consolidating their rule over the islands as they went. It is amusing to think of the birds who must have looked down on all that history as they passed overhead.

⁽⁵⁾The expression "bird's-eye view" suggests a view of vast horizons seen from a great height—an unlimited expanse ordinarily inaccessible to the human eye. Do birds, then, have a broader perspective than other creatures? No doubt they do. But being able to see the forest, they lose sight of the trees. When it comes to perceiving details, it is the insects—lowly, crawling ones—that can claim the ideal viewpoint. As for human beings, in order to judge things properly we must learn to see them from both the bird's-eye view and the insect's-eye view. This applies, for example, to our reflections on the year just past as well as our projections regarding the one about to begin.

⁽⁶⁾Really, it's fun to feel like a bird for a while.

In this essay, paragraph (1) introduces the theme of flight, focusing on the migration habits of the *sashiba* hawk. English readers would almost certainly identify this as the main topic initially because of its placement towards the end of the introductory paragraph where it is normally expected. This assumption would be incorrect, however, as the opening is typical of traditional Japanese discourse organization, reflecting a tangential approach to the main theme through an analogy to some aspect of nature. In the second paragraph, the bird theme progresses, not posing any particular problems for the English reader who probably still believes that this is an article about birds. Paragraph (3) appears to digress markedly, however, introducing new information about university students sailing on a raft, but not linking it directly back to the bird theme. Paragraph (4) seems to go off-topic even further in discussing the history of the Shimazu clan, and then relating this to the bird theme in a rather contrived fashion (i.e., "look[ing] down on all that history as they passed overhead"). In paragraph (5), an abrupt transition is made to the expression "bird's-eye-view," and from there to the contrasting visual perspective of insects. The final sentence of the paragraph provides the actual thesis statement of the essay, which is about the author's reflections on New Year's resolutions, a wholly unexpected and somewhat shocking turn of events for the English reader. Paragraph (6) consists of a single sentence which concludes the article in a subjective, attenuated, and seemingly ineffectual fashion.

It should thus be clear that the steppingstone model of Japanese rhetoric differs markedly from standard patterns of writing in English which demand a precise, logical progression of ideas. Although this way of writing is highly valued in Japanese, when employed in English, it will strike native-speaking readers as strange at best and as completely unacceptable at worst. Because it does not conform to the patterns of discourse organization that English readers expect, the steppingstone mode can be extremely difficult to follow; if numerous grammatical and other sentence-level mistakes are superimposed upon such an "alien" organizational pattern, the results can be virtually incomprehensible. Finally, it should be noted that the blunt fact is that writing in English which is characterized by digression, a lack of focus and unity, no clear thesis statement, vague and unsupported generalizations, a lack of logical development, statements of emotional opinion rather than reasoned thought, and an absence of connections between ideas will almost certainly be considered by native speakers to be deficient and immature. Of interest here is the fact that when the linear pattern of organization typical of English is employed in Japanese, the result is not a lack of clarity, but rather an impression that the writing is "flat," mechanical, superficial, and lacking in beauty or elegance. This linear style is nevertheless becoming more and more prevalent in certain kinds of Japanese writing, especially in academic and business circles where

clarity and precision are of paramount importance. In recent times, movements to introduce these new forms of discourse organization into Japanese schools have been gathering momentum, and these issues will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6, which focuses on composition pedagogy in Japan.

5.3 Paragraph development

The paragraph as a textual unit⁵³ is also of considerable significance in understanding the nature of Japanese discourse organization. Teele (1983, p. 36) contends that whereas the sentence and paragraph are clearly defined units in English, they are not in Japanese, and as a result, paragraphs in Japanese expository prose are much more fluid in organization and structure than those of English. Kobayashi (1984, p. 33) agrees: "Generally, the concept of Japanese paragraph is not clearly defined yet and its structure is not defined yet." Namba and Chick (1986, pp. 79 & 82) also concur, stating that while the notion of the paragraph is well-established in English, it is more ambiguous in Japanese where it remains an "elusive concept," and that for many Japanese, even today, "the idea of a paragraph as a unit of topic development might appear strange":

In English the notion of the paragraph is well-established, and there is more or less general agreement on how the paragraph should be defined and on what constitutes a 'good' paragraph. ...In Japanese, by comparison, the paragraph seems to be a less clearly defined notion, and Japanese language textbooks generally pay little attention to the art of paragraph writing. (ibid., p. 79)

From a sociohistorical perspective, expository writing in Japanese has a long tradition dating back to the early tenth century, and from its very beginnings, it was greatly influenced by the pre-eminence of Chinese culture in East Asia (Teale, 1983, p. 20).⁵⁴ According to Namba and Chick (1986, p. 80), two basic streams of written discourse have existed side by side in Japan since the Nara period: *wabungo-kei* and *kanbun-kundokugo-kei*; i.e., the original, native Japanese style, and the style(s) imported from China, respectively.⁵⁵ Since Meiji times, as a consequence of western influences on all aspects of Japanese life, there has also arisen a form of writing in Japanese called *ô-beigo-kei* (Euro-American style), which "has clearly been gaining ground," and in the post-war period "the supersession of *kanbun-kundokugo* by *ô-beigo* has been especially noticeable" (ibid., p. 81). As a result, modern Japanese writing is "a product of these three diverse influences, each with its own traditions and values..." (ibid., p. 80).

Until relatively recently, however, there was little evidence of paragraphing in Japanese writing. Orthographic devices such as indentation to start a line were rare, and the use of punctuation was minimal.⁵⁶ Content was clearly more important than form, and many writers appeared to pay little attention to the organizational structure

of their writing, focusing more on other qualities such as feelings and the beauty of the language:

[F]rom ancient times up until the *Meiji* Period and the introduction of *ô-beigo*, there is little evidence of paragraphing. Orthographic devices like indentation or the starting of a new line were typically not used, or if they were used, it was usually in a relatively random manner. Content was more important than form, and many authors appear to have paid little attention to how they structured what they were writing. Although some older expository texts may appear in modern books with 'modern' paragraphing, for example in school reading books, when the original texts are checked, they are usually found to have been written without such paragraphing.... (Namba & Chick, 1986, p. 81)

Teele (1983) agrees, stating that there was no punctuation in either ancient Chinese or Japanese prose. Early texts indicated sections by starting a new line, but this died out, and the practice was to write prose in one continuous stream, as in Chinese. Ideas could easily be identified by *kanji* so that punctuation was considered unnecessary. By the sixteenth century, however, commas began to be used, although modern punctuation did not begin on a wide scale until the latter part of the nineteenth century, stemming probably from European influences.⁵⁷ Today, this is difficult to see, however, as classical texts are edited for modern readers. According to Teele, the historical lack of punctuation in Japanese may have had a significant effect on the development of the notion of the sentence, which is intertwined with both the clause (or phrase) on the one hand and the paragraph on the other: "[A] paragraph of Japanese prose may be seen as one long sentence, an ocean in which the smaller units, waves, rise and fall" (pp. 23 & 29). Today, paragraphing is used more extensively in Japanese written discourse, but conventions do not always conform to western models; in other words, the use of typographical paragraphs has been adopted, especially with *ô-beigo-kei*, but "the notion of the paragraph remains much vaguer in Japanese than in English" (Namba & Chick, 1986, p. 81).

According to Namba and Chick (*ibid.*, p. 82), there are considered to be two types of paragraph in Japanese, called the "visual paragraph" and the "meaning paragraph." Other terms used are the "formal or typological paragraph" and the "psychological paragraph" (in Japanese schools, the terms *keishiki-danraku*, or *shô-danraku*, and *imi-danraku*, or *dai-danraku*, are used). The idea of "paragraph" itself is generally rendered in Japanese by the words *danraku* or *paragurafu*, which seem to refer basically to the typological paragraph rather than to the idea of topic development. In Japanese writing, the typological paragraph and the meaning paragraph may or may not coincide. In fact, the term, *imi-danraku* (or *dai-danraku*) is sometimes used as a group term for a number of short paragraphs which are associated in terms of meaning or content. Thus, in Japanese, form and content do not always coincide in a single paragraph as a unit of text:

To emphasize the unity of the content or of an idea one is trying to convey, Japanese also has the concept of *bundan*—the unit of statements on which a reader mainly concentrates, neglecting a consideration of how a writer structures what he is writing. In terms of *bundan*, broadly speaking, the visual boundaries are disregarded. (ibid., p. 83)

As a consequence, Japanese paragraphs are much more fluid than those of English, with the same unit of thought often flowing through many short paragraphs and the organization of several paragraph units is considered more important than paragraph organization per se (Teele, 1983, pp. 36-37). This suggests that "a Japanese paragraph is a semantic unit more than a grammatical one" and that thematic principles take precedence over syntactic principles (Kobayashi, 1984, pp. 34-35). In fact, individual paragraphs in Japanese frequently consist of a single sentence, with the average length being two to three sentences (cf. four to eight in English).⁵⁸ Thus, whereas single-sentence paragraphs occur in English occasionally, generally for emphasis or transition, short paragraphs are the norm in Japanese:

Single-sentence or very short paragraphs, which are exceptional in English, are not at all uncommon in Japanese, and may even occur in a series. An English reader would probably regard such a text as 'choppy' and lacking continuity, but as Toyama points out, the creation of more white space [i.e., *ma*; see the steppingstone model above] by changing lines frequently may be appreciated by many Japanese people as being more aesthetically pleasing compared with the dense writing which would result if one long paragraph were used. (ibid., pp. 82-83)

Finally, in English composition textbooks, the concepts of unity, coherence, and development (i.e., "the holy trinity") are emphasized as being important within the paragraph, while transitions between paragraphs are used to achieve a continuity from one idea to the next.⁵⁹

[A] good paragraph's essential quality is unity. The well-written paragraph has one point to make and every sentence in the paragraph relates to that point. It flows smoothly from one sentence to the next, each seeming to fit naturally with the ones that come before or after it. It doesn't sag with unnecessary detail, nor does it veer off in unexpected directions.... (Hairston, 1982; cited in Namba & Chick, ibid., p. 82)

In contrast, "the Japanese paragraph is not necessarily perceived as a vehicle for topic development, and...a change of topic and a change of paragraph need not coincide: "Writers in Japanese have considerable freedom in dividing their text," although it is also "perfectly possible to find examples of Japanese expository text in which each paragraph develops one topic in a 'Western' logical manner..." (ibid., p. 82). Thus, although the concept of the topic sentence is extremely important in English expository prose, this notion was not found in the junior or senior high school *kokugo* (Japanese language) textbooks examined by Teele (1983, p. 31). He states that in one case the idea of a topic sentence is mentioned, but no clear example is given of what one is or how it should function. Some textbooks emphasize that

the writer should clearly state his or her idea or point of view, preferably at the outset, but the notion that this should be contained in one specific sentence is missing (ibid.). In conclusion, as Kobayashi (1984, p. 32) points out...

...the internal consistency of Japanese paragraphs is less restricted than those of English; while English paragraphs tend to have a logical coherence between ideas, Japanese equivalents are more characterized by 'a loose semantic cohesiveness'.... In other words, Japanese paragraphs can include comments both directly and indirectly connected to a main theme.

This "loose semantic cohesiveness" can also be seen in traditional Japanese written discourse patterns which Namba and Chick (1986, p. 85) characterize as lacking in logical connectors:

[R]ather than trying to connect sentences together in a progressive or logical manner, authors often endeavoured to create an 'aperture' between their sentences, a suggestive gap [cf. *ma*] which the reader should be left to bridge through his own imagination (Tanizaki, 1975). ...Historically, then, the Japanese way of connecting sentences has often been to use no logical connectors. In modern Japanese writing, a greater use of a wider range of connectors is apparent in order to develop the paragraph along more Western lines, but traditional influences still exist.

5.4 Modes of reasoning

The steppingstone model of Japanese rhetoric and sociohistorical perspectives on the development of the Japanese paragraph outlined above provide a useful backdrop for recent contrastive studies on deductive and inductive modes of reasoning in student writing. Kobayashi's (1984) investigation of Japanese and American students doing narrative and expository writing indicates that American students prefer a general-to-specific pattern in compositions, while Japanese students favor a specific-to-general style, placing the general statement at the end of an essay. Kobayashi concluded from these results that "(1) cultural preferences for certain rhetorical patterns clearly exist and (2) second language learners do use first language rhetorical patterns when writing in English" (p. ii). In a similar study, Kubota (1992) compared the organizational patterns in expository and persuasive essays written in English by Japanese and Canadian students. Her results also indicate that Japanese students tend to place the main idea at the end of paragraphs, but when questioned about it, they claimed to prefer the general-to-specific pattern (Connor, 1996, pp. 43-44), suggesting that the issue may be far more complex than first assumed. Kubota claims that these results reveal differing perceptions of L1 and L2 rhetoric and a transfer of writing skills rather than L1 rhetorical interference.

Hinds (1990), however, argues that in most Japanese expository prose the thesis statement is not found at the very end of the text, but is generally buried in later stages of the body in what he describes as a "delayed introduction of purpose,"

or "quasi-inductive" approach to writing (cf. the steppingstone model of Japanese rhetoric). He states that "any society with a literary tradition is capable of producing expository texts that contain either inductive or deductive reasoning or some combination of the two" (p. 89). In English, either mode of reasoning is acceptable, although composition textbooks generally maintain that "deductive writing contributes directly to the overall coherence of the composition" (ibid.). Hinds (ibid., p. 99) states that "English-speaking readers typically expect that an essay will be organized according to a deductive style. If they find that it is not, they naturally assume that the essay is arranged in the inductive style," depending on the circumstances:

If you think your readers will have no quarrel with your conclusions, you will probably proceed deductively, stating your conclusions at the outset. If you think your readers will be hostile to your conclusion, you give your reasons first, hoping they will agree with them one by one until they have to reach the conclusion that you did. (Ross & Doty, 1985; cited in Hinds, 1990, p. 99)

It has been claimed that Japanese exhibits an inductive mode of reasoning, although a deductive style is also possible, but according to Hinds (ibid., p. 99), such distinctions may be inappropriate. He maintains that Japanese writing is more suitably characterized as "quasi-inductive," and its "delayed introduction of purpose" is not designed to convince readers, as in English, but to allow them to "consider the observations made, and to draw their own conclusions." This delayed introduction of purpose, however, also has "the undesirable effect of making the essay appear incoherent to the English-speaking reader"; i.e., it makes the text appear "disorganized, unfocused, or ineffective" (pp. 90 & 98).

5.5 The notion of audience

This quasi-inductive approach to writing characteristic of Japanese written discourse is closely related to the notion of "audience," which is at the forefront of modern theories of rhetoric (e.g., "The New Rhetoric," section 3.2.5). Hinds (1987) argues that Japanese is a "reader responsible" language, whereas English is "writer responsible," a distinction which has important implications for the rhetorical strategies used in the two languages.

In English, the primary responsibility for effective communication lies with the speaker/writer, who must know "how to get his or her ideas across," and this view is strongly supported by most textbooks on oral and written communication which aim to teach people to express their ideas clearly and directly (cf. the C-B-S model of clarity, brevity, and sincerity described in section 3.3.3). The communicative style⁶⁰ of English charges the speaker/writer with the responsibility "to make clear and well-organized statements. If there is a breakdown in communication, for

instance, it is because the speaker/writer has not been clear enough, not because the listener/reader has not exerted enough effort in an attempt to understand" (Hinds, 1987, p. 143):

The desire to write or speak clearly in English permeates our culture. This point of view has even been made into an aphorism for public speaking: 'Tell 'em what you're going to tell 'em, tell 'em, then tell 'em what you told 'em.' It is the responsibility of the speaker to communicate a message. (ibid., p. 144)

In Japanese, on the other hand, it is the listener/reader who must try to anticipate, understand, and interpret what the speaker/writer means, regardless of the words that are actually used. The ability of the Japanese to intuit the real meaning of spoken and written messages is said to be due to basic principles of communication in Japan, where the communicative style is widely recognized as intuitive and indirect, highly context dependent, "rich in connotation, and evasive in denotation" (Clancy, 1986, p. 213). The basis for this style of communication is a set of cultural values which "emphasizes empathy over explicit communication," as illustrated in the Japanese attitude toward speech itself—"verbosity has traditionally been looked down upon in Japan, especially in men," and to articulate one's innermost thoughts and feelings is taken as a sign that one is "neither profound nor very sincere" (ibid., p. 214). As a result, both oral and written communication will often be inexplicit, indirect, and ambiguous, and this kind of indirection is consistent with traditional Japanese attitudes towards avoiding conflict; i.e., communication is seen as a way of "creating and reinforcing the emotional ties that bind people together—the aim is social harmony and the overt expression of conflicting opinions is taboo" (ibid., p. 215).

As a consequence, the Japanese tend to "express their views tentatively, in anticipation of possible retraction and qualification, depending on how they are received, and they try to feel out the positions of others, seeking common ground for establishing unanimity" (ibid.). The value placed on unanimity, however, "does not prevent individuals from harboring their own thoughts and feelings," which are considered to be *honne*, as opposed to the more public *tatemae*. Westerners mostly feel that acting and speaking in accordance with one's *honne* is "a matter of personal integrity" or sincerity, whereas the Japanese view the discrepancy between *honne* and *tatemae* "as merely reflecting the way society works," and it is not perceived as hypocrisy. In other words, individuals may hold their own personal views, but in the interest of group harmony, they should not express these views if they conflict with the opinions of others. As a result of this style of communication it can be extremely difficult to find out what others really mean in Japan—"yes" may well mean "no," and "no" is rarely used in replying to requests—one must always be

ready to guess the real intentions of the speaker or writer, in spite of what is actually said or written (ibid., p. 216):

What is often verbally expressed and what is actually intended are two different things. What is verbally expressed is probably important enough to maintain friendship, and it is generally called *tatemae* which means simply 'in principle' but what is not verbalized counts most—*honne* which means 'true mind.' Although it is not expressed verbally, you are supposed to know it by *kan*—'intuition.'" (Yoshikawa, 1978; cited in Hinds, 1987, p. 144)

Suzuki (1975) agrees, stating that in writing, "Japanese authors do not like to give clarifications or full explanations of their views. They like to leave dark hints and to leave them behind nuances" (cited in Hinds, 1987, p. 145; cf. the steppingstone model of Japanese rhetoric), and that Japanese readers "anticipate with pleasure the opportunities that such writing offers them to savor this kind of mystification of the language" (ibid.).

The consequences of Japanese being a reader-responsible language⁶¹ are more than "merely a tolerance for ambiguity and imprecision of statement," however (Hinds, 1987, p. 145). The area of writing in which reader responsibility operates most prominently is in terms of the concepts of unity and coherence, and it is here that many Japanese EL2 writers experience some of their greatest difficulties. As stated previously, English readers "require landmarks along the way"—these "transition statements are very important" and it is the responsibility of the writer to provide them in an appropriate manner so that "the reader can piece together the thread of the writer's logic..." (ibid., p. 146). In Japanese, however, "landmarks may be absent or attenuated":

[I]t is the reader's responsibility to determine the relationship between any one part of an essay and the essay as a whole. This is not to say that there are no transition statements in Japanese. There are. It is only to say that these transition devices may be more subtle and require a more active role for the reader. (ibid.)

Namba and Chick (1986, p. 85) concur:

Although not lacking in connectors, [Japanese written discourse], especially before the Meiji period, emphasized *ganchiku* (implication/the pregnant sentence) as being more important than direct statement. Writers deliberately refrained from stating everything in clear and unmistakable terms. ...The lack of conjunctions in the common language could be a reflection of a society in which people did not wish to express themselves precisely and logically in writing.

Harder (1983, 1984; after Kunihiro, 1976) links the use of "syntactic gaps" in Japanese writing to long-standing cultural attitudes towards language, as well as the structure of the language itself:

These attitudes include a basic distrust of language and a low esteem for the articulation of thoughts. The feelings of others are at least as important as the content, and listeners and readers are expected to fill in gaps in the message. (Harder, 1984, p. 124)

Perhaps...the open Japanese style that moves towards an assertion through a series of loosely related statements is part of a deep need to allow readers to derive their own interpretations. ...This relationship between intuitive communication and syntactic gaps can also be linked to Japanese discourse structures. The Japanese sentence that moves through a number of loosely connected clauses to a clearer focus at the end also appears to be the structural basis of the essay. (ibid., 1983, p. 28)

Ricento (1987, pp. 4-5; after Watsuji, cited in Nakamura, 1971) also points out that the importance of intuition and emotion in Japanese writing is reflected in "modes of written expression in which words and phrases are connected which exhibit no connection of cognitive meaning, but are juxtaposed according to identity or similarity of pronunciation."

A further consequence of reader-responsibility in Japanese can be seen in attitudes towards the writing process itself: "English-speaking writers go through draft after draft to come up with a final product, while Japanese authors frequently compose exactly one draft which becomes the finished product" (Hinds, 1987, p. 145). This may be a legacy of the way writing was often done in the Edo period, when texts were composed in accordance with prescribed notions of Zen and Confucian scholarship (see section 5.7 below): writing was seen as an art form and texts were written on scrolls with a brush and black ink which were carefully prepared for the occasion; the writer prepared his thoughts in a meditative atmosphere and laid these ideas down on the parchment relatively quickly in the order that they occurred in his mind; no organizational patterns were prescribed, no revision was required, and the expression of the writer's feelings and intuition was of paramount importance; in other words, the emphasis was on content not form—there were many writing styles, but few organizing principles. Of course, this approach to the writing process has important implications for the second language classroom, an issue which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

5.6 The nature of logical argumentation

Closely related to the notion of audience is the nature of logical argumentation in Japanese. As outlined in Chapter 1, many authors have had a good deal to say on this issue, generally characterizing logical argumentation in Japanese writing as "intuitive," "lacking," "illogical," "loose," and "vague." Harder (1984, p. 124), for example, states that Japanese argumentation "tends to be anecdotal, non-dualistic, disconnected, and dependent on feelings rather than concrete evidence, [and that] instead of dividing topics into discrete categories and treating them sequentially, [the Japanese] value the skill of assimilating intrinsically dissimilar entities."

According to Oi, "the mere concept of 'making an argument' is foreign for the Japanese people" (1999, p. 88): "Because Japan is such a high-context society (Hall, 1976; see Appendix 4)," people prefer a communicative style in which "things are not articulated precisely," and where they have to "feel out" the position of others (ibid.).⁶² Oi maintains that the Japanese have a preference for "subjective over factual or objective data" (p. 88), "the emotional over the logical" (p. 89), and "the tentative and interdependent over the confrontative and independent" (p. 90); moreover, in Japan, people try to "avoid theoretical arguments," in direct contrast to "Westerners [who] put emphasis on facts, statistics and quotations; [they also] pay greater attention on (sic) human relationships and emotions and place less emphasis on instrumental results" (ibid., pp. 88 & 90). In addition, the Japanese prefer to "use concrete incidents to support their opinions" (Kamimura & Oi, 1998, p. 318).

Although the investigation of persuasive writing in Japanese is still very much in its formative stages, the argumentative essay is the genre in which differences in the nature of logical argumentation between Japanese and English are most readily apparent (Oi, 1999, p. 85). A promising series of recent studies by Kamimura and Oi (1997, 1998) and Oi (1999), focusing on preferred patterns of logical organization and "extra-organizational" factors in argumentation, highlight some of these differences. Kamimura and Oi (1997) describe the type of argumentation used by Japanese students as "bi-directional," in contrast to the "linear pattern" preferred in English in which writers "take a view of an argument and maintain it all the way through" (p. 66):

...Japanese students use bi-directional argumentation. That is to say, they try to incorporate both sides of an argument, with their positions sometimes fluctuating during the course of an essay. It is also often the case that what they state at the outset is not directly related to the argument at issue and that their final comments differ from what they originally proposed. These kinds of tendencies in Japanese writing are transferred into English when the Japanese students write in English. When native speakers of English read this kind of writing, they perceive it as 'disorganized' and 'illogical.' (ibid.)

Kamimura and Oi (1998) also investigated extra-organizational factors such as rhetorical appeals in the two languages, focusing primarily on logical and affective appeals. In a contrastive study of argumentative strategies in the writing of American and Japanese students, they discovered that American students "employed more 'rational' appeals," whereas Japanese students used "an organizational unit called 'reservation' more frequently and...this gave the impression of circularity to their essays" (p. 307). They conclude that argumentative writing in English emphasizes logically-oriented strategies (i.e., rational appeals), whereas Japanese strategies are more emotionally-oriented, "integrat[ing] rational as well as affective appeals" (p. 308); i.e., "appealing to the readers' emotions and aiming at the effect of empathy"

(p. 318). To this end, "softening devices," or lexical hedges, were conspicuous in the writing of the Japanese students, including expressions such as "I feel," "I think," "I suppose," and so on (Oi, 1986, p. 46). Kamimura and Oi (op. cit., p. 307) suggest that this use of hedging is related to a desire by the writer "to evoke empathy in the reader's mind":

...Japanese students' heavy dependence on emotional appeals, softening devices in diction, and focus on empathy all come from Japanese 'high-context' culture (Hall, 1976), where a message is deeply embedded in shared assumptions and human relationships among members.... In contrast..., the American...preference for logical appeals...originates from American 'low-context' culture, where a message is transmitted in a clear, verbal code with little influence of social ties among individuals.... (1998, p. 318; after Okabe, 1976; see Appendix 4)

In addition, Oi (1999, p. 98) notes that many Japanese students "include their inner dialog in their writings," although this kind of self-disclosure is inadvisable when writing academic English: "In the writing activity, it is, of course, important to go through several stages of thinking process (sic), fluctuating back and forth, before reaching a final claim. However, it is not necessary to show these processes directly in the writing [it]self."

5.7 Attitudinizing conventions within Japanese culture

A number of sociocultural factors beyond the level of text itself have also played a formative role in shaping Japanese rhetorical preferences. Culture in this sense can be defined as follows:

Culture, being what people have to learn as distinct from their biological heritage, must consist of the end product of learning: knowledge, in a most general, if relative sense of the term. By this definition, we should note that culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people, behavior, or emotions. It is rather *an organization of these things*. It is *the forms of things* that people have in mind, *their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them* (my italics). (Goodenough, 1964, p. 36)

Because of the complex, multilayered nature of Japanese culture, however, the attitudes, values, and ways of thinking of the Japanese people are not at all easy to characterize. Nevertheless, numerous scholars have attempted to delineate the fundamental features of the Japanese thought-tradition, and among the many sociocultural factors investigated, the most commonly cited in relation to Japanese rhetoric are phenomenism, the social nexus, and aesthetics (Nakamura, 1971), described by Fister-Stoga (1993) as "attitudinizing conventions" within Japanese culture.

5.7.1 Phenomenalism

Because of their emphasis on the importance of the direct and immediate experience of life, the philosophical and religious beliefs of the Japanese are often referred to as "this-worldly," and the terms "phenomenalism" (Nakamura, 1971) and "radical empiricism" (Moore, 1967) have been used to describe this orientation. Researchers consider phenomenism to be one of the most significant features of the Japanese way of thinking as it has had a profound impact on Japanese religious and ethical values, resulting in a marked emphasis on the intuitive, emotional, and practical in Japanese life (ibid.).

Japanese religious thought is said to be characterized by its eclecticism, flexibility, realism and practicality, and lack of concern with ultimate principles (Moore, 1967, p. 297). Universal religious values and abstract metaphysical concerns seem to be of little importance to the Japanese, who are more interested in "the achievement of inner tranquility and the serene facing of the problems of life" (ibid.). This approach is reflected in Japanese religious practices which stress the importance of the direct and natural experience of life and reject the intervening distortions of the intellect:

The Japanese tend to combine points of view which are incompatible in strictly intellectual and logical precision—for example, Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, and Shinto. Each of these seems to provide a basis for the practical adjustment to some one aspect of life, and...together, provide a comprehensive philosophy of life, logically compatible or not. (ibid., p. 295)

Because of its focus on immediate experience, phenomenism is perhaps the most direct and realistic viewpoint that one can adopt, and for the Japanese, other attitudes such as "the intellectual, the analytic, even the explanatory, [have long been considered] unnatural, impractical, and a distortion [of life]" (ibid., p. 289). The Socratic dictum that "the unexamined life is unfit to live" holds little sway in Japan, where the practical, the particularistic, and the concrete are considered far more important. This approach to life has led the Japanese to great achievements in the applied sciences and technology, yet no "genuinely and indigenous philosophical tradition" has ever come out of Japan (ibid., p. 292). Nakamura (cited in Moore, ibid., p. 292) argues that this may be due to the nature of the Japanese language itself, which "does not lend itself to absolutes or universals or abstract principles." Moore concurs, stating that precision, objectivity, and direct logical analysis are not part of the Japanese thought-tradition—in their place one finds indirectness, suggestiveness, and symbolism in many aspects of Japanese art and literature (ibid.; see also p. 118 for a critique of this way of thinking about the language). An important consequence of this way of thinking can be seen in the distinctive Japanese approach to daily life: "[T]he Japanese simply accept life as it is, with all

its confusions, incompatibilities, contradictions..., emphasiz[ing] the intuitive and emotional tendencies" (Nakamura; cited in Moore, *ibid.*, p. 289).

In summary, as Reischauer (1988) and others have noted, since their very beginnings as a people, the Japanese have rejected the notion of an Absolute existing above the phenomenal world, and have stressed the intuitively apprehended, the particular and concrete, rather than the universal or abstract. They have emphasized the fluid nature of events in life, generally avoiding dogma and moral absolutism, and have maintained a social structure and value system that places importance on concrete, particularistic human relationships. In so doing, they have a long history of concretizing the abstract and harmonizing the contradictory, and this way of thinking, based on the importance of direct and immediate experience, has persisted down to the present day in their rhetorical preferences.

5.7.2 The social nexus

According to Nakamura (1971, p. 407 ff.), one of the most important aspects of the Japanese way of thinking is its emphasis on the group, or social nexus: "[S]elf-dedication to a specific human nexus has been one of the most powerful factors in Japanese history" (*ibid.*, p. 414). In Japan, groupism is a dynamic rather than static concept, however, with all individuals having multiple group memberships, including the family, the community and its institutions, and at the outer limits, the Japanese nation itself.

Reischauer (1988, p. 139) maintains that this emphasis on the group has had a pervasive influence on Japanese life, and group identification is thought by many to lie at the very heart of Japanese national strength. As a result, in order to operate their group system effectively, the notion of harmony is a dominant cultural value for the Japanese, who prefer to avoid direct confrontations in all aspects of life:

Varying positions are not sharply outlined and their differences analyzed and clarified. Instead each participant in a discussion feels his way cautiously, unfolding his own views only as he sees how others react to them. Much is suggested by indirection or vague implication. Thus any sharp conflict of views is avoided before it comes into the open. (*ibid.*, p. 136)

Emphasis on the group has also affected the nature of interpersonal relationships in Japan where "[a] group player is obviously appreciated more than a solo star, and team spirit more than individual ambition. Cooperativeness, reasonableness, and understanding of others are the virtues most admired, not personal drive, forcefulness, and individual self-assertion" (*ibid.*). As a consequence, Japanese society runs most effectively in clearly fixed channels where unpredictability in individuals is frowned upon and open displays of frankness are generally discouraged.

One of the consequences of this strong identification with the group is that Japanese ethics tend to be relativistic and situational, in contrast to western societies, which require organizing principles to be universal, clear, and invariable, as they are made up of independent and equal individuals, in theory at least (*ibid.*, p. 140). However, as Reischauer notes, "universalistic principles, group orientation, and individual self-expression are all three present in all societies," though the Japanese differ from most other peoples in "bending more clearly than most in the direction of group solidarity" (*ibid.*). As a result, "the Japanese on the whole think less in terms of abstract ethical principles than do Westerners and more in terms of concrete situations and complex human relations" (*ibid.*, p. 142), an approach to life which has had important consequences for the evolution of Japanese rhetorical values.

5.7.3 Aesthetics

According to numerous scholars, aesthetics is the single most important factor in all forms of Japanese cultural expression. Keene (1988, p. 3), for example, states that "the Japanese sense of beauty [is] perhaps the central element in all of Japanese culture," Kishimoto (cited in Moore, 1967, p. 296) speaks of the aesthetic as "being so significant as to be identical with the religious in Japan," and Kosaka (*ibid.*) argues that "Japanese culture *is* an aesthetic culture." Moore (*ibid.*) maintains that aesthetics is "the outstanding positive characteristic of Japanese culture as a whole—as of the very essence of Japanese life": It has been considered the "essentially unique expression of spirituality in Japan," akin to ethics in China, religion in India, and reason and logic in the West (*ibid.*). In analyzing the relationship between language and culture in Japan, Nakamura (1971, p. 543) suggests that "the aesthetic aspects of Japanese life and thought are far more dominant than any concern for exact logical modes of expression." Thus, while the "importance of intuition and emotion in Japanese literature and language is well documented" (Ricento, 1987, p. 4), the Japanese sense of aesthetics also plays a significant role in the almost ubiquitous belief among the Japanese themselves that "beauty of the language" is one of the most important qualities of good writing.

Aesthetics has its roots in the two major religions of Japan—Shinto and Buddhism. Shinto's influence can be felt mainly in a continuing reverence for both nature and purity, and from Buddhism comes almost all of the most basic Japanese attitudes toward aesthetics. Zen is the stream of Buddhism to have most thoroughly pervaded artistry in Japanese life, producing a "tremendous cross-fertilization of philosophical, scholarly, poetic, and artistic pursuits in which the Zen and Taoist feeling for 'naturalness' became the dominant note" (Watts, 1957, p. 177). In the medieval period, Japanese Zen monasteries became leading centers of scholarship

in which "the roles of scholar, artist, and poet were not widely separated" (ibid.). Zen monks created works of art as formalizations of a way of life (unlike members of other Buddhist sects who developed art mainly for worship or prayer), and the universal appeal of such art forms as paintings, calligraphy, and tea ceremony led to their transformation from formalized aspects of ancient monastic life to forms of contemporary Japanese art (Mizuo, 1970, p. 161).⁶³ Japanese writing also illustrates the Zen principle of elevating ordinary activities and objects of daily life to the status of artistry: "The principles of nondual thinking detectable as subtlety in Japanese rhetoric may be seen as...principles of aesthetics applied to writing. Thus writing, an act of daily life, was formalized as an art" (Claiborne, 1993, p. 75).

A number of key elements in the Japanese sense of aesthetics have been identified by Keene (1988) in an examination of the classic work *Tsurezuregusa* ("Essays in Idleness"), written in the fourteenth century by the Zen Buddhist monk Kenko. Although unknown to the reading public in his lifetime, Kenko's work came to prominence in the seventeenth century, and according to Keene (1988, p. 5), not only reflected the tastes of the Japanese of much earlier times, but also "greatly contributed to the formation of the aesthetic preferences of Japanese for centuries to come." On the basis of this work, Keene suggests that four characteristics are of particular importance in understanding Japanese aesthetic values: suggestion, irregularity, simplicity, and perishability.

The use of suggestion as an aesthetic principle is described in the following famous passage from *Essays in Idleness*: "Are we to look at cherry blossoms only in full bloom, the moon only when it is cloudless? To long for the moon while looking on the rain, to lower the blinds and be unaware of the passing of spring—these are even more deeply moving" (cited in Fister-Stoga, 1993, p. 142).⁶⁴ The principle of suggestion is conveyed in innumerable Japanese love poems which almost never express the joy of actually meeting the beloved, but instead describe the poet's yearning for such a meeting, or else the sad realization that an affair is over (Keene, 1988, p. 9). In Japanese ink paintings, as well, the desire to suggest rather than state in full can be readily found—a few brush strokes serve to suggest ranges of mountains, a single stroke a stalk of bamboo. As Keene (ibid.) points out, "a mountain painted in green can never be any color but green, but a mountain whose outlines are given with a few brush strokes of black ink can be any color." In Japanese written discourse as well, the aesthetic principle of suggestion can be seen in a marked preference for nuanced expression which it is the responsibility of the reader to decipher.

The principle of irregularity in Japanese aesthetics can be found in a number of different forms—the asymmetrical, the imperfect, and the incomplete. According to Keene (1988, p. 10), the Japanese have long been partial to asymmetry, and in this

respect, they differ from other peoples of Asia.⁶⁵ In Japanese poems, for example, irregular numbers of lines are found—five for *tanka* and three for *haiku*—in contrast to the quatrains typical of the poetic forms of most of the rest of the world. This same tendency is found in calligraphy: "Japanese children are taught in calligraphy lessons never to bisect a horizontal stroke with a vertical one: the vertical stroke should always cross the horizontal one at some point not equidistant from both ends. A symmetrical character is considered to be 'dead'" (ibid.).⁶⁶ The Japanese preference for imperfect and incomplete forms can be seen the idea that beauty is "never something that has been brought to completion" (Itoh; cited in Claiborne, 1993, p. 73), or as Kenko states: "In everything, no matter what it may be, uniformity is undesirable. Leaving something incomplete makes it interesting, and gives one the feeling that there is room for growth" (cited in Keene, 1988, p. 10). It is perhaps this sense of the beauty of incompleteness that lies, at least in part, behind the perception that conclusions in Japanese writing tend to "drop off" in an abbreviated and seemingly inconclusive manner, leaving readers to mentally complete the text according to their own interpretations. In addition, the Japanese preference for asymmetry is in direct contrast to the symmetry and uniformity exhibited in certain forms of academic writing in English (see, for example, Appendix 10: the 5-paragraph expository essay model of English rhetoric).

There is also a long-held admiration for simplicity in Japan which derives from Buddhist beliefs: "It is excellent for a man to be simple in his tastes, to avoid extravagance, to own no possessions, to entertain no craving for worldly success" (Kenko; cited in Keene, 1988, p. 14). For example, it is felt that traditional Japanese homes, at their most artistic, should have plenty of spare room and too little rather than too much furniture, containing a good deal of "empty space" (cf. *ma*). Another example of the value of simplicity can be found in food: "Japanese cuisine lacks the intensity of flavor of foods found in other countries in Asia. Spices are seldom used; garlic almost never" (Keene, 1988, p. 17). The taste of natural ingredients, untampered by sauces, is the ideal of Japanese cuisine—just as the faint perfume of the plum blossom is preferred to the heavy odor of the lily, subtle and barely perceptible differences in flavor are prized in Japan (ibid.). This same attitude can be seen in the kind of writing that is respected by the Japanese in which the qualities of subtlety and ambiguity are highly valued.

In Japan, perishability rather than permanence has long been an aesthetic ideal, as Hearn (cited in Keene, 1988, p. 18) points out: "Generally speaking [in the West] we construct for endurance, the Japanese for impermanency. Few things for common use are made in Japan with a view to durability." The frailty and perishability of human existence is also a common theme in Japanese literature and is almost a necessary condition of beauty. The special love of the Japanese for

cherry blossoms is surely connected with this appreciation of perishability; cherry blossoms, after all, normally fall after only three days of flowering, "a fact that countless poets have had occasion to lament" (ibid., p. 21). A passage from *Essays in Idleness* illustrates this traditional preference for the impermanent and perishable: "It is only after the silk wrapper has frayed at top and bottom, and the mother-of-pearl has fallen from the roller that a scroll looks beautiful" (ibid.). In other words, signs of wear and tear are often considered a sign of good taste, and in all works of art, including traditional forms of Japanese writing, flaws are often seen as an attractive element of intrinsic beauty. In addition, in many of the analogies and anecdotal references so prevalent in Japanese writing, especially in introductory sections, the notion of the perishability of natural beauty and the frailty of the human condition are very common themes.

In conclusion, it must also be pointed out that those who expect to find exquisite beauty everywhere in Japan today are likely to be deeply shocked, because in matters of taste and aesthetics, the Japanese are, as in so many other areas of life, seemingly paradoxical in nature. The vending machines on every corner, the ugliness of commercial signs, the concrete playgrounds, the lack of parks and other green living spaces, and the ever-present fast-food shops and convenience stores indicate that for many in contemporary Japan a more convenient life is more important than any sense of beauty or tradition (ibid., p. 22). Nevertheless, some would say that there are no people who are more sensitive to beauty than the Japanese, and these aesthetic sentiments, which have been shaped by many centuries of predominantly Buddhist influence, continue to find outlets in many aspects of modern Japanese life.

5.7.3.1 Beauty of the language

The importance of aesthetics in Japanese rhetorical preferences can be seen in an expression which is familiar to virtually all Japanese students as a result of composition instruction in Japan—"beauty of the language." In trying to determine *specifically* what "beauty of the language" means in Japanese written discourse, however, very little detailed information is available in the literature (at least in English language publications). Therefore, in order to explore this concept more fully, several years of Japanese senior and postgraduate students participating in seminars on cross-cultural communication and contrastive rhetoric taught by this author were asked to share their interpretations of the expression "beauty in writing" from the Japanese point of view. The resulting discussions were informative and often animated, suggesting that this was an area of keen interest for the students themselves. The following is a summary of their views on "beauty of the language," including their digressions into related topics. Although the opinions

expressed here should in no way be considered definitive, they provide valuable insights for understanding the importance of aesthetics in Japanese rhetoric:

- indirectness / vague expressions / explaining by implication

Language which is complicated, hidden, or vague is honored in Japan, while language which is too direct or easy to understand is rarely considered beautiful, although it may serve a practical purpose, such as in science and technology. Expressions that are somewhat undefined, and which can therefore be interpreted by readers in different ways, are valued in Japanese writing. Such expressions provide a variety of images for readers and are felt to help develop the imagination. In short, having a choice of interpretations through multiple meanings is what Japanese readers expect and appreciate.

- subtle connections between ideas / reading between the lines

For the Japanese, just as important as what you write, is what you do not write (cf. empty spaces, or *ma*). Most Japanese find reading between the lines enjoyable and stimulating. There is a feeling that connections between ideas should not be too open or clear. It is important to estimate the feelings of others when writing in Japanese, and because reading between the lines is pleasurable, too much guidance in the form of signposting is not felt to be aesthetically pleasing.

- the use of euphemisms

Euphemistic expressions are often used in Japanese, as they are seen as more polite and allow the reader or listener to supply more realistic interpretations privately (cf. *honne vs tatemae*).

- emphasis on nature, especially in metaphors

Analogies to nature, such as the color of a kimono compared with that of cherry blossoms, have a long tradition in Japanese literature. In nature, that which is transitory or dying is especially valued.

- the use of classical Japanese expressions, proverbs, and sayings

Although this is sometimes abused, reference to the past in this way is considered elegant and knowledgeable (cf. the orientation of English in this regard).

- the existence of the writer in the writing

The writer's feelings are important, and in expressing them, he or she endeavors to create an atmosphere of empathy and harmony with the reader. Japanese literature is often highly personalized and relativized to the immediate, concrete, human situation of feelings and emotions (which also makes the translation of these experiences over time and space easy to grasp).

- onomatopoeia

These types of expression are felt to be poetic through creating sounds and rhythms in writing (e.g., *hira-hira*, *pera-pera*, and so on).

- the introduction: suggestive rather than explicit

The introduction is felt to be very important for good writing in Japan from an aesthetic point of view. In the introduction (as with the *ten* section of *ki-shô-ten-ketsu*), the writer tries to look at things in a different way. It is a kind of lateral jump, a search for different angles, and one has to come up with ideas that are related to the topic, but not directly related. In other words, the author approaches the main topic at an angle, alluding to it rather than dealing with it explicitly. The idea is to start with what is indirectly related to the subject, and this, according to students, is usually quite difficult.

[Note: the conclusion was *not* felt to be difficult by most students because in Japanese it is not considered important, and in fact, is often missing. It is up to the reader to supply his or her own conclusion; for the writer to do so too strongly is considered somewhat arrogant. In addition, conclusions are often softened in order to avoid criticism; according to students, most people are profoundly afraid of being criticized in Japan, although young people state their positions more clearly today.]

- comparisons with English rhetoric

Using English organizational patterns in Japanese is not considered elegant, although in some forms of academic writing it is now generally acceptable. Many of the students felt that English rhetoric, when applied to Japanese, is mechanistic, superficial, utilitarian, and somewhat "flat" ("like soda pop without the bubbles"). In addition, English rhetorical style often seems severe and harsh in being so decisive. Paradoxically, most students were surprised to learn at the beginning of their instruction that the Japanese *joron-honron-ketsuron* is different from the English introduction-body-conclusion, even the postgraduates. One of the most notable differences students felt between English and Japanese was that, in English, standing back and looking at overall organization first, as well as editing the text after, was important; in Japanese, however, most writing is done for oneself, so there is little revising, and most students usually produce a single draft.

- Japanese rhetoric and composition instruction

Ki-shô-ten-ketsu was seen by all the students as little more than a set of loose guidelines and many believed that it is no longer used very much in Japanese writing. Most students claimed that rhetorical patterns in Japanese vary according to the genre, and because there are a large number of genres in newspapers and popular magazines, there are also a great many organizational patterns in Japanese, most of which are "loosely organized" and non-linear, and some of which seem "bizarre" even to the Japanese themselves. In terms of education, students stated that there is not much real writing instruction or practice in Japanese schools, where reading is the basis of instruction and organizational patterns are not explicitly taught, although there are some private tutorials provided before university entrance

tests for which students buy "rhetoric" books which essentially reflect western styles of writing (*ô-beigo-kei*). All the students believed that proper writing instruction is urgently needed, as university students are expected to learn by themselves, and many of the students admitted being completely unable to write academic essays in Japanese upon graduation from high school. In addition, many of them stated that writing in Japanese, especially in academic fields, is not as roundabout as critics say, and that there are changes taking place in modern times, although signposting is still often missing and conclusions remain "soft."

5.8 *Nihonjinron* studies

Another category of literature on Japanese rhetoric that stresses sociocultural factors, but which is directed towards a very different set of objectives, is based on *nihonjinron*, or the theory of Japanese uniqueness. Perhaps in reaction to criticisms of Japanese writing being subjective, intuitive, illogical, loose, vague, concerned with feelings and emotional content instead of objective facts, and overly fond of ambiguity, nuance, and indirection, some researchers have claimed that the Japanese language has many unique characteristics which can only be understood by the Japanese themselves.

Criticisms of Japanese rhetoric as "illogical" are typified by Nakamura (1971), who claims that, historically at least, "the neglect of logic is one of the salient features of traditional Japanese ways of thinking. Concrete intuitions are favored much more than abstract concepts devoid of any tangible connection with the humanly perceived world" (p. 543). Ricento (1987, p. 5) concurs:

The highly advanced conceptual knowledge of Buddhism and Confucianism, which the Japanese adopted from the Chinese, was not expressed in the original Japanese language; rather, it was expressed in Chinese technical terms without modification. Similarly, in translating the concepts of Western learning, the Japanese used Chinese characters and did not render these concepts into Japanese directly. Consequently, according to Nakamura, even today, any marked tendency to logical expression is hardly apparent in the Japanese language.

On the other hand, Reischauer (1988, p. 12) argues that...

...all languages have infinite capacities for ambiguities and unclarities, and probably it is easier to be ambiguous and vague in Japanese than in most Indo-European tongues. Certainly, the Japanese with their suspicion of verbal skills, their confidence in non-verbal understanding, their desire for consensus decisions, and their eagerness to avoid personal confrontation, do a great deal more beating around the bush than we [Americans] do.... They prefer in their writing as well as their talk a loose structure of argument, rather than careful logical reasoning, and suggestion or illustration, rather than sharp, clear statements. But there is nothing about the Japanese language which prevents concise, clear, and logical presentation, if that is what one wishes to make.

Nevertheless, as the Japanese have struggled in the post-war era to establish a new sense of national identity which can reconcile the traditions of the past with the industrialization and technological development of the present, *nihonjinron* theory, which attempts to explain Japanese cultural history and behavior by claiming that the Japanese are somehow distinguished by special racial characteristics, has become increasingly popular. Beginning in the 1960s and 70s, but continuing up to the present day, numerous "pop culture" books and articles have been written by so-called Japanese intellectuals stressing the singularity of some aspect of Japan's culture. The theory of the "uniqueness" of Japanese behavior, physiology, language, and culture includes such topics as the supposed homogeneity of the Japanese people (i.e., "racially pure"), the "island nation theory" (*shima guni konjō*), and the notion that the Japanese language is entirely unique and for which the Japanese have developed "specialized left brain/right brain functions." Many Japanese magazines still commonly carry articles on the "uniqueness" of the Japanese brain, nose, weather, geography, and so on. Proponents of *nihonjinron* have suggested, among other things, that Japanese intestines are special and thus unable to digest "foreign" beef, that Japanese bodies cannot process "foreign" medicines, and that "foreign" skis cannot function on Japanese snow.

Of late, however, proponents of *nihonjinron* have come in for sharp criticism and widespread condemnation. For example:

Some writers have employed wild generalizations and highly questionable methodology. The crudest examples argue that the Japanese have anatomically unique brains, or that they communicate telepathically. Collectively, such books constitute an ideology with clear racist and nationalistic overtones.⁶⁷ (LaPenta, 1998, p. 15)

Most observers feel that *nihonjinron* writing is not only rather absurd, but also xenophobic and dangerous. Over the years, the Japanese have produced a culture which has many distinct features, and when uniqueness does exist it should be recognized, but prejudicial distinctions such as those described above have no place in serious scholarship. As the cultural anthropologist Emiko Ohnuki argues, "the uniqueness that distinguishes Japanese culture from other cultures emerges with a unique combination of factors which are not unique in themselves" (1984, p. 2). Historian Kenichi Matsumoto concurs: "What is perceived as Japanese uniqueness is fictional to a significant degree...yet it is deeply ingrained in the minds of the people" (Sasamoto, 1999, p. 7). In short, it should be obvious that all peoples of the world have their own unique histories and cultures—"the Japanese are not the only people who can hear the sounds of nature" (McLean, 1990, p. 38), nor is Japan the only country in the world with distinct seasons, and "it is unnecessary to constantly call attention to one's uniqueness" as some Japanese writers do (*ibid.*).⁶⁸

Nevertheless, *nihonjinron* studies are still far from uncommon in contemporary Japan (Edwards, 1989), and there is no shortage of research into Japanese-English rhetorical contrasts based on this theory. Iwasaki and Hayasaka (1984a, 1984b), for example, suggest that there are "unique logic patterns found in English compositions written by Japanese students," while Day (1997) discusses the "uniqueness" of Japanese discursive practices from the perspective of "*the logic of ambiguity and indirectness* in Japanese rhetoric" (my italics). Takemoto (1982, pp. 265-266 & 270) provides some particularly egregious examples of *nihonjinron* theory, expressed as "geographic determinism":

[I]t is this silence that the true meaning or freeling [sic] of the Japanese is communicated; according to the principles of *haragei*; *Ishin denshin* [i.e., telepathy]. ...Japanese are likely to say whatever they have to say as implicitly as possible. ...[They] are notorious for their 'mysterious' smile. They are unfailingly at a loss to say and how to behave when they are confronted with a too explicit way of communication [sic]. ...So-called Japanese dexterity coupled with considerable insight and intuitiveness may be said to be the result of the narrowly confined visual range in the secluded triangular environs of Japan, although it is also a weakness in the sense that it does not encourage a philosophic view of life, which requires a man to stand outside affairs and detach himself from things.

Edamatsu (1978, p. 18) claims that in comparison to Japanese "English is tailored for egalitarianism. When speaking English, the Japanese must think democratically. This is not easy.... The Japanese do not think in terms of systematic thought; this requires logic. They prefer emotion and intuition." Not surprisingly, such remarks have been labeled by critics as belonging to "narrow temperament studies" which display an "inherent ethnocentrism" (Fister-Stoga, 1993, p. 133), or simply as "borderline racist" (Leki, 1992, p. 91).⁶⁹

5.9 Japanese/English rhetoric in contrast

Rhetorical preferences, it can be hypothesized, are forged within linguistic communities over extremely long periods of time in response to the cultural and environmental circumstances in which a people live. As outlined in Chapter 3, rhetoric in the western tradition finds its roots in the Hellenic world of the fifth century BC, while the writing canon of modern English became established some 350-400 years ago at the time of the Restoration. As Kinneavy (1971, p. 170) observes, "[t]here have been refinements since but only rare dissension," and the style of writing established in the mid-seventeenth century remains the standard today. This style was based on an emerging utilitarian ethic that arose in Restoration England as a rather vague and undefined notion in which things were valued as a means to ultimate ends rather than for their own sakes, and can be traced to a desire to base generalizations upon objective procedure divorced from individual subjectivity. As a consequence, the rhetorical artifice of the preceding age was

discarded and the stylistic result was the impersonal, progressive kind of plainness that characterizes English prose today. These utilitarian principles around which the values of the age were integrated arose in conjunction with the newly emerging science of the West, as exemplified by the Royal Society of London, and were codified and systematized a century later during the Enlightenment, setting the course for western development for the next two or three centuries. As Scollon and Scollon (1995, pp. 99-101) point out, the dominance of the C-B-S style of communication in English in which effective written discourse is required to be original, individualistic, analytic, present a unified thesis, avoid digressions, offer only essential information, and progress rapidly forward is "not just a matter of convenience." This preferred style of communication arose in the seventeenth century and became dominant in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries at the same time as economic principles which laid the foundations for modern science, technology, and business practices, and it plays a central role in all of our thinking about effective writing in the West because both are "products of exactly the same psychology, philosophy, and worldview."

Japanese rhetorical preferences, on the other hand, are governed by a very different set of cultural imperatives in which sociocultural factors emphasizing aesthetic qualities and empathic forms of expression associated with subjective human feelings and intuition are said to be paramount. Historically, Japanese rhetoric, as reflected in organizational patterns such as *ki-shô-ten-ketsu*, developed as the result of widespread Chinese influences on Japanese artistic and literary traditions dating back almost two millenia (Sansom, 1976; Keene, 1988; and Reischauer, 1988). At the present time, however, these rhetorical preferences are coming under pressure from a very different set of cultural constraints—namely, the urgent need for the Japanese to develop clear and effective communication skills for participation in a rapidly internationalizing world. This has resulted in an ever increasing influence of English on Japanese rhetoric, as many of the textbooks on the market today in Japan will testify. In fact, it will be argued in the following chapter that there is a transition taking place in Japanese rhetoric at the present time which is similar to changes reported in other Asian languages. Hinds (1987), for example, claims that Chinese has moved from a "reader responsible" to a "writer responsible" orientation, while Eggington (1987) suggests that the large numbers of Koreans studying overseas in western universities may be having an effect on the rhetorical choices writers are making in Korean, as a result of the influence of English. It seems logical to assume, therefore, that similar changes are taking place in Japanese. This issue remains highly controversial among the Japanese themselves, however, and there is little empirical evidence to support or deny this hypothesis at the present time. Consequently, in this chapter, we have examined

Japanese rhetoric primarily from a traditional sociohistorical perspective, identifying its characteristic features as reported in the literature. The effects of recent pressures on Japanese rhetorical preferences from English are addressed more appropriately within the context of Japanese education and composition pedagogy, which is the subject of Chapter 6.

The following chart, therefore, attempts to summarize the principal rhetorical features of the two languages in terms of established norms that are recognized in the literature and specified by authorities in the field. These characterizations are not intended to be exhaustive, but are representative of accepted principles that govern and direct the activity of writing in Japanese and English. They are not meant to be stereotypical, nor to deny the importance of the creative impulse or the validity of variations from the norm. But, as stated previously, though such variations may be of interest to literary specialists, the primary concern for composition pedagogy is to isolate the norm itself so that its main features can be taught to students. As Adolph (1968, p. 288) observes, "once the norm is established, writers [can]...achieve fine effects by artful deviations from it." The following summary of rhetorical features in chart form has a number of precedents in the literature, including Fister-Stoga (1993; after Oliver, 1971), Yum (1994), and Kobayashi and Rinnert (1996), and makes free use of the insights of scholars cited earlier.

Japanese	English
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • steppingstone - "dot/point/space" type presentation of one item after another in a highly anecdotal or episodic vein - the itemization of numerous concrete observed images laid out in the order of their occurrence in the writer's mind 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • linear - unity and coherence important: digressions not permitted - places great value on clarity and precision in the framework of a rigorously logical system based on Aristotelian syllogistic reasoning and Galilean hierarchical taxonomies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • patterns of rhetorical organization (less clearly defined than in English): - <i>ki-shô-ten-ketsu</i> - <i>jo-ha-kyû</i> - "fish fried in batter" - "return to baseline theme" - <i>joron-honron-ketsuron</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • patterns of rhetorical organization: - expository - descriptive - narrative - argumentative (persuasive)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • accepted values in writing: indirectness and ambiguity - real meanings often hidden 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • accepted values in writing: clarity, brevity, and simplicity - direct communication the norm
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reader/listener responsible - understanding is the receiver's responsibility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • writer/speaker responsible - understanding is the sender's responsibility
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • quasi-inductive - specific-to-general flow of information favored in a delayed introduction of purpose 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • deductive or inductive - general-to-specific flow of information preferred, although inductive strategies used when necessary

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • subjective orientation - individual feelings and personal involvement expected 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • objective orientation - impersonal or neutral stance preferred
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on intuition, feelings, and beauty of the language - multiplicity of interpretations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on logic and reason - facts, data, examples - statements expressed concisely
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • thinking neither synthetic nor analytic, but accumulative - ideas laid out in a string 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • analytic thinking - the whole is divided into parts for easier understanding
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on the concrete, phenomenal world 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emphasis on abstract principles
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • relative orientation - emphasis on the particular - values change depending on the context - the writer balances different points of view and attempts to harmonize them 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • absolute orientation - emphasis on the universal - general and objective rules applied across diverse contexts - the writer takes a standpoint and defends it
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • adherence to group values and expected patterns - use of formulaic expressions and "culture metaphors" common 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • originality valued - stress on the individual's authentic voice - "creativity structured through logic"
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • traditional orientation - proverbs, traditional wisdom, knowledge from the past valued 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • progressive orientation - native language proverbs avoided as cliché - the future rather than tradition emphasized
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • introduction - topics approached tangentially - thesis statement normally not provided 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • introduction - directly relevant background material, followed by a thesis statement which lays out a blueprint
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • development - paratactic structuring (juxtaposition of clauses or phrases with few connecting devices) - landmarks absent or attenuated - loose semantic cohesiveness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • development - ideas developing the main thesis tightly organized - explicit use of transition expressions both within and between paragraphs to achieve coherence and cohesiveness
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • conclusion - need not be decisive, but can simply raise a doubt or ask a question: strong assertions or judgments usually avoided as arrogant - may seem more like an "afterthought" than the result of previous discussion, may appear to "drop off," or may be entirely absent - strategies include adding personal impressions, appealing to the reader, and making moralistic or didactic remarks: try to share feelings with reader and finish in a harmonious atmosphere 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • conclusion - strong conclusion essential - writer reiterates the main ideas in a summary or paraphrase, then provides a final evaluation or judgment as decisively as possible

Chapter 6: Composition pedagogy in Japan

6.1 Introduction

Although the investigation of Japanese rhetoric is still in its formative stages, numerous studies have been published in the past two decades on expository and argumentative writing in Japanese. In Chapter 5, we provided an overview of this research and identified many of the characteristic features of Japanese written discourse, including textual considerations and sociocultural factors beyond the level of text itself. In so doing, we distinguished formative elements of Japanese culture that help shape the rhetorical preferences of the Japanese, and demonstrated how aesthetic qualities and empathic forms of expression that stress feelings and intuition are reflected in traditional Japanese organizational patterns such as *ki-shô-ten-ketsu*. We also examined the testimony of numerous experts who state that text organization has never been strongly emphasized in Japanese and remains a vague and loosely defined concept even today. As a result, Japanese written discourse can perhaps best be characterized by its potential for infinite variations on a basic "steppingstone" flow of ideas.

Although this analysis provides an accurate portrayal of Japanese rhetoric from a sociohistorical perspective, in modern times these rhetorical traditions have come under intense pressure from a different set of cultural constraints resulting from a widespread belief, both in Japan and abroad, that the Japanese need to develop communication skills that will enable them to participate more effectively and fully in the international community, especially in business, science, and academic fields. As a result, not only is English having an ever increasing influence on the Japanese language on many different levels, but it can also be argued that a fundamental transition is taking place within Japanese rhetoric itself as it moves towards a more writer-responsible orientation, in a manner similar to changes reported in Chinese (Hinds, 1987) and Korean (Eggington, 1987). The effects of these pressures on Japanese rhetorical preferences are difficult to assess at present, as very little empirical research has yet been carried out, but it seems logical to assume that any evidence of rhetorical change will be most apparent in the education system, where it will be reflected in the nature of L1 composition instruction taking place in Japanese schools, since it is among the young that new attitudes towards written discourse must first take root.

In addition to shedding light on the nature and direction of current trends in Japanese rhetoric, however, an in-depth examination of L1 composition pedagogy, situated within the broader context of the Japanese education system as a whole, will also provide insights into the L2 writing deficiencies of Japanese students of

English. As reported in Chapter 2, contemporary research in contrastive rhetoric has moved beyond the level of text to encompass the cognitive and sociocultural aspects of writing, including the cultural and situational contexts in which text is produced. Recent studies conducted within this conceptual framework have revealed that in addition to factors such as interference caused by L1 rhetorical transfer and L2 developmental issues, L1 writing ability also has a significant effect on L2 writing performance (Cumming, 1989; Hirose & Sasaki, 1996; Kubota, 1998). This suggests that there is a transfer of "cognitive skills in literacy" (Kubota, 1998, p. 73), and that "native language literacy also seems to be a factor in success in learning to write in a second language" (Odlin, 1989, p. 135). As a result, the educational environment in which students acquire literacy skills in *both* L1 and L2 contexts will play an important role in the achievement of this success.

Researchers have claimed, for example, that the difficulties Japanese students experience when writing in English may be due in large part to shortcomings in the nature of writing instruction in general in Japan. In L2 contexts, criticisms of the learning environment in which English composition instruction takes place in Japanese schools are widespread, as the following remarks testify:

Japan's English education has long neglected...competence in writing.... At high school, writing is limited to the sentence level, and discourse and rhetorical organization are totally ignored. Furthermore, most composition exercises consist of translation from Japanese to English. The result is that even advanced students who can spell correctly and have a good knowledge of grammar cannot write more than a sentence or two. This situation continues until these students are suddenly required to write for academic and professional purposes. (Yamada, 1993, p. 115)

[M]ost students' EFL writing in high school centers on spelling and grammar while translating from Japanese at the sentence level. ...[H]igh school students expend their energies creating grammatically correct translations of sentences [while] discourse and rhetorical organization are totally ignored. (Kimball, 1996, p. 56 & 57)

English L2 writing instruction in secondary school in Japan has been criticized for quite some time for focusing too much on sentence-level translation from Japanese to English, grammar, and word usage. Memorization is still considered to be an effective method for learning, and students have to memorize as many individual sentences and important idioms and expressions as possible. Students write and recite phrases and sentences again and again so as to be able to reproduce them. (Aibara, 2000, pp. 2-3)⁷⁰

However, while acknowledging that there are deficiencies in English L2 composition instruction in Japan, as well as problems arising from differences in the rhetorical structures of the two languages, one of the main reasons why Japanese students have difficulty writing in English may lie in the nature of Japanese L1 composition pedagogy and the fact that there "has not been a great concern with teaching the writing of expository prose in Japanese until quite recently" (Teele, 1983, p. 16). As a result, "the problem for English teachers in Japan...is how [L1]

writing is taught in Japanese junior and senior high schools..." (ibid.), because as Mok observes, "[n]ot surprisingly, classroom instruction in English composition resembles the Japanese model" (1993, p. 157):

According to my own observations, the teaching routines most often found in an English composition class are translating, asking for translation, explaining grammar and word usage, and reading aloud. In almost all cases, lectures are given in L1, and emphasis is placed on grammar and spelling. Very often, students have to memorize incoherent sentences as if they formed a complete passage and recite them in front of the teacher in or out of class. In a typical high school level English writing class, tasks are restricted to sentence-combining, paraphrasing, and translating.... (ibid.)

Shimozaki is even more pointedly critical, claiming that one of the principal reasons for Japanese EL2 students' writing problems is a lack of systematic training in writing an extended text in *any* language (1988, p. 138). Odlin (1989, p. 68) agrees, suggesting this lack of composition instruction may be as much a factor in students' writing difficulties as interference due to L1 rhetorical transfer:

Many of the problems that second language writers face may be due primarily to inexperience in... writing in *any* language. For example, the problems that Japanese ESL students have in writing classes may more reflect a lack of skill in composing in Japanese than an influence of the *ki-shō-ten-ketsu* form....

Thus, if Japanese L1 composition pedagogy can be considered to be a significant factor in students' L2 writing difficulties in English, as recent research suggests, then it is essential to have a thorough accounting of L1 composition instruction and practice in Japanese schools which will provide an accurate appraisal of the learning environment in which native language literacy skills are acquired.

Initial observations suggest that there are fundamental problems in the way L1 composition skills are taught in Japan. Ochi and Davies (1999, p. 28), for example, note that "[t]he L1 writing skills of many Japanese students have been negatively evaluated and some experts state that this is caused by a lack of proper writing instruction in Japanese," as the following criticisms indicate:

[Many students] said that it was assumed that Japanese could write once they were past elementary school, and so the emphasis was on grammar. ... [I]n general, there was very little direct writing instruction in Japan.... Teaching tended to be lectures, with little sharing among students.... [T]he Japanese... emphasized memorization as a teaching method.... and... did a lot of literary reading. (Liebman-Kleine, 1986, pp. 10 & 13-14)

In Japanese schools, although writing is supposed to be taught in *kokugo* (Japanese language) classes in conjunction with reading skills beginning in primary school and continuing through to senior high school, according to Hinds (1984, p. 79), in reality 'composition (*sakubun*) is not taught beyond the sixth grade'. A limited amount of writing practice does appear to take place in some middle schools, but in senior high schools, composition work is almost non-existent except for some brief training in expository writing (*shōronbun*) just prior to the sitting of university entrance exams. (Davies & Ide, 1997, pp. 35-36)

Students in Japan, on the whole, receive very little or no direct instruction in writing in their native language. It is generally assumed that, once past elementary school, one will have acquired the basic writing skills and thus no longer need any formal training in writing. There is also a general belief among Japanese teachers that writing is learned by reading. Hence the emphasis of Japanese language instruction is on reading model texts rather than training writing skills. Practice in writing under a teacher's guidance seldom occurs beyond junior high school. ...Since writing is regarded as a private act, teaching tends to take the form of lectures, and there is little sharing of writing or ideas among students. Memorization is still considered an effective learning method and much literary reading is required. As a result, most Japanese students' L1 rhetorical skills remain underdeveloped. (Mok, 1993, p. 156)

Although observations such as these on "the formative influence of the educational environment" are often used to explain the L1 writing deficiencies of Japanese students, they "rest largely on anecdote, incidental observation and single-subject study," and empirical evidence in the form of systematic statistical data is rare (Swales, 1990, p. 66). As Mohan and Lo (1985) and Spack (1997) have rightly argued in critiquing contrastive rhetorical research, "we need a greater awareness [and understanding] of students' native literacy and educational experience as factors influencing the development of [their] academic writing skills in a second language" (Swales, *op. cit.*).

Unfortunately, few attempts have been made to comprehensively describe the educational environment in which L1 writing skills are acquired in Japan, and those that have, leave much to be desired in the way of scholarship. Carson's (1992) investigation of literacy development in Japan and China, for example, presents Asian cultural values in terms of dated and highly conventional stereotypes, and although offering some basic insights into Japanese education that may be of value to newcomers to the field, much of the information provided can only be described as simplistic and superficial. In severely criticizing this study, Spack (1997, pp. 768-770) contends that it "perpetuate[s] cultural myths," "elides the many differences among the students between countries and within each country," "fosters the notion that students from Asian countries are interchangeable," "provides no evidence of writing groups in...Japanese schools," "generalizes about college-level learners [from cited works about] preschoolers," and "brings a (faulty) conceptual framework to [the research]." She also argues that the kind of misinformation that results in "constructing a fixed profile of traits from a particular cultural group" has a destructive "snowball effect" when it enters the literature (pp. 768-769), and that it "has damaging consequences when it is applied to classroom teaching [since it] influences the way teachers think about students" (p. 771).

In a study of Japanese education conducted from a radically different perspective, Kubota (1999) challenges the "stereotypical cultural representations" in "current dominant applied linguistics literature" (p. 25). She claims that the widespread belief that Japanese education fosters "mechanical learning, rote

memorization, and lack of individualism, creativity, and problem-solving skills" is an out-of-date stereotype (p. 23), and that Japanese schooling does indeed "promote creativity, original thinking, and self-expression." While acknowledging that there is a greater emphasis on memorization in Japanese secondary education, she maintains that "[w]hether memorization-oriented education in the secondary schools negatively affects language-based creativity and self-expression is still a contentious issue" (p. 25). There are a number of reasons to be skeptical of Kubota's claims, however. As a self-proclaimed study in *critical* applied linguistics (p. 31), this investigation attempts to equate social and linguistic theory with sociopolitical and ideological objectives, linking *nihonjinron* theories of educational reform that promote patriotic values "to relieve the identity crisis of the young generation" (see Chapter 5) with a pedagogical model known as critical multiculturalism (p. 21):

[C]ritical multiculturalism demands not only recognition of and respect for cultural diversity but also critical investigation into one's heritage and school curriculum and everyday experiences by locating them in social, economic, and political conditions that reproduce and legitimate them.... In critical multiculturalism, representations of culture are understood as the consequence of social struggles over meanings that manifest certain political and ideological values and metaphors attached to them [i.e., groupism, harmony, etc.], and such representations 'stress the central task of transforming the social, cultural, and institutional relations in which meanings are generated'.... (p. 27; my italics)

As this description illustrates, the goals of critical multiculturalism derive from critical theory, "a blanket term denoting a set of several alternative paradigms, including...neo-Marxism, feminism, materialism, and participatory inquiry [that] may itself...be divided into...poststructuralism, postmodernism, and a blending of the two" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 109; see also section 3.2). Critical theory is based on the subjectivist premise that "knowledge is value mediated and therefore value dependent" (p. 111); hence, the assumption underlying all these variants is the "value-determined" nature of research inquiry (p. 109). As a consequence, the aim of critical theory is the "reconstruction of previously held constructions" (p. 112), and "the *critique and transformation* of the social, political, economic, ethnic, and gender structures that constrain and exploit humankind [in which] advocacy and activism are key concepts" (ibid.; cf. critical multiculturalism above). Kubota's descriptions of Japanese education reflect a similar kind of ideological advocacy and sociopolitical commitment, the goal of which is to bring to light unequal power relations that exist between Japanese and English as competing discourses "in order to transform inequalities that exist in the world" (1992, p. ii). To these ends, she maintains that "*nihonjinron* generally *champions* the uniqueness of the Japanese" (1998a, p. 299; my italics), representing resistance to "the hegemony of the West with a promotion of nationalistic values" (ibid., p. 295). Kubota's views thus represent an express ideological agenda, based on "perspectives of poststructuralist

and postcolonial critique" (1999, p. 10) that are allied with a *critical* approach to pedagogy in which *ideology* becomes the center of classroom activities. From this perspective, the goal of writing instruction is to have "teachers and students critically engage in the English rhetoric with critical consciousness of how literacy is implicated in the relations of power, ideology and history, and work for emancipation and social transformation" (1992, pp. 34-35 & 45). Since Kubota's approach to pedagogy is motivated primarily by ideological objectives associated with critical multiculturalism, her analysis of Japanese education should be examined with care, however, for critical theory not only describes information but also interprets it as social practice, privileging particular interpretations and presenting them as being uniquely validated by the facts, and this, according to Widdowson (pp. 158-159), undermines its validity as a vehicle for analysis.⁷¹

More importantly, Kubota's analysis of Japanese education is completely at variance with a flood of recent reports coming out of Japan chronicling a host of ills afflicting the Japanese school system at present. Many of these problems are explored by Okano and Tsuchiya (1999) in an informative and balanced description of contemporary education in Japan in which they analyze nationwide tendencies based on ethnographic studies and statistical aggregates provided by the Japanese Ministry of Education (*Mombusho*). In a detailed review of research published to date in both English and Japanese, they compare "popular interpretations" of Japanese schooling reflecting the West's preoccupation "with the roles that schools have played in...the unprecedented 'success' of Japan's modernisation" (p. xii), a picture which they describe as "not invalid, but grossly...incomplete," with increasingly vocal criticisms being leveled by the Japanese people themselves about the negative effects of Japanese schooling. As Okano and Tsuchiya (p. xiii) note, "[w]ithin Japan there is a pool of studies on these negative aspects, which, naturally, exhibit research orientations that are distinct from those underlying studies on Japanese schooling published in English":

While the post-war system of schooling has provided valuable ingredients for economic success and social stability..., these have been accompanied by unfavorable developments. Examples include what critics see as the excessively competitive examinations for entry into higher schools; the uniformity that some claim stifles individual development; bullying and school refusal. Post-war schooling has maintained monocultural orientations [that have] not only undervalued what 'others' might bring to the school and undermined their self-esteem; it may also have helped 'mainstream' (i.e. urban middle-class) children to develop a distorted view of the world. (ibid.)

Today, far from being an environment that promotes individuality, original thinking, and self-expression, as Kubota contends, the education system is most often described in the Japanese media as "rigid and oppressive," a view that is strongly supported by statistical evidence⁷² attesting to the inability of many students to think

and the unwillingness of others to learn, the lawlessness of some students and the impotence of authorities to enforce discipline, and the seemingly endless accounts of disruptive behavior, truancy, and bullying in Japanese schools. Not surprisingly, many people are extremely concerned about the ever-increasing sense of crisis in Japanese education. A 1998 survey conducted by the prestigious Yomiuri Research Institute, for example, found that nearly three-quarters of Japanese adults were *deeply* dissatisfied with teachers and schools due mainly to rampant bullying and other school violence, the quality of teachers, and a lack of moral education (Davies, 1999d). No less a leading figure than former Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone has publicly deplored the fact that students today in Japan are being swamped by materialism while their individuality is ignored in an education system that shackles them to an overriding need for good test scores based on rote learning; as a result, he states, "the nation is plagued by such ills as prostitution by schoolgirls, suicide by middle school students, and cruel, hidden bullying at schools" (ibid.).

It should thus be clear that between the two extremes of misleading ideological proselytism and simplistic cultural stereotyping, there is an urgent need for a realistic and balanced appraisal of the conditions in which learning actually takes place in Japanese classrooms. This is particularly true in composition pedagogy, for as a colleague once observed, such teaching in Japan "has been criticized based on false assumptions, unverified belief, and lay theories and opinions. We need to know what's going on in the classroom before we can discuss [solutions to these problems]" (Tomoko Tanaka, personal communication). To these ends, this chapter will first examine the nature of L1 composition pedagogy in Japanese schools, comparing official policies toward writing instruction, as reflected in *Mombusho* guidelines, school textbooks, and model lesson plans, with a specification of contemporary teaching objectives and practices in primary, junior, and senior high schools to determine the extent to which these policies are actually implemented in the classroom. Secondly, the findings of a three-year empirical study on L1 and L2 composition instruction and practice in Japanese schools will be presented which was designed to elicit the viewpoints and opinions of university students concerning their writing experiences at various stages of the education cycle. It is hoped that the results of these investigations will contribute to a comprehensive definition of Japanese rhetoric that is not only able to accommodate the sociohistorical perspectives presented in Chapter 5 but which will also provide an in-depth understanding of the cultural forces that appear to be transforming Japanese rhetorical preferences and conventions at the present time.

6.2 Japanese L1 composition pedagogy

The details that follow are based on research conducted by postgraduate students studying at Ehime University under the supervision of this author. Selected elements of this research were presented at the World Conference of Applied Linguistics, AILA '99 (Davies, 1999b), and were published in substantially different form in Davies and Ide (1997) and Ochi and Davies (1999). In addition, an unpublished master's thesis by Aibara (2000) provides many valuable insights into the nature of L1 composition pedagogy in Japan.

6.2.1 Official policies toward composition instruction in Japan

Because academic writing skills in most countries are normally taught in junior and senior high schools, the following description of official policies toward composition instruction in Japan emphasizes the secondary school level. It is thought that governmental directives on the teaching of L1 composition skills in Japanese schools will be most easily discernible in official *Mombusho* guidelines, *Mombusho*-approved school textbooks, and model lesson plans published in Japanese academic journals which reflect Ministry guidelines.

6.2.1.1 *Mombusho* guidelines

Guidelines for teachers are issued by *Mombusho* approximately every ten years (Yamazumi, 1989, p. 3), and form the very basis for language teaching in Japan, thus providing important insights into governmental policies concerning the teaching of composition in Japanese schools. Current guidelines for junior high schools, for example, were issued in 1988, and the following four areas are listed as the main goals to be attained at this level of schooling (Andô & Fujiwara, 1994, pp. 542-550): (1) the ability to identify discourse topics and express thoughts clearly, (2) the ability to organize and develop thoughts, (3) the ability to choose correct expressions by referring to examples from literary works, and (4) the ability to revise composition writing. In addition, in terms of linguistic abilities, students are expected to be able to organize paragraphs and use connectors to achieve continuity, and to organize the development and coherence of texts. Hanada (1997, p. 70) notes that the notions of "clarity of expression" and "organization of thoughts" receive particular attention, including the need for students to express their ideas logically and efficiently according to the purposes and intentions of the written work, an ability which is claimed to be of vital necessity in coping with the ever-changing information age and the internationalization of Japan:

Most junior high school students can argue, but the points of their arguments are often ambiguous. In the modern age, linguistic ability in reading and writing coherently is of vital necessity. Therefore, as is emphasized in the current guidelines, 'logical development' should

be taken more seriously. Such skills are essential especially in expository, descriptive, and argumentative prose, as well as in debates. Furthermore, in persuasive writing, deductive reasoning and syllogisms are essential in the 21st century. In order to support argumentation, facts and data are also needed, consequently making data collecting ability indispensable. (ibid., p. 73)

Similar guidelines were issued by *Mombusho* for senior high schools in 1989, in which the following areas were emphasized for students in terms of writing instruction (Ichihara & Kitagawa, 1989, p. 15): (1) to express ideas clearly in accordance with the purposes and intentions of the written material; (2) to select suitable topics, collect information on them, and clarify the points of arguments; (3) to organize thoughts and write them logically and coherently; (4) to change sentence structures according to the purpose and audience; and (5) to examine model essays in terms of discourse topics, points of argument, organization, as well as rhetoric, and make use of them in writing and editing. According to Ichihara (1989, p. 108), certain areas were revised from previous directives, and the new guidelines aim to (1) reinforce instruction in the cultivation of logical argumentation, (2) emphasize the need for more writing instruction, and (3) foster the ability of students to process information quickly and efficiently.⁷³

6.2.1.2 School textbooks

An examination of the textbooks used in junior high school *kokugo* (Japanese language) classes indicates that they all contain materials of a similar nature (see Kurihara, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c). For example, in addition to Japanese grammar, students in all three grades study the following literary genres: (1) descriptive writing such as stories making use of the five senses, (2) expository writing such as scientific reports, (3) persuasive writing such as prose concerning opinions, (4) classical Japanese, and (5) Japanese and Chinese poems. In each category, it is suggested that speaking or writing activities be carried out after the characteristic writing styles are explained by teachers, although the skills required of students vary according to grade; i.e., the higher the grade, the more sophisticated the skills demanded and the more writing practice recommended; i.e., six times a year in the seventh grade, eleven times a year in the eighth grade, and thirteen times a year in the ninth grade. Seventh grade writing skills are at the sentence or short essay level, eighth grade compositions are longer (300 to 400 words, based on model essays in the textbook), and in the ninth grade, a composition of 800 words about personal experiences is assigned. Many different writing patterns are presented in *kokugo* textbooks, and paragraph organization, in particular, is quite variable; linear forms such as the three-part introduction-development-conclusion are recommended but seem to be applied mostly to scientific writing.

A variety of *Mombusho*-approved textbooks are used in senior high schools, and one of the most popular is *Kokugo I* (Kamata et al., 1992), which includes 15 units, each one focusing on two or three genres, some of which are repeated in subsequent units. Topics include descriptive essays, novels, Japanese classics, Chinese classics, Japanese poems, styles of writing, argumentation, and characteristics of the Japanese language. Approximately two-thirds of the textbook deals with modern Japanese, compared with one-third for the classics. In terms of writing practice, suggestions are made for students to write short essays of about 200 to 800 words on their feelings and opinions about the contents learned in the units. The following points are stressed in essay writing: (1) to lay out paragraphs into the three parts of introduction, development, and conclusion; (2) to choose discourse topics, collect evidence, and organize appropriately, so that students can demonstrate their arguments clearly; and (3) to use words, phrases, and grammar properly and effectively. At this level, more skill is required in using the Japanese language correctly, such as selecting suitable expressions from among synonyms, and distinguishing subtle differences in meaning in the use of postpositions and metaphors. Study of the classics includes more emphasis on the rules of grammar and usage, and extensive historical, geographical, cultural, and lexical background information is provided to help students better understand these works.

6.2.1.3 Model lesson plans

Model lesson plans are commonly found in Japanese academic journals such as *Monthly Japanese Language Education Journal*, which is designed to provide pedagogic support for practicing teachers. The following case studies of model writing instruction were actually carried out in senior high schools and although not official government publications, they strongly reflect Ministry guidelines.

A case study of model writing instruction described by Isshiki (1996) focuses on the long-term development of students' writing skills in senior high school, moving from short sentences to long essays, in which she recommends the following specific steps: (1) have first year students read as many books as possible in order for them to see good models of writing, then have them write *dokusho-kansôbun* (see below), (2) have second year students write *tansakubun* (short sentence essays) on various genres; and (3) have third year students write longer essays in preparation for entrance examinations or for entering the work force. The genres suggested are as follows: (1) self introduction, (2) essay writing, (3) report writing, (4) summaries of stories, short editorial articles and expository writing, (5) expressing personal feelings and opinions about books, movies, and so on, (6) recording events such as school festivals and sport meets, (7) persuasive writing, (8) writing creative stories, (9) FAX correspondence, and (10) writing seasonal

greeting cards. In order to have students practice writing these genres, it is recommended that instructors employ the following procedures: (1) present the day's theme and have students exchange their opinions with a view to expanding their ideas; (2) have students outline, write, and edit with 15 minutes given to each; (3) give feedback on short essays and return them in the next lesson; and (4) show a few good models chosen from student work.

In another case study, Ikeda (1997) provides instructions for teaching writing in preparation for *shōronbun* (short essay) tests on university entrance examinations and emphasizes the following kinds of logical argumentation: (1) to state sufficient and appropriate reasoning and well-grounded arguments for one's ideas, and (2) to bring one's argument to a conclusion. He suggests the following three-step lesson plan to enable students to develop such skills: (1) help students get a clear picture of coherent reasoning by comparing a good example with a poor one, then have them write essays; (2) have teachers give feedback on students' previous essays, show a few good examples from students' persuasive writing, instruct students on how to start essays, ask students to choose one common topic from previous *shōronbun* tests, and have them write; and (3) have teachers correct students' essays, instruct them how to conclude effectively, and ask them to write a third draft. Ikeda concludes instruction by recommending that students examine newspaper editorials and "vox populi vox Dei" (see Chapter 5) for models of essay writing.

6.2.2 The nature of Japanese language classes

Although official policies toward L1 composition instruction in Japan such as those described above reflect an orientation toward the teaching of writing which seems remarkably progressive, much of the advice provided has clearly been taken from the western rhetorical tradition, and in fact, some of this information appears to be virtually identical to materials found in English composition textbooks. Furthermore, the kind of writing organization and style promoted in these official policies seems to bear little resemblance to the rhetorical patterns described in Chapter 5. The question that needs to be asked, therefore, is to what extent these policies are actually being implemented in the classroom at each level of the educational cycle and how these directives are reflected in the dominant composition models currently being taught in Japanese schools.

6.2.2.1 Primary school

Current trends in Japanese L1 writing pedagogy in primary school stress the ability of students to express their personal feelings and opinions, but content and organization are of much less concern and are often ignored. A composition style which typifies this approach is known as *kansōbun*, or the expression of one's

feelings or impressions related to a certain subject such as art, movies, music, and books, and so on. *Kansôbun* are also related to *taikenbun*, or experience-oriented writing that is assigned after student excursions such as field trips. When the assignment is a book or reading passage, this kind of writing is called *dokusho-kansôbun* (or impressions on materials read; in some ways, similar to a book report in English).⁷⁴ *Dokusho-kansôbun* is but one of a variety of composition styles studied in Japanese primary schools; other models introduced to students early in their education include the following: *seikatsubun*, or a writing style in which students describe topics in their daily lives (closely related to journals and diaries); *kansatsubun*, or compositions written to describe scientific phenomena through students' observations; and *ronsetsubun* (*ikenbun* and *setsumeibun* are terminological equivalents), or a type of writing in which students do research on assigned topics, organize their ideas, and write a short explanation (*ron* = argument, *iken* = opinion, and *setsumei* = explanation). However, *dokusho-kansôbun* is by far the most frequently practiced writing model in Japanese primary schools, and the one most clearly remembered by Japanese adults in relation to their early education. It thus has a great influence in shaping students' future notions about writing in general, and it continues to hold a central place in Japanese composition pedagogy.

Dokusho-kansôbun are written only a few times a year in elementary school, although it must be noted that other forms of writing are practiced considerably less frequently. Students are most often assigned this kind of composition as homework just before the beginning of a long holiday, especially the summer vacation. After this vacation, *dokusho-kansôbun* contests are held throughout the country right up to the national level as a campaign for *dokusho-shûkan* (literally, "reading week"). In general, instruction in the writing of *dokusho-kansôbun* emphasizes students' attitudes, especially their motivations for writing energetically, and the main goal is to have them develop opinions about books and express their views in their own words. Explicit descriptions on how to organize *dokusho-kansôbun* are rare, yet much is written about the mental aspects of writing, including its purpose, students' desired attitudes, and the expressive techniques to be used. There are many well-known books describing teaching methods for *dokusho-kansôbun*, but they almost always deal with students' motivations rather than organization. Generally, it is left up to the students to organize their writing themselves without much input or interference from teachers, and they usually acquire this ability through reading examples from their school textbooks. Typically, they are told to project themselves into the situation or into the shoes of the hero or heroine, and to compare the story with their own experiences.

In terms of correction and evaluation, four areas are generally of concern to teachers: grammatical mistakes, problems in usage, logical inconsistencies, and the

quantity of information provided. The first two are the most basic and are common to all compositions, but teachers in Japan are not expected to be thorough and systematic in their corrections.⁷⁵ They will normally return compositions soon after they check them, but having students correct their errors and rewrite is quite rare. Only those who submit excellent compositions are told to do revisions in order to compete in writing contests, and these students will often receive additional attention from teachers because their compositions will reflect on the school's reputation. However, because writing in elementary schools in Japan is designed to encourage students to write what they think in their own words and to express their personal feelings, they are seldom given detailed criticisms.

In brief, as a creative activity designed to enhance students' self-expression and skill in putting their ideas into words, the *dokusho-kansôbun* model is obviously of some benefit, and it is unquestionably useful in improving students' reading abilities. However, although this type of writing continues to occupy a central place in Japanese composition pedagogy, it does not appear to contribute a great deal to students' overall cognitive development in terms of organizing logically or thinking critically, and may have an adverse effect later on their ability to do writing of a more academic nature.

6.2.2.2 Junior high school

Current guidelines for *kokugo* (Japanese language) courses in junior high school suggest that classes should be taught five times a week in the seventh grade, and four times in the eighth and ninth grades (Maki et al., 1996, p. 256), with one lesson lasting 50 minutes. The recommended number of hours to be spent on writing compositions in these classes is from 35 to 55 hours in the seventh grade and from 30 to 50 in both the eighth and ninth grades (Andô & Fujiwara, 1994, p. 549), amounting to 20% of the total number of hours spent in Japanese language education at this level.

In *kokugo* classes, literature and language arts are combined, and three literary genres are taught: modern Japanese, classical Japanese, and four types of poems, including *haiku* (a 17-syllable poem in the five-seven-five pattern), *tanka* (a classical Japanese verse form of 31 syllables), *kanshi* (Chinese poems), and modern Japanese verse. Although 90% of student textbooks deal with modern Japanese, according to Kurihara (1997a, 1997b, 1997c), the complex writing styles of classical Japanese and the poetry included in the remaining 10% create some special problems for Japanese language education and a considerable amount of extra time and effort must be spent learning these genres.

Three basic skill areas are targeted in *kokugo* classes: reading, writing, and speaking. Among these activities, reading predominates, and it is through reading

that grammar, syntax, and organizational patterns for writing are taught. Reading, therefore, is the very basis on which writing skills are modeled. The two remaining activities, writing and speaking, are seldom emphasized except to have students occasionally write short passages or make brief speeches to demonstrate their ability to create the model sentences being taught. Opportunities for writing long compositions are generally provided once a year as part of summer holiday assignments, one of the most popular of which continues to be the ubiquitous *dokusho-kansôbun*. However, since the planning of Japanese language classes is left entirely up to teachers, the ratio of hours spent in each skill area varies from one classroom to another.

Another characteristic of *kokugo* classes which requires special mention is the fact that three different scripts are used in the Japanese language: *hiragana* (the cursive *kana* syllabary), *katakana* (the square or angular *kana* syllabary used for imported words), and *kanji* (Chinese characters). The correct combination of scripts is an important skill to be acquired by students in junior high school and makes learning the written language very complicated and time-consuming. Even if students adjust to the complexity of the written language quickly, the rote learning of *kanji* (939 characters in junior high school, in addition to the 1006 already acquired in elementary school) requires a great deal of energy (Kurihara, 1997a, p. 301; 1997c, p. 270).

The demands of learning multiple literary genres and the complexities of the Japanese written language inevitably reduce opportunities for other activities such as compositions. It is extremely difficult to determine the nature and frequency of the composition instruction and practice that is actually taking place in classrooms in Japan, but one small-scale survey of 27 junior high school students conducted by Ochi and Davies (1999, p. 38) to determine the extent of students' writing activities reported the following results: Responding to a questionnaire, (1) all of the students surveyed stated that they had practiced writing "short sentences" during class, but no one was sure that it amounted to 20% of the total hours; (2) all of the students said that they had at least one long compulsory assignment a year during the summer vacation in the form of *dokusho-kansôbun* or on topics dealing with contemporary social problems; in addition, everyone was given the chance to do optional composition assignments when various writing contests were held, and those who did well were able to continue at prefectural and national levels; however, only one student attended a school in which short compositions were assigned regularly (i.e., 200 words once a month on free topics); (3) most of the students in the seventh and eighth grades had never heard of *ki-shô-ten-ketsu*, while most of those in the ninth grade had; on the other hand, all 27 students were aware of the *joron-honron-ketsuron* pattern, although none were sure if it was the same as the standard English

introduction-body-conclusion; and (4) all of the students stated that they received brief comments on the contents of their essays from teachers, but none had their compositions corrected systematically.⁷⁶

6.2.2.3 Senior high school

During the three years of senior high school in Japan, the following language courses are either optional or compulsory, depending on the school. The number of credits for each class is included in brackets with one credit equivalent to 35 hours of 50-minute lessons (Atami & Mori, 1989, p. 6):

- *Kokugo I / II* (Japanese Language) [4 + 4]
- *Kokugo Hyôgen* (Styles of Writing and Speaking) [2]
- *Gendaibun* (Reading Modern Japanese) [4]
- *Gendaigo* (Modern Japanese Phrases and Idiomatic Expressions) [2]
- *Koten I* (Japanese and Chinese Classics) [3]
- *Koten II* [3]
- *Koten Kôdoku* (Reading Japanese and Chinese Classics) [2]

Among these courses, *Kokugo I* is obligatory nationwide for all schools (Ichihara & Kitagawa, 1989, p. 22),⁷⁷ while the remainder are non-compulsory. The subjects best suited for the programs offered by each school (e.g., academic, vocational, etc.) are selected by the school administration, the most common being *Kokugo I*, *Kogugo II*, and *Koten*, and students are then required to take these courses. Writing instruction is most likely to be carried out in *Kokugo Hyôgen*, which is generally optional for seniors who have to sit *shôronbun* (short essay) tests as part of their university entrance examinations.

The most notable characteristic of Japanese language classes at the senior high school level is that, in addition to the study of modern Japanese, the number of classics increases significantly from junior high school, resulting in more pressure for students. The Japanese classics, for example, require a great deal of effort in dealing with complexities in pronunciation and differences in writing style, while in the Chinese classics, sentences are constructed so differently from modern Japanese, and some Chinese characters are so at variance with contemporary norms, that many students develop a strong dislike for this kind of study. In short, in Japanese senior high schools, an inordinate amount of time and energy is devoted to reading both modern Japanese and the classics, often at the expense of the development of writing abilities. Compositions are seldom assigned, except for *dokusho-kansôbun* during the summer holidays and *shôronbun* for those students needing practice prior to university entrance tests.

6.2.2.3.1 *Shōronbun* instruction

Shōronbun are unquestionably the most important type of academic composition practiced in Japanese senior high schools, and are considered "a modified, weaker version of essay writing in English, with special emphasis on logical persuasion and objective expression" (Aibara, 2000, p. 5; after Ueno, 1999). They can be defined as "essays of several hundred to two thousand words which, showing objective grounds, states one's own opinion and persuades readers," and thus require both "opinion" and "objective warrant" in order to develop an argument (Ueno, 1999, p. 2). *Kansōbun* and *shōronbun* can be contrasted as follows:

When you write *kansōbun*, all you have to do is write your feelings subjectively and convey them to the readers. It does not necessarily require objective reasoning like *shōronbun*, for readers of *kansōbun* do not expect you to provide reasoning. The important thing in writing *kansōbun* is how to appeal to the readers' sensitivity. *Shōronbun*, on the other hand, requires that you not only convey your opinions but also persuade your readers logically with objective reasoning. (ibid., p. 4)

Shōronbun are most often written as part of university entrance tests in Japan, but the requirements for these tests vary a great deal between public and private universities: in the former, they are generally 1000 to 2000 words in length and take from 120 to 150 minutes to write; in the latter, they are from 800 to 1000 words and take 60 to 120 minutes (Kasahara, 1997, p. 92). Public universities also assign *shōronbun* essays as part of entrance tests far more often than private universities. According to Kasahara (1997, p. 86), 58.4% of faculties in national universities, 52.9% of those in prefectural and municipal universities, and 14.4% of those in private universities required *shōronbun* tests in 1997. In general, the number of *shōronbun* examinations has also been increasing nationwide in recent years (Aibara, 2000, p. 50): 1996 (1205), 1997 (1369), 1998 (1446), and 1999 (1637). Such essay tests typically require examinees to complete the following types of task (Ochi & Davies, 1999, p. 35): (1) read materials or newspaper editorials of various lengths and write personal opinions about them; (2) analyze data in the form of graphs or diagrams and state opinions about them; (3) write about specialized subject areas (e.g., medicine and the sciences);⁷⁸ and (4) write about topics of current interest in society, especially social problems. As a result, in order to be successful, students need well-developed reading skills for the rapid analysis and processing of information, and must also be able to express themselves clearly and logically in writing.

However, the teaching of *shōronbun* is not carried out systematically in Japanese senior high schools. According to Aibara (2000, pp. 25 & 20), "most of the writing education is examination-oriented and focuses on the need for students to pass tests...; not more than five to ten pages are normally allotted for descriptions of

how to write an essay in Japanese language textbooks at present." In addition, "[s]tudents are not given enough opportunities to practice writing. There certainly exists a small amount of writing practice just before the entrance exams for *shōronbun* tests or during the long vacations, but on the whole, composition work is almost non-existent" (ibid., p. 25). In most Japanese senior high schools, *shōronbun* instruction takes place outside of regular classes in tutorial settings for those students who are sitting a *shōronbun* entrance test, and the frequency of such instruction is left up to students: some attend tutorials with teachers in order to learn essay writing skills; others never do, and study books on writing strategies independently:

Methods for general *shōronbun* instruction...have not been completely established yet. More specifically, there are still no set principles or rules available for this kind of instruction. It is left to individual teachers' discretion, and moreover, there is no description about how to write an academic essay in the present Course of Study. Students have been provided with *shōronbun* instruction on an individual basis, for there is a general notion among Japanese teachers that it is more effective to provide them with specific assistance according to the types of tests they will take. In other words, the instruction varies from student to student, so that the teaching method for one student is not necessarily the same as for another. ...[I]t is generally accepted that very few senior high schools across Japan have established an overall systematic organization or curriculum for *shōronbun* instruction which meets the demands of the Revised Course of Study.⁷⁹ (ibid., pp. 38-39)

Although official senior high school textbooks in Japan do not devote much attention to essay writing skills, there are nevertheless many "supplementary guidebooks that provide instruction in writing *shōronbun*," many of which are produced by Japanese *juku* corporations (ibid., p. 20):

Most of the senior high schools in Japan regularly carry out several practice exams for college and university entrance every year. These exams are provided by so-called *juku* industries or the exam-preparation *juku* business. Almost all senior high schools across the nation interested in educational advancement adopt such nation-wide exams to gather useful information to provide to their students. (ibid., pp. 50-51)

In fact, one of the most striking features of the Japanese education system today is the divide between formal schooling on the one hand, and a host of peripheral commercial institutions, such as *juku* (cram schools) on the other, which function largely to redress the former's inadequacies (see, for example, Koike & Tanaka, 1995; Law, 1995; Koike, 1996). As a result, throughout Japan, a vast array of writing guidebooks are for sale in bookstores, many of which are written by authors affiliated with *juku* corporations. Teele (1983, p. 17), for example, points out that in any given year up to 30 or 40 new books are published on the subject of Japanese *retorikku* (rhetoric) and popular titles such as *Bunsho no Kakikata* (How to Write Compositions), *Sakubun Shidō* (Teaching Composition), and *Nihongo no Sutairubukku* (A Japanese Language Stylebook) abound. Much of the content of

these writing guidebooks is identical to that found in western composition textbooks, and *ô-beigo-kei* (Euro-American style) is the organizational pattern most frequently presented (Ricento, 1987, p. 56). An example of this approach is Onada (1999; cited in Aibara, 2000, p. 46):

Onada argues that logical thinking can be developed through writing logical essays in Japanese and that it is Japanese language teachers who have to play the principal role in raising students' ability (pp. 14-15). He also stresses the importance of writing a one-sentence thesis statement, writer responsibility, and the use of a deductive approach when writing (ibid.). It is important for language teachers to realize that logical thinking can be developed through preparation for writing (i.e., planning, outlining) and rewriting (i.e., editing and proofreading).

Nevertheless, according to Hinds (1983b, p. 79), although "there is an expressed concern...for coherence and clarity, as well as...for writing according to recognized canons of logical development...[that] has been imported from the western rhetorical tradition..." such attitudes do not extend very far beyond these texts and do not transfer in any systematic and coherent fashion to the formal schooling of Japanese young people. This assertion may be overstated, however, for as Aibara (2000, p. 24) points out, "[s]imilar kinds of description on...organization are beginning to appear in textbooks for senior high school students (especially in *Kokugo Hyôgen* textbooks) and...will certainly change the direction of mainstream writing instruction over time, if...fully implemented."

A representative example of a supplementary guidebook offering instructions for writing *shôronbun* is provided by Ueno (1999) in a volume published by Benesse Corporation, one of the largest *juku* corporations in Japan. According to Ueno (pp. 6-31), there are three key areas in developing students' academic writing skills: (1) creativity, (2) organization, and (3) thinking ability:

As *shôronbun* is a way to convey writers' personal opinions, concrete and practical ideas or suggestions based on creativity is recommended. In order to produce new ideas in the process of writing, brainstorming is considered to be an important activity. Three steps are recommended: think about the topic freely, dare to relate things which seem to be irrelevant, and summarize them into logical arguments.

Organizational skill is the ability to work out the theme and detailed structure of the essay. The following procedure is recommended for organizing an essay: (a) think about the topic from various angles and write down whatever comes to mind; i.e., make use of brainstorming, (b) clarify the theme and the conclusion, (c) select the most suitable examples and state the reasoning, and (d) think about the organization of the whole essay.

Thinking ability is the capacity to think logically and critically. Dialectic skills such as debate are considered to play an important role in writing persuasive essays, for writers always have to keep opposing arguments in mind and make their stand clear throughout essays.

Ueno (1999, pp. 32-33) also recommends four organizational patterns for writing essays in Japanese, based on the notion of paragraph development:

Two-step organizational pattern (suitable for comparatively short essays):

Tôkatsu-shiki (deductive approach): *the conclusion is placed in the initial position, followed by the exemplification or reasoning (my italics).*

Bikatsu-shiki (inductive approach): the exemplification or reasoning is placed at the beginning, followed by the conclusion.

Three-step organizational pattern (*joron-honron-ketsuron*):

This is the most popular pattern (including a modified version of summary-body-conclusion) in which writers have to declare their thesis and show the outline of their essay in the introduction, and even if they state their summary at the beginning, they should reconfirm their stance at the end of the essay.

Four-step organizational pattern (*ki-shô-ten-ketsu*):

This requires a sophisticated technique, aiming for mainly literary effects, and should be avoided in writing *shôronbun*, adapting it to a modified three-step organization.

Five-step organizational pattern (*joron-chinjûsu-ronshô-honron-ketsuron*):

This is another modified version of *joron-honron-ketsuron* in which the body is divided into three parts: introduction-statement-reasoning-rebuttal-conclusion.

As illustrated above, many of the authors of supplementary guidebooks on writing exhort their readers to reject traditional Japanese organizational patterns such as *ki-shô-ten-ketsu*. A typical example is Sawada (1995, p. 116): "Even if there are people who think [this] is strange, ignore them; otherwise, the Japanese will never be successful in writing essays or theses that are accepted internationally." Kabashima (1980) concurs, stating that *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* is best suited for expressive writing, but not for informative writing or modern prose that demands clarity. As with a number of other Japanese scholars, "he has adopted ideas from the Western logical tradition and created several types of new organizational patterns similar to those of Western rhetoric" (Kobayashi, 1984, p. 32). Kinoshita (1994) also agrees, claiming that *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* is more appropriate for writing which aims to achieve literary effects and to move readers, but should not be applied to *shôronbun* essays, which require statements of opinion based on facts and objective reasoning. Hosaka (1978), on the other hand, maintains that even though there are those who allege that *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* is old-fashioned and illogical, nobody has actually been able to prove that this pattern is untenable or that writing in this manner is undesirable. He contends that *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* can be both logical and persuasive, and in fact, can be applied to any type of writing. Elsewhere, *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* has been described as "characteristic of Japanese expository prose [and] constitut[ing] a norm of Japanese style" (Hinds, 1983a, 1987, 1990), "applicable for writing on all occasions" (Inoue, 1986), suitable for "all genres of written discourse, including academic expository prose" (Hosaka, 1978), frequently used "in various genres from cartoon strips to modern prose" (Kobayashi, 1984), and a dominant

organizational pattern learned by Japanese students at school (Hinds, 1983a; Fister-Stoga, 1993).

It thus seems clear that disagreements in the literature regarding the organization of *shōronbun* center on the applicability of traditional patterns of organization such as *ki-shō-ten-ketsu* for academic writing, and this debate brings us to the heart of perhaps the most important dilemma facing Japanese composition pedagogy today: on one side of this divide are supporters of traditional forms exemplified by *ki-shō-ten-ketsu*; on the other are advocates of organizational structures derived from western rhetoric, such as the standard introduction-body-conclusion pattern, which may or may not correspond to the Japanese *joron-honron-ketsuron*, depending on the content, the context, and exactly what is meant by these terms. In other words, although most Japanese students are exposed to a three-part introduction-body-conclusion organizational structure in school, this pattern is often radically different from that employed in English due to the high-context nature of Japanese culture (see Appendix 4), in which people have strong group tendencies, widespread tacit understandings about shared information, and deep convictions about the importance of maintaining harmony in society. As a result, all three parts of this organizational pattern are often transformed to align with Japanese cultural values, although as Namba and Chick point out, it is also "perfectly possible to find examples of Japanese expository text [developed] in a 'Western' logical manner" (1986, p. 82). Kubota provides an historical explanation for this diversity:

[T]oday, students in secondary schools in Japan are exposed to many Japanese texts which are direct translations of English texts and are thus exposed to many instances of English rhetorical styles. Language curriculum..., teaching methods, [and composition theory] were also imported..., and the four forms of discourse (exposition, narration, description, and argumentation) were introduced in the Meiji period (Hayamizu, 1976). ...Many modern Japanese scholars of composition and rhetoric base their theories on Western rhetoric (i.e., rhetorical strategies similar to English for writing in Japanese; e.g., unity constructed by a clear theme, logical development of ideas, and placing a topic sentence in the beginning of a paragraph)—e.g., Morioka (1977), Sawada (1977), Hayamizu (1976), Okuma (1976), Kabashima (1980). ...There was also opposition to this Westernization and modernization of writing style. Some writers tried to promote Chinese or traditional Japanese styles of composition and some tried to combine them (Namekawa, 1977). ...On the other hand, Tokoro (1986) suggests a rhetorical model based on classical Japanese texts rather than on those imported from the West or China. Others explore *bunsho-ron* (text grammar emerging from Western discourse analysis and text linguistics) as an amalgamation of studies done on Western and Chinese rhetoric. ...Such views are still prevalent in Japan. (1992, p. 24)

Of interest here as well is the fact that current *Mombusho* guidelines make no mention of the *ki-shō-ten-ketsu* pattern (Ochi & Davies, 1999, p. 41); instead, the key expressions most often used are "clarity of expression" and "logical organization of thoughts" in order to cope with rapid changes in the information age

and the internationalization of Japan (ibid., p. 32). Aibara (2000, p. 50) sheds some light on these contradictions:

Although *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* can be described as one of the characteristic patterns of Japanese rhetoric, people in modern Japanese society do not always employ it in daily use, or rather they do not use the pattern consciously, nor have they been taught to use it as a norm. So most [senior high school] students do not know exactly what the *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* pattern is like, nor do they know how to use it. According to this author's observation, the *jorôn-honron-ketsuron* pattern is so widespread in Japanese society as a result of the introduction of translation from foreign books. Japanese people are exposed to this kind of western rhetoric and consequently come to use it without knowing the exact notion (function, use, etc.) of introduction-body-conclusion.⁸⁰

One of the main reasons for this confusion is that, in spite of governmental directives to the contrary, it would appear that few students are actively being taught how to write *shôronbun* in senior high schools. For example, in the small-scale survey of student writing referred to earlier (Ochi & Davies, 1999, pp. 39-40), among 18 first- and second-year senior high school students questioned, almost all (17 out of 18) stated that they had received no specific instruction in essay writing, and the same number said that they hardly ever had any writing practice except for short sentences for grammar study, some poetry in practicing textbook models, and *dokusho-kansôbun* once a year during summer vacations, for which they received only brief comments from their teachers. Among an additional eight high school seniors who were preparing to sit university entrance exams, five said they were not getting any special writing instruction for *shôronbun* because it was not part of their entrance test. Two others who were going to write *shôronbun* were asked to buy, read, and summarize books on short essay writing strategies chosen by their teachers. One of these students had about six meetings after class with teachers, the other approximately ten sessions. The remaining student's circumstances were quite unlike the others: although she was not taking a *shôronbun* test, she had had writing instruction in Japanese language classes during all three years of senior high school on a twice weekly basis, including instruction on writing *shôronbun*, and detailed feedback and correction each time her compositions were returned. In conclusion, it appears that those students who have to take *shôronbun* tests usually receive writing instruction for two or three months at the end of their senior year, either in tutorials after class, or by consulting books on *shôronbun* independently. In the latter case, students often examine the themes of past examples assigned by their universities of choice, and ask their writing teachers for remedies to any problems. As these figures illustrate, however, it appears that the ratio of students who actually receive such instruction, compared to the total school population, is very low indeed.

Finally, a key issue in understanding the disjunction between official policy and the actual implementation of Japanese composition pedagogy is the lack of objective

standards for essay assessment in Japan. Perhaps because of unresolved disagreements between defenders of traditional discourse patterns such as *ki-shō-ten-ketsu* and advocates of more "modern" organizational structures derived from western rhetoric, accepted criteria for objectively evaluating and grading *shōronbun* have not been established. Although senior high school teachers providing students with feedback on their compositions in preparation for sitting *shōronbun* tests typically focus on sentence-level problems in grammar and usage, as well as on the maturity and logical consistency of the content at times, grade scores are generally not assigned because the criteria for judging *shōronbun* essays are not transparent at the present time. For example, although senior high school teachers are expected to prepare Japanese students for *shōronbun* entrance tests on an individual basis, the university professors who evaluate these essays refuse to divulge their assessment standards, a stance which has been increasingly criticized in recent times:

'The Association of National Universities has drawn up guidelines for its members outlining procedures for the disclosure of information related to entrance examinations [which] will lead to improvements in the entrance exam system and to university reforms. [They stated that] schools should naturally respond to questions...regarding the testing procedures and...scores. [However], some strongly oppose the disclosure of results of...essay tests, which are being adopted by a growing number of colleges and universities. They argue that it would put pressure on examiners, whose evaluations would be called to account. (Disclose more info, 1999, p. 6)

As a result, many teachers and students in Japan turn to *juku* corporations for assistance in objectively assessing *shōronbun*, as they will provide grades and corrective feedback for a fee. However, it seems that these organizations are also hesitant to disclose to the public the standards by which they assess students' compositions. For example, when Benesse Corporation was asked for this information, they declined to disclose their criteria, claiming that they spend so much time and effort evaluating students' essays that they do not want the results to be undermined by second-guessing (Aibara, 2000, personal communication).⁸¹ The credibility of these explanations remains suspect, however, and it seems more plausible to assume that objective standards for evaluating *shōronbun* have not yet been established in Japanese. This absence of an effective assessment tool for judging *shōronbun* performance creates a serious impasse for Japanese writing teachers, however, for as Aibara (2000, p. 42) rightly contends, "without a clear definition of what constitutes good writing, it is impossible to organize a curriculum for better composition instruction in Japan."

6.2.3 Conclusions

In summary, a number of different composition models are studied in Japanese schools, the most important of which are *kansōbun* and *shōronbun*, although as the

above characterizations attest, actual writing practice appears to be minimal and corrective feedback by teachers is limited. This overview also shows that there are opportunities for student writing skills to be cultivated in Japanese schools if teachers set aside time for writing instruction and practice. However, it seems clear that such activities are quite rare beyond primary school, for in Japan, education is almost entirely examination oriented, always focusing on the need for students to pass tests, and the washback effect from these entrance exams strongly influences composition pedagogy at the secondary school level.

The results of this research also suggest that there is a marked disparity between *Mombusho* guidelines and the reality of actual L1 writing activities taking place in Japanese classrooms. In fact, it appears that composition instruction is not being applied as Ministry directives stipulate, nor in the way that specialists advocate in writing guidebooks and academic journals. One of the principal reasons why classroom teachers do not seem to be following these guidelines is that it takes a great deal of time and effort to teach the Japanese language itself, as well as the Chinese and Japanese classics and several different types of poetry, leaving few opportunities for the teaching of writing skills in secondary schools. In addition, the amount of composition instruction provided in Japanese language classes depends entirely on individual teachers, and this in turn, depends on the kinds of schools and courses students attend, for in Japan, instruction is always carried out in terms of an examination orientation based on students' specific needs. It is clear, however, that in order for students to obtain adequate writing practice on a regular basis, more resources should be allotted to composition pedagogy and a more flexible curriculum implemented that will address the rapidly changing needs of Japanese young people.

Finally, it seems highly likely that many Japanese teachers do not have an adequate knowledge of academic writing skills themselves, since they are products of the same post-war education system that has long neglected this aspect of composition pedagogy; in addition, most teachers in Japan will have received little or no instruction at university on how these writing skills should be taught (see section 6.3.1 below). More importantly, by attempting to deracinate rhetorical traditions dating back many centuries to Chinese influences on native Japanese literary forms in order to transplant more "progressive" western organizational patterns into the body of modern Japanese rhetoric, official governmental policies, as exemplified by *Mombusho* guidelines, have created a great deal of confusion among teachers and students alike by not making explicit the historical context in which these transformations are taking place. As a consequence, with the exception of a limited number of specialists in the field, it would appear that few educators in Japan have much awareness or knowledge of the traditions that have helped shape

Japanese rhetorical preferences and conventions, nor of the pressures that are being brought to bear for wholesale change at the present time.

6.3 A survey of L1/L2 composition pedagogy in Japan

In order to test the validity of the claims set forth above, a survey of Japanese university students was carried out to evaluate the nature of their writing experiences in both L1 and L2 contexts at different stages of the education cycle in Japan (see Davies, 1999a). The subjects in this study were all sophomore and junior students participating in English composition classes in academic writing skills at two universities in Japan. Pre-instruction questionnaires (see Appendix 5) were given to all students (168 in total) in the first class of these composition courses (i.e., *prior* to receiving any composition instruction) for three years between 1996 and 1999, of which 39 were eliminated for a variety of reasons such as inadequate or incomplete answers. Of the remaining 129 students, 55 were English Education majors, 32 were International Culture majors, 16 were English Language majors, and 26 were majoring in a variety of other subjects (see Appendix 6 for a detailed summary). 30 students (approximately 1/4 of the total) were then interviewed on an individual basis to verify responses.

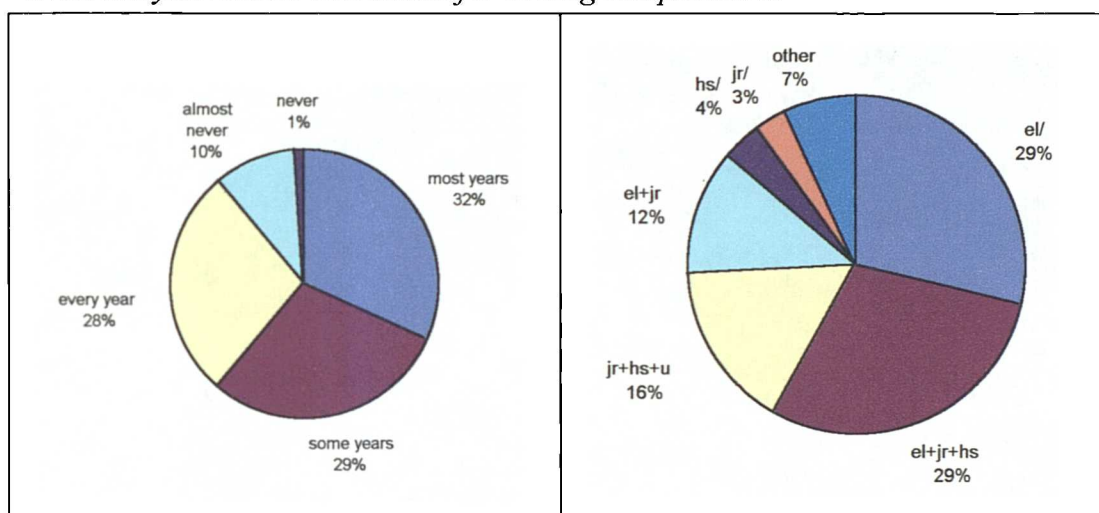
The format used in this survey was based on two previous related studies conducted by Liebman-Kleine (1986) and Sasaki and Hirose (1996). Liebman-Kleine examined contrasts in the rhetoric of non-native college freshmen from several different linguistic backgrounds studying in the United States, including a small number of Japanese, while Sasaki and Hirose investigated a variety of factors which might influence Japanese university students' expository writing in English, one of which was instructional background. Neither of these studies was designed to specifically analyze the nature of composition pedagogy in Japan in depth, although both provided valuable background information which formed the basis of many of the questions used in this study; i.e., Sasaki and Hirose's (1996, p. 169) classification of Japanese composition types in terms of *kansôbun* (the expression of one's feelings or impressions related to a certain topic, such as art, movies, music, books, etc.), literary work (stories, poems, etc.), letters, summaries or paraphrases, and *shôronbun* (short expository essays), as well as Liebman-Kleine's (1986, p. 17) observation that students from Japan adapt comfortably to writing journals or diaries, perhaps because of a long Japanese tradition in this area.⁸²

The writing questionnaire targeted all levels of Japanese education, from elementary school to university, and covered a wide range of topics, including the kinds of writing activities engaged in, the quantity and quality of the written work submitted, instructional techniques employed by teachers, organizational patterns and stylistic conventions considered important, awareness of audience among

writers, and evaluation and grading by instructors. It should be emphasized that the results reflect students' *beliefs* about the writing instruction they received, and this may or may not correspond to the reality of actual classroom practice. However, many of the observations made by these students were surprisingly thoughtful, especially considering their lack of exposure to this type of inquiry, and their responses provide valuable insights into the nature of composition pedagogy in Japanese schools. The findings themselves are highly informative in many cases, but disappointingly inconclusive in others, due in large measure to inadequacies in the formulation of certain questions or the inability of students to respond for other reasons. A summary of the results can be found in Appendices 7 and 8, and commentaries are provided below on the most significant findings of the survey.

6.3.1 Japanese L1 composition instruction and practice

- *How often did you study how to write Japanese compositions in school? At what levels did you receive instruction for writing compositions?*



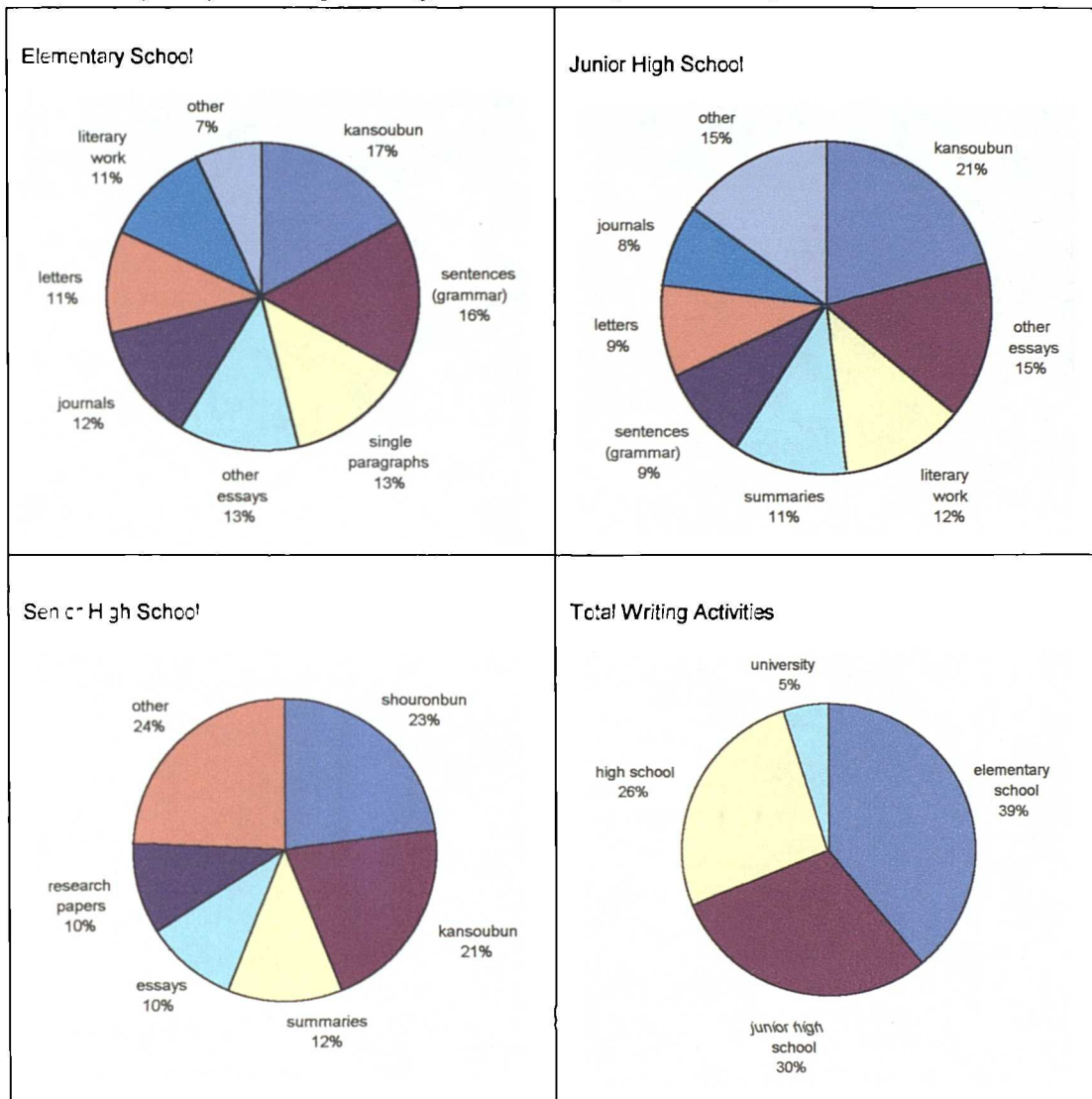
As the results indicate, although a majority of students felt that they had studied how to write compositions in Japanese on a regular basis during their school years, 40% stated that these studies had been either infrequent or non-existent, with less than one-third saying that they received instruction every year. Students indicated that they received by far the most instruction in elementary school, although responses vary considerably in terms of combinations of levels. Of note is the fact that almost 30% of students received instruction *only* in elementary school, while an equal percentage were taught at all three levels of primary and secondary schooling.

- *Please estimate the amount of required writing that you did in Japanese.*

It was impossible to draw definitive conclusions from student responses to this question. Broadly speaking, most students indicated that approximately 2-5 pages

per term was the average, but the question itself should probably have been formulated in a different manner. During follow-up interviews, however, a number of students commented on this issue. Most said that, in general, they wrote short compositions in Japanese about once a term, while for others it was once every two to three months. Almost everyone stated that they did not write regularly in senior high school, where compositions were generally written once or twice a year, except for those taking special *shōronbun* tutorials after class in preparation for university entrance tests that included *shōronbun* essays).

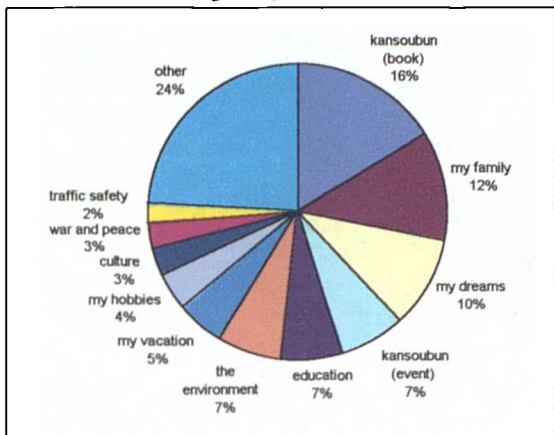
• Which of the following writing activities did you do in Japanese at each level?



These findings illustrate a number of important aspects of L1 composition pedagogy in Japan. Although a variety of writing genres are targeted in the curriculum, students continue to write *kansōbun*, albeit infrequently, at all levels of schooling. *Shōronbun* are restricted for the most part to senior high school, and the amount of writing activity decreases markedly at each level in the education cycle. According to students, surprisingly little essay writing is done at university, at least in the first

and second years, and most stated that they did not receive any instruction from professors on writing research papers; instead, they were simply directed to books that they could buy on the subject.

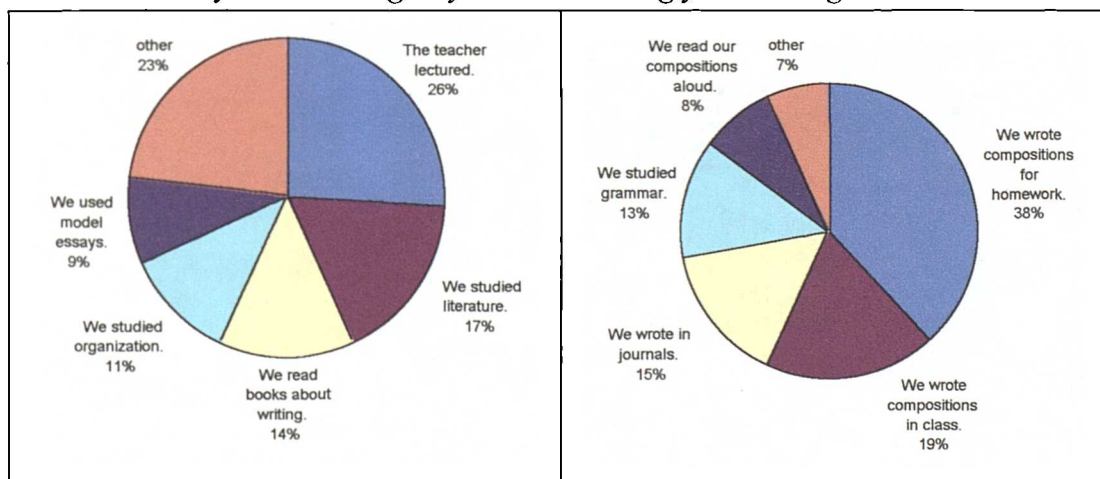
• Give some topics you wrote about in Japanese compositions at school.



The most significant feature of topic assignment in Japanese schools is the amount of writing done from a highly personal perspective. *Kansôbun* of different types are prevalent, and many students reported that they wrote on exactly the same subjects year after year, usually as homework during the summer vacation. A number of students

commented that the repetitious and personalized nature of assignments made writing compositions boring at later stages of their education. In addition, *kansôbun* about school events (e.g., a field trip, track and field day, etc.) were mostly written in elementary school, while *kansôbun* about books were generally written in both elementary and junior high school. *Shôronbun* were almost always written in senior high school about topics of current interest. Many students indicated that they could not remember what they had written about.

What techniques did your teachers use to teach you how to write compositions in Japanese (i.e., presentation, practice, and feedback)? What kind of feedback and correction did your teacher give you in evaluating your writing?



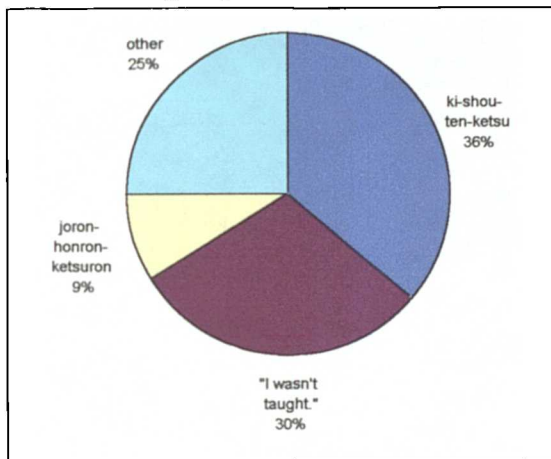
Student responses on feedback were inconclusive, as it became apparent during the interviews that the concept itself was unclear for many of them. A number of students stated that systematic corrective feedback from teachers is rare in Japan,

and most of the time they just received a few personal comments. Most composition instruction seems to be teacher-centered and passive, as students generally had to listen to lectures or study literary examples in their textbooks, with organization of secondary importance. Students also reported writing most of their compositions for homework and keeping personal and classroom journals in elementary school.

• *What activities did you do in your writing classes in Japanese composition (i.e., discussing, outlining, writing, editing, and rewriting)?*

It was not possible to tabulate the results for this question as many of the responses were incoherent, indicating that perhaps the students did not understand the question in this format. From interviews, it seems that single drafts of compositions are all that is required; as a result, the other components of the writing process were not familiar to many students.

• *According to your teachers, how should a composition be organized in Japanese?*



Almost 30% of students indicated that they had never been taught how to organize a composition written in Japanese. Among those who had, 36% cited *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* as the dominant model, while less than 10% reported learning the three-part *joron-honron-ketsuron* (cf. Tadaki's (1999) findings of 17%, 52%, and 9%, respectively).

Interestingly, many students felt that *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* was becoming less and less popular, although the statistics indicate that it is still the main pattern being taught in schools. Furthermore, a number of students commented that Japanese composition is difficult to teach because there are "few rules of organization," and that often students are just given paper and told to write whatever they like on an assigned topic. A common view among students was that teachers should be better trained as many do not know how to organize compositions themselves.

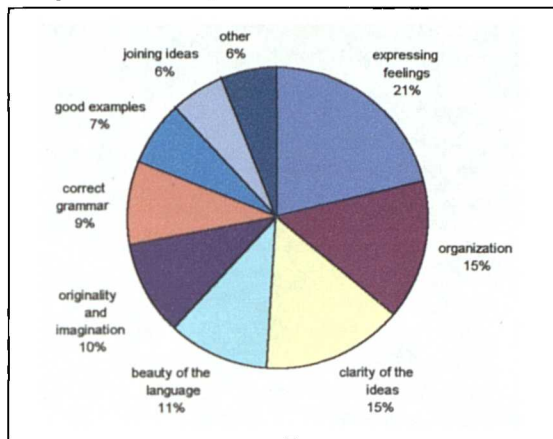
• *What books have you used that show how to write compositions in Japanese?*

Few students provided the names of specific books. Almost everyone cited school textbooks, as well as those recommended by their teachers which they could buy at bookstores.

• *Who was your audience when you wrote compositions in Japanese?*

Again, results were inconclusive and the question itself should probably be reformulated. In interviews, most students seemed to feel that they were writing for themselves, except for essays in test situations, although such writing was considered rare.

• *Which of the following did your teachers emphasize when they graded your Japanese compositions?*



Of interest here is the fact that many students felt that organization was important in their teachers' grading criteria, even though they claimed it was not emphasized during instruction. In keeping with findings elsewhere, the expression of feelings and beauty of the language seem to play an important role in assessing writing in Japan. As well,

a number of students stated that they enjoyed writing in elementary school where there was an emphasis on creativity and freedom of expression, but developed a strong dislike for writing compositions at the secondary level where more stress was placed on grammar.

• *In your opinion, what are the biggest differences between Japanese and English in terms of writing compositions?*

Most students said that they had no idea about these differences, or answered from personal perspectives only; others were more objectively aware of differences between the two languages. Among this latter group, the following criteria were cited in descending order of frequency:

- (1) Organization is the most important difference.
- (2) Japanese compositions make important statements at the end; their English counterparts make them at the beginning.
- (3) Japanese compositions express subjective feelings; in English objectivity is more important.
- (4) Japanese compositions are vague; English compositions are clear.
- (5) Japanese compositions are indirect; compositions in English are direct.

In addition, detailed comments were made by a number of students regarding differences between Japanese and English in writing compositions, in many cases

by those who had done some studying overseas. The following statements by students have been edited for grammatical correctness, but the integrity of their content has been carefully maintained:

In English composition classes, until we were high school students, we wrote only short paragraphs which had a few sentences. I didn't have opportunities to express my feelings because we were always translating some Japanese sentences into English in the textbooks. On the other hand, since I was little, I wrote diaries and *kansôbun* in Japanese class. Elementary school teachers always corrected my mistakes, but as we grew up, teachers made us only write without feedback. Ayako Morizane (age 21)

In my opinion, the biggest differences between writing in English and Japanese is whether our main ideas are written in the first or final paragraphs in our papers. In English, we have to write these ideas in the first paragraph, but in Japanese we write them in the final one because we like to avoid direct, decisive expressions and start writing with vague words and do not put our main ideas in the first paragraph. Miwako Sasaki (age 21)

Writing in Japanese needs harmony as a whole and prefers beautiful and vague expressions. Mika Ueno (age 19)

I think the biggest differences between Japanese and English is the writing construction. English is a language which generally prefers directness, so whenever we write something in English we have to write clearly; on the other hand, Japanese is a more ambiguous language so we can express our opinions in compositions with unclear language. Keiko Kamada (age 21)

Japanese writing is more poetic and vague than English. Yukiko Itabashi (age 20)

In my opinion, the biggest differences between Japanese and English in terms of writing compositions is how to develop the ideas. We cannot understand the ideas or feelings of writers until we read the last paragraph in almost all Japanese essays. But we can understand them when we read the first paragraph in English essays. Yoko Nakamura (age 20)

I think it is their structure [i.e., the difference between Japanese and English compositions]. Japanese compositions begin with "harmless content," and the subject appears gradually. On the other hand, English compositions begin with the main idea first of all. Nanae Inoue (age 20)

In Japanese compositions, we write our feelings. Also, the beautiful style of sentences is praised, and euphemisms are often used. Yukari Takeuchi (age 20)

Writing in English must be more clear than writing in Japanese. Some good writing in Japanese gives an inkling of something, but not directly. Chiyoko Miyata (age 21)

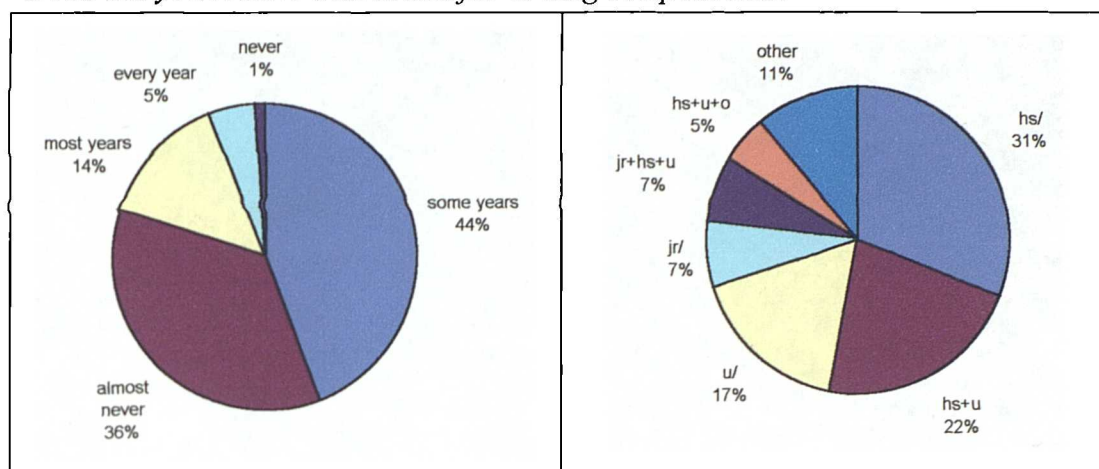
When I write compositions in English, first, I write the conclusion and then I write concrete examples. But in Japanese, first, I usually write why I chose the topic and then I propose some concrete examples, and last, I write the conclusion of the topic. Tomoe Torii (age 20)

In English compositions, a paragraph is very important. It is written because writers need to convince audiences. But in Japanese compositions, the basis is often the writer's experience and feelings. So we don't take notice of organization. Miwa Murakami (age 21)

The biggest differences are the background of culture. Japanese like indirect [expressions]. We think that [direct] expressions hurt other people. But this logic does not work in English compositions. For me, the image of English compositions is that they are free. We can write what we think directly. Kiyomi Hiraoka (age 20)

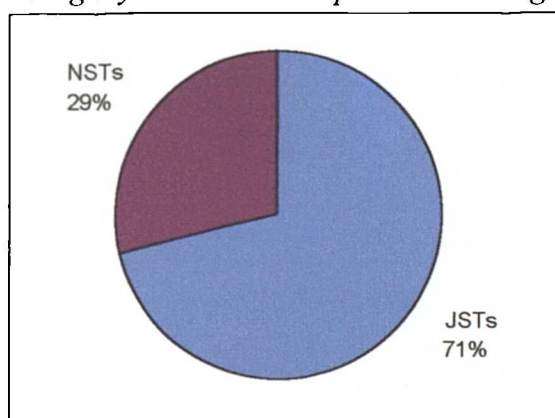
6.3.2 English L2 composition instruction and practice

- *How often did you study how to write English compositions in school? At what levels did you receive instruction for writing compositions?*



Not surprisingly, writing English compositions occurs infrequently in Japanese schools, with less than 20% of students reporting that they did so regularly. Most of this writing takes place in high school and university because junior high school students are still too young, although many students have never actually written a composition in English. Even at university, few freshman and sophomore students write essays in English as most of their classes are large, lecture style, grammar-translation oriented, and according to many students, "very boring."

- *Were your teachers Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) or native speakers of English (NSTs)? Please explain the differences between JTEs and NSTs in how they taught you to write compositions in English.*

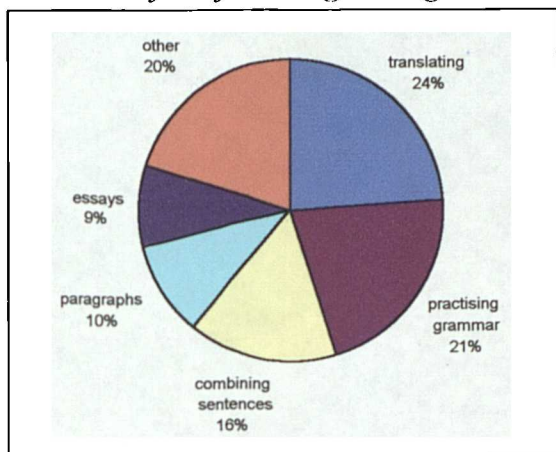


Contact with NSTs in English composition courses almost always occurred at university, very rarely at high school, and occasionally during overseas studies. Less than 30% had had contact with NSTs, so most were unable to respond. Of those who did, the results are as follows (responses were collated as binary sets in descending order of frequency):

- (1) JTEs emphasize grammar-translation / NSTs emphasize organization-joining ideas together;
- (2) JTEs stress grammar-translation / NSTs stress content-feelings-originality;
- (3) JTEs think grammar and spelling are important / NSTs do not think

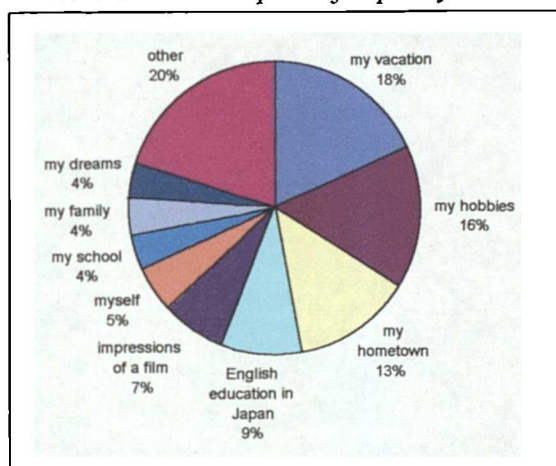
grammar and spelling are important; (4) JTEs do not mark mistakes / NSTs mark mistakes; (5) JTEs emphasize grammar, but few compositions are actually written / NSTs give complete corrections and require many compositions; (6) JTEs instruct in Japanese / NSTs instruct in English; (7) JTEs say to write first in Japanese, then translate / NSTs say to write directly in English

• *Which of the following writing activities did you do in English?*



As these results show, the actual writing of compositions in English is quite rare in Japanese schools, where translating exercises, grammar practice, and sentence combining are the dominant activities, accounting for 60% of students' responses in this survey, although some students reported writing short paragraphs/essays on occasion.

Give some examples of topics you wrote about in English compositions at school.



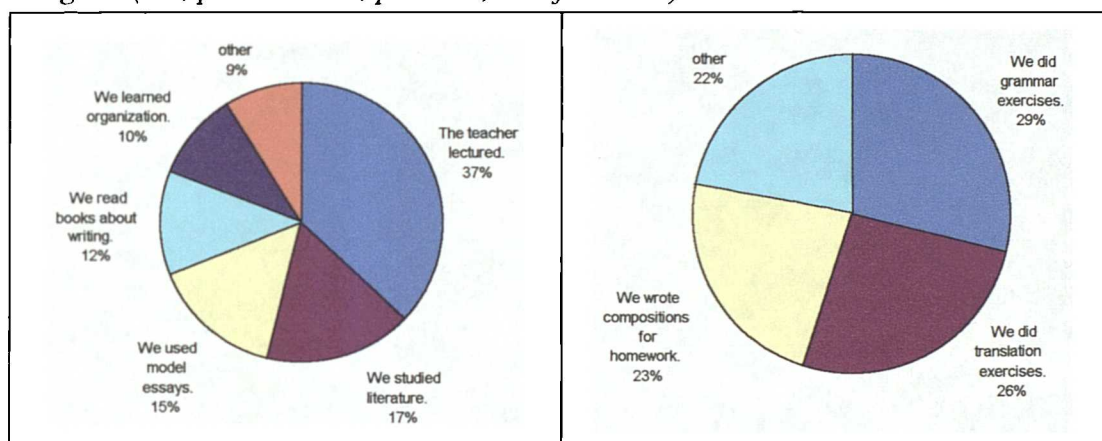
As might be expected, most of the composition assignments that students wrote were highly personalized, and as with Japanese L1 compositions, a characteristic feature of this kind of writing activity was that the topics were almost the same year after year, and were generally assigned before or after a long vacation.

What activities did you do in your writing classes in English composition (i.e., discussing, outlining, writing, editing, and rewriting)? What kind of feedback and correction did your teacher give you in evaluating your writing in English? Who was your audience when you wrote compositions in English?

As with similar questions concerning Japanese L1 composition pedagogy, it was not possible to calculate results from the responses provided and it may well be that the questions themselves should be restructured. The following information comes from written student comments and personal interviews, and the answers given seemed to depend to a large extent on the approach taken by individual teachers. Many students, for example, reported that they wrote compositions in class or at home,

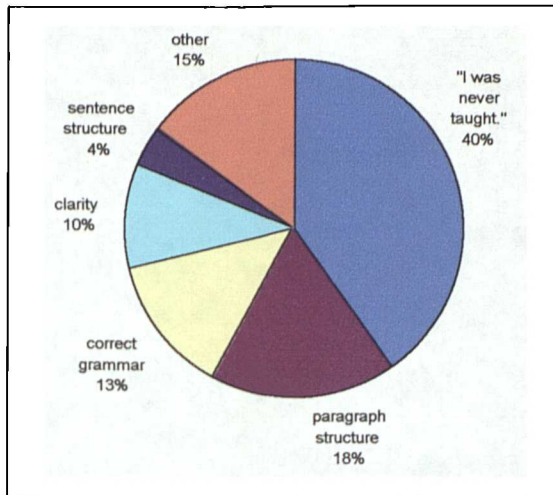
then a few of them were asked to copy their completed assignments on the blackboard, at which time the teacher corrected their grammar. In surveys such as this, we thus have to be careful about what we mean by "composition"; in fact, for these students a composition in English was seldom more than a few sentences long. In addition, outlining, editing and rewriting were seldom part of the writing process, and although there were sometimes preliminary discussions on assigned topics, mostly students were simply required to read their textbooks. Many students also stated that sometimes their essays were corrected, but most often they were not. Grammar mistakes were normally corrected in translation exercises, not in compositions themselves, and teachers made occasional comments, but correcting was not systematic, and many teachers only gave letter grades. A few students said that their teacher corrected all of their mistakes, while most said that only very basic mistakes were corrected. Many students reported having no corrections and feedback whatsoever, and a majority reported that they had little idea of when their writing was grammatically correct or not.

- *What techniques did your teachers use to teach you how to write compositions in English (i.e., presentation, practice, and feedback)?*



As reported in Japanese L1 composition pedagogy above, students indicated that instruction for writing compositions in English was based on teachers' lectures, the study of literature, and the imitation of model essays, while the organizational structure of essays was seldom a primary concern. In terms of composition practice, grammar exercises and translation in preparation for examinations were emphasized. In addition, many of the students stated that they could not respond completely because they had never done anything beyond sentence-level, grammar-translation exercises in English at school.

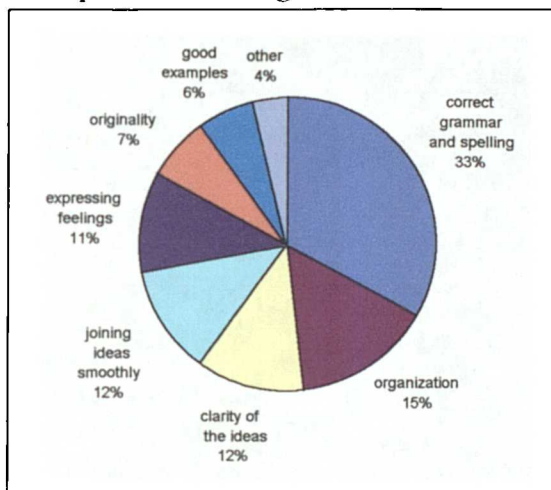
- *According to your teachers, how should a composition be organized in English?*



The most important feature of this aspect of English L2 composition pedagogy in Japan is the almost complete absence of instruction in organization at higher levels of discourse, with 40% of students claiming that they had never been taught. As a result, although some students reported learning paragraph structure in secondary school, most enter university with only a vague idea of how to organize academic essays in English. Unfortunately, depending on the

teachers they encounter, many students will graduate from university with this same lack of knowledge, even those who are majoring in English or English-related subjects.

• Which of the following did your teachers emphasize when they graded your compositions in English?



English composition teachers in Japan stress the importance of grammar and spelling in preparation for exams, but as described above, they seldom give students systematic corrective feedback on their writing outside of translation exercises. In addition, students indicated that organization was also considered important even though it is generally neglected during instruction.

In addition, comments were provided by a small number of students about their teachers and their English composition classes in general:

We Japanese seldom have the chance to write real compositions. We had many English composition classes when we were in high school or junior high school. But they were only translation exercises. Japanese English teachers emphasize exercises in grammar and spelling. Hiromi Shigenaga (age 20)

Generally, Japanese English teachers are inclined to point out "unclearness" in students' compositions, but not the details of grammatical errors. They also make us rewrite the compositions, but the problem is that they don't tell us exactly in which part we made mistakes or what we should do after having made such mistakes. Keiko Kamada (age 21)

Most Japanese English teachers don't expect us to express our opinions or our point of view. The important point is that students can translate Japanese in the text into English completely. Manami Ishida (age 20)

Japanese English teachers teach us for examination skills so there is no need to express our feelings and originality in compositions. They expect us to master grammar, correct spelling, and effective skills for the test. Kiyomi Hiraoka (age 20)

6.4 Conclusions

For the most part, the results of this survey strongly support the anecdotal evidence presented earlier, in particular the claims that there is a wide gap between *Mombusho* directives and the reality of actual writing instruction taking place in Japanese classrooms. In fact, it appears that composition pedagogy in Japanese schools bears little resemblance to Ministry guidelines, nor to the way in which specialists advocate that writing skills be taught. It also seems clear that most Japanese students do very little academic writing in *any* language due to the examination-oriented structure of the education system and the fact that rote memorization is still the predominant form of learning being instilled in young people. Furthermore, in order to effectively address the problems that Japanese students face when writing academic English, it is first necessary to understand the contradictions inherent in contemporary attitudes towards composition pedagogy evident in Japanese education that derive from long-standing disputes concerning the nature of Japanese rhetoric itself. As the results of this survey show, top-down efforts by governmental authorities to replace traditional rhetorical models with more progressive, "modern" paradigms emphasizing qualities such as "clarity of expression" and "logical thinking" have not met with much success at the grass-roots level. In fact, because there has been no attempt by the authorities to clarify the historical context in which these proposed changes are taking place, their policies have created considerable confusion among teachers and students alike. As a result, English composition teachers will need to take into account "the mixed levels of awareness" that many Japanese students have for the rhetorical values of their own culture (Harder, 1984, p. 119).

These problems also need to be viewed within the context of the overall goals of Japanese education, which has been to create "a high-quality, standardized labor force aimed at high economic growth" (For the good, 1997, p. 4). Although there have been increasing calls for reform of late, "in the current rigid and uniform education system [subjects] are simply learned by rote in order to pass entrance examinations" (*ibid.*), and as Aibara points out, this approach to education has created a great deal of apathy and disinterest among Japanese students:

The Japanese education system has experienced unprecedented changes and difficulties for the last two decades. While it has contributed to producing the kind of people industry needs to efficiently mass-produce high quality products, more and more students have become less able to think and judge for themselves, becoming less innovative and losing interest in learning at school. (2000, p. 44)

These educational policies have also resulted in the widespread failure of Japanese schools to properly cultivate students' L1 writing abilities, a shortcoming which *Mombusho* is apparently now attempting to rectify:

The new *Mombusho* guidelines...stress 'practical communicative competence' in writing instruction, incorporating the same ideas [from previous guidelines] of 'clarity of expression' and 'logical thinking' in a new context (Ohtsuki, 1999, p. 24). This revision implies that students are not skillful enough to think logically and express their ideas clearly. It is also evident that the present educational system has not been successful in raising the practical writing ability of school children in Japanese language classes. Revision of the guidelines for Japanese language instruction was made in view of the fact that instruction at present tends to put too much emphasis on precise interpretation of literary works (Ohtsuki, 1999, p. 22), and that practical communicative competence has not been attended to [especially] among high school students. (Aibara, 2000, pp. 24-25)

As research has shown, however, native language literacy skills are a significant factor in student success in learning to write in a second language (Odlin, 1989), and as Shishin (1985, p. 1) argues, academic writing "cannot be taught well in a classroom environment uncomplementary to critical thought, or imposed through rote memorization." As a consequence, deficiencies in the L2 writing skills of Japanese students of English may simply reflect "problems writing in Japanese as a result of poor education" (ibid.), as well as "the degree to which [students have not] mastered the rhetorical patterns of their native language" (Ricento, 1987, p. 2).

Nevertheless, as Kaplan (1988, p. 290) observes, it is an over-simplification to place responsibility for "the promulgation and preservation of preferred rhetorical types" on educational systems alone. According to Swales (1990, p. 66), there are "powerful local influences of many kinds—national, social, cultural, technical and religious—[forming] particular educational cultures," and these factors are difficult to distinguish and interpret: "We can either lean towards intrinsic cultural differences" in providing reasons for "differences in rhetorical...codes" (ibid.), or we can lean toward differences in educational orientation. However, Kaplan maintains that "[e]ducational systems do not serve as the intellectual frontline of most cultures, rather, they reflect thought as they reflect more deeply embedded cultural preferences" (op. cit.). These cultural preferences become embodied as principles that shape and direct the evolution of rhetorical traditions which are themselves forged within linguistic communities over extremely long periods of time in response to the environmental circumstances in which people live. Historically,

Japanese rhetoric, as exemplified by patterns such as *ki-shô-ten-ketsu*, developed as the result of widespread Chinese influences on native Japanese literary forms dating back many centuries. At present, however, the suitability of these rhetorical traditions is being questioned, especially in the education system itself, because the Japanese need to develop clear and effective communication skills for participation in a rapidly internationalizing world. As a consequence, there is an ever increasing influence of English on Japanese rhetorical preferences, as *Mombusho* directives and numerous composition textbooks for sale in bookstores attest. The result seems to be the confluence of two separate streams within the body of modern Japanese rhetoric, one defined in terms of aesthetic qualities and empathic forms of expression derived from traditional literary genres, the other characterized by the influence of the utilitarian rhetorical modes of modern English prose, with its insistence on simplicity, clarity, and logical efficiency in writing.

Contemporary Japan is clearly a society in transition and these changes are reflected in the rhetorical models being taught in Japanese schools. As Moore (1986, p. 304) points out, Japanese culture and the way of thinking of its people contains numerous contradictory tendencies, and the conflict between tradition and modernization, between the aesthetic and the utilitarian, is a very real dilemma for most Japanese people, as "there seems to be not one single basic quality or characteristic or attitude which clearly expresses or embodies the character of the people and which does not co-exist with its very opposite." Kenzaburo Oe, arguably Japan's greatest living writer and thinker, expresses this dichotomy in a way that has particular relevance for understanding Japanese rhetoric and the complex problems facing the education system at present. In his Nobel Prize speech of 1994, Oe observed that "his fellow countrymen were caught in a perpetual identity crisis, between West and East and between ceaseless mythologizing and relentless modernization" (Sasamoto, 1998, p. 3). Japan's modernization, according to Oe, "reveals the history of an Asian country that sought to extricate itself from Asia and become a European-style nation" (1994, p. 55). He states that more than a century later "contemporary Japan is split between two opposing poles of ambiguity... which is so powerful and penetrating that it divides both the state and its people.... The modernization of Japan was oriented toward learning from and imitating the West, yet the country is situated in Asia and has firmly maintained its traditional culture," although it remains isolated "from other Asian nations not only politically but also socially and culturally [and] even in the West...it has long remained inscrutable or only partially understood" (ibid., p. 117).⁸³ These opposing forces are reflected in the nature of Japanese rhetoric, for as the state continues to drive relentlessly forward towards modernization and economic growth, single-mindedly promoting rhetorical values adopted from western models of written discourse, most people in

Japan remain firmly committed to traditional customs and beliefs that are deeply rooted in Asian culture and which are reflected in contrasting rhetorical values that have a strong historical significance. Japanese young people today are trapped between these "two poles of ambiguity," resulting in a widespread identity crisis that schools seem incapable of addressing, since national educational policies continue to ensure that both students and teachers remain ignorant of historical influences that might impede modernization and economic development. According to Oe, the ambiguity that characterizes the Japanese sense of identity is also reflected in the "wide discrepancy between how the Japanese actually appear to others and how they would like to appear to them"—i.e., as a nation "possessing a view of the world richly shaped by both traditional and foreign cultural elements," combining "a humanistic view of man [with] the traditional Japanese sense of beauty and sensitivity to nature [and] a will to work as a cooperative member of the world community" (ibid., pp. 53-54 & 121-123). Clearly, however, if the Japanese wish to succeed in communicating this spirit of the nation to other peoples of the world, significant changes will have to take place in the current education system, including the implementation of a more open, flexible, and decentralized curriculum in which the importance of composition pedagogy is recognized at all stages of the educational process.

Chapter 7: The teaching experiment

7.1 Introduction

As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, the first serious attempt by applied linguists to explain second language writing was the field of study known as contrastive rhetoric (Connor, 1996), which was based on the assumption that language learners will transfer the rhetorical features of their native language to the target language, causing interference in second language writing. Contrastive studies up to that time had been limited to the formal analysis of language at the sentence level, but research in contrastive rhetoric suggested that linguistic and cultural factors beyond the level of the sentence influenced L2 learners' writing abilities. Initially, it was thought that differences within the internal logics of languages resulted in the development of different rhetorics, and that linguistically and culturally defined interpretations of rhetorical organization caused difficulties in writing for L2 students. Later studies shifted the focus "to deeper levels of discourse meaning in context, assuming that L2 writing displays preferred conventions of the L1 language and culture rather than reflects L1 thought patterns" (Allaei & Connor, 1990, p. 23; cf. Sapir, 1921; Whorf, 1956; and Gumperz & Levinson, 1996). Contemporary theories of contrastive rhetoric are based on a new conceptualization of the nature of writing itself, not as a skill, but as a culturally-determined, cognitive activity which brings into play a complex body of knowledge: semantic, formal, and social (Purves & Purves, 1986). As a consequence, the investigation of written discourse across cultures has moved beyond a purely linguistic framework concerned with the structural analysis of text to encompass cognitive and sociocultural variables of writing, including the cultural and educational contexts in which text is produced. Today, the notion of L1 rhetorical transfer has been expanded to include linguistic, cognitive, and sociocultural dimensions of language, comprising not only lexical, grammatical, and syntactic elements, but also discourse structures and stylistic choices, based on culturally-determined rhetorical preferences and conventions. Moreover, recent studies also suggest that in addition to interference caused by L1 rhetorical transfer, L2 developmental issues and L1 writing ability are also significant factors affecting L2 writing performance. For example, as Holyoak and Piper (1997, p. 128) maintain, developmental factors in the L2 can be just as relevant as L1 rhetorical transfer if the management of lower level linguistic concerns has not reached threshold levels; i.e., morphosyntactic competence is a prerequisite for writing, requiring more than a minimal control of syntactic and lexical items in the target language. Friedlander (1990, p. 109) also notes that not only will L2 learners "transfer writing abilities and strategies, whether good or

deficient, from their first language to their second language [but] students who have not developed good strategies for writing in their first language will not have appropriate strategies to transfer to their second language."

In orientation, contrastive rhetoric is essentially pragmatic and pedagogical, not in a methodological sense, but in providing teachers and students with knowledge of the links between culture and writing, and how discourse structures and stylistic choices are reflected in written products. As Swales (1990, pp. 64-65) points out, contrastive rhetoric is "an investigative area that is directly relevant to a pedagogically-oriented study of academic English" because of the insights it offers into differences between languages at the discoursal level. This knowledge can be applied to L2 writing pedagogy by informing and educating L2 students about the rhetorical traditions of both their native and target languages (Leki, 1991), teaching them to appreciate their own native rhetorical traditions, to identify cross-cultural differences, and to make the transition to the organizational patterns of the target language (Mok, 1993). According to Grabe and Kaplan (1996, p. 200), "contrastive rhetoric focuses attention on seven types of knowledge in the teaching of writing": (1) knowledge of rhetorical patterns of arrangement and the relative frequency of various patterns (e.g. exposition/argument: classification, definition, etc.); (2) knowledge of composing conventions and strategies needed to generate text (e.g. pre-writing, data-collection, revision, etc.); (3) knowledge of the morphosyntax of the target language, particularly as it applies to the intersentential level; (4) knowledge of the coherence-creating mechanisms of the target language; (5) knowledge of the writing conventions of the target language in the sense of both frequency and distribution of types and text appearance (e.g. letter, essay, report); (6) knowledge of the audience characteristics and expectations in the target culture; and (7) knowledge of the subject to be discussed, including both "what everyone knows" in the target culture and specialist knowledge (ibid.).

Nevertheless, as Purves (1988, p. 15) observes, although a teaching methodology for contrastive rhetoric is beginning to emerge, it is still very much in its "formative stages." Research in contrastive rhetoric have proven effective in establishing correlations between culture and writing, but its "immediate practical uses...for ESL teachers are not altogether clear" (Leki, 1991, p. 137), and its "applications to classroom instruction have not developed correspondingly" (Raimes, 1991, p. 417), especially in terms of strategies for intervention and remediation. In fact, as Oi (1999, p. 85) points out, there have been few systematic attempts to apply the findings of contrastive rhetoric to L2 composition pedagogy:

While expecting that logical patterns of organization differ cross-culturally and cross-linguistically, the writing teachers should find a way to present logical patterns and audience expectations of English academia, and should come up with an effective pedagogy to teach

those notions to ESL students. However, because of the complexity of this issue, there have not been many presentations of ways that reflect the fruit of contrastive rhetoric research.

One of the principal goals of this thesis is to redress this imbalance in a proposal of pedagogic action which offers solutions to the writing problems of Japanese EL2 students based on an integrated approach to composition instruction. Building on research findings in contrastive rhetoric, this approach combines general pedagogic principles with applied linguistic theory in a set of academic writing specifications designed to contribute to an effective teaching methodology for English L2 composition instruction at the university level in Japan, where the term *methodology* is defined as follows:⁸⁴

[A] *syllabus* is a specification of what is to be included in a language course. Designing a syllabus involves examining needs analyses and establishing goals. It then entails the selection, grading and sequencing of the language and other content into units of manageable material. The *methodology* employed in implementing the syllabus will include materials selection and development, and will involve a selection of the learning tasks, activities and exercise types, and how they are to be presented, in a particular environment, for teaching and learning; it will conclude with assessment and evaluation. (Jordan, 1997, p. 56)

In keeping with this characterization, the academic writing specifications proposed in this chapter will include (1) "materials selection and development"; (2) "a selection of learning tasks, activities, and exercise types"; (3) suggestions for "how they are to be presented" in the classroom; and (4) "assessment and evaluation" in the form of an empirical study designed to test the proposed methodology.

7.2 Review of the literature

In the previous two chapters we described the principal characteristics of Japanese rhetoric from a sociohistorical perspective, identifying formative elements in the culture that influence rhetorical preferences and conventions, and assessing the educational environment in which writing skills are acquired in Japan. We determined that these issues are highly complex, and that the rhetorical models being taught in Japanese schools reflect a fundamental dichotomy in Japanese society, described by Kenzaburo Oe (1994) as a "split between two opposing poles of ambiguity," between the forces of tradition and modernization, between the aesthetic and the utilitarian. As a consequence, two separate streams come together within the body of contemporary Japanese rhetoric, one defined in terms of aesthetic qualities and empathic forms of expression derived from Chinese influences on native Japanese literary forms, the other characterized by the influence of the utilitarian rhetorical modes of modern English prose. The contradictions inherent in this dichotomy have created considerable confusion for both students and teachers which the authorities have done little to alleviate; as a result, many Japanese students have

"mixed levels of awareness" concerning the rhetorical values of their own culture (Harder, 1984). In addition, because of the examination-oriented nature of the Japanese education system, Japanese students spend much less time learning to write in their L1 than young people in the West, and according to many experts, most do not receive any appreciable composition instruction after the sixth grade (Kimball, 1996, p. 57). In L2 contexts, most Japanese students will not have had much experience writing in English prior to entering university, nor will they have received much formal English writing instruction (Hirose, 1998, p. 51): "What they write in high school is mostly sentence-level translation from Japanese to English. In fact, translation at the sentence level is one of the most common writing practices not only in high schools but also in universities in Japan" (ibid.).

Nevertheless, as Oi (1999, p. 99) argues, the writing problems of Japanese EL2 students are "not inherent," but are "the product of education," resulting from "writing convention and educational tradition in Japan." She maintains that "[t]hrough education, Japanese students will be able to learn the styles required by academic English" (ibid., p. 98). Many researchers would seem to agree with Oi's assessment, and a variety of suggestions have been put forward to improve academic writing instruction in Japan, based on a wide range of perspectives on the nature of composition pedagogy itself:

All writing courses share a common goal: giving students enough guided practice in composing that they become more fluent, effective writers at the end of the course than they were at the beginning. To attain this goal we make pedagogical decisions based on what we know about how students learn to write. Our assumptions about composing, in turn, depend on theories, research, and classroom practices.... (Lindemann, 1995, p. 248)

Academic writing is so important for students of all kinds, and as it is such a wide umbrella term, it is hardly surprising that there is a range of approaches and types of practice for it. Sometimes these depend upon an underlying philosophy, sometimes upon the starting-point of the students, sometimes upon the purpose and type of writing.... (Jordan, 1997, p. 164)

Kubota, for example, suggests that ideology should be placed at the philosophical center of classroom instruction in an approach to composition pedagogy known as critical literacy (1992), or critical multiculturalism (1999), which "aims at teaching and learning reading and writing with critical consciousness through posing questions about students' perceptions of the world and liberating students from fixed forms of knowledge which legitimate unequal power relations and privilege certain groups of people while oppressing others (1992, pp. 130-131). As discussed in Chapter 4, however, there is a powerful school of thought within the ESL community which sees L2 composition instruction in essentially pragmatic terms, "as part of applied linguistics, accommodating itself to the prevailing standards of inquiry and research in that field," and adopting a research paradigm in

which dominant studies are quantitative rather than ideological (Santos, 1992, p. 8). Moreover, although the primary frame of reference for critical theory and social constructionism is "American society [with] its inequalities, its exclusions, its power structures" (ibid.), teaching overseas "makes critical pedagogy much more problematic [as the] aims tend to be incompatible with explicit ideology in the classroom" (ibid., pp. 9-10). While the development of "critical consciousness" may certainly be a worthy goal in some contexts, it is difficult to see how Kubota's approach to composition pedagogy is applicable to actual classroom conditions in Japan, where the best way to actually "empower" students would be to teach them effective written communication skills in both languages.

Another approach to solving the writing problems of Japanese EL2 students has been proposed by Kobayashi and Rinnert (1996), who suggest "[a] more flexible approach to permissible rhetorical patterns in EFL contexts [that] would recognize the importance of both L1 and L2 rhetorical organization, and would fit the findings of proponents of a more pluralistic rhetoric... (p. 425). Rhetorical pluralism, in this sense, can be defined as a form of cultural relativism applied to L2 writing contexts in which students are encouraged "to express their voices in their own cultural mode of expression" in the target language (Kubota, 1999, p. 26). In keeping with supporters of the process approach, Kobayashi and Rinnert (op. cit., p. 427) conclude that "teachers should attend to fostering students' ability to discover meaning through their writing; this can be done within a flexible approach to permissible rhetorical organization." Unfortunately, research suggests that these conclusions are misconceived. Although some "soft process" may certainly be useful at lower levels of L2 composition (Swales, 1990), and as Kobayashi and Rinnert rightly point out, "help[ing] students understand how the reader-writer relationship varies in different cultures" (p. 426), and "providing [them] with short sample essays that demonstrate contrasting L1 and L2 rhetorical features" (p. 427) can be beneficial in raising their awareness, at the very heart of Japanese EL2 students' writing difficulties is the issue of rhetorical organization. Advocating the same lack of concern for organizational structure that students acquire in *kansôbun* models of Japanese composition will not enhance their ability to do writing of an academic nature, and although it may be true that a strong emphasis on rhetorical patterns can initially lead to "artificial, mechanical-sounding writing," providing students with knowledge of appropriate discourse-level organization will create the foundations necessary for them to develop their own individual writing styles at more advanced levels of study. As stated previously, an emphasis on rhetorical organization does not deny the importance of the creative impulse, nor the validity of individual variations from the norm, but the primary concern for composition pedagogy should be to isolate the norm itself so that its principal features can be

taught to students. Furthermore, explicitly teaching the importance of English rhetorical structure does not suggest any *disrespect* for "social and cultural assumptions that underlie L2 students' first language writing," as Kobayashi and Rinnert seem to imply (pp. 425-426). As Oi and Kamimura (1997, p. 65) argue, "teaching the norms of English writing does not...imply an intent to change the cognitive systems of the students, or to 'anglicize' the ESL students as might be feared" in some quarters.

In a contrasting approach to L2 composition pedagogy, based on contemporary theories of contrastive rhetoric and research in cognitive science and reading comprehension (see Chapter 2), a number of writers have suggested teaching composition skills by focusing primarily on top-level rhetorical structures, also described as schemata, macrostructures, and superstructures (Nagasaka, 1992; Fister-Stoga, 1993; Yoshimura, 1996). According to Carrell (1987a, p. 47), "teaching ESL writers about the top-level rhetorical organization..., teaching them how to choose the appropriate plan to accomplish specific communication goals, and teaching them how to signal a text's organization through appropriate linguistic devices should all function to make ESL writing more effective." In other words, explicitly teaching macrostructures in "the identification of text structure apart from content, as well as providing practice in using different text structures on a variety of topics, should provide benefits to ESL writers" (ibid., p. 52). Unfortunately, however, the "applications of these...discourse theories...have been few [and] empirical investigations offer conflicting evidence about the relationship between adequate and appropriate superstructure and a holistic quality score of an essay" (Connor, 1990, p. 170). Similarly, in the Japanese context, although "the insights of contrastive rhetoric have great pedagogical potential in the ESL writing classroom..., applicational studies of those findings in actual classroom teaching have...been scarce" (Oi & Kamimura, 1997, pp. 65-66). An exception is a recent investigation of argumentative writing by sophomore English majors at a Japanese university carried out by Oi and Kamimura (1997) in which participants wrote a pretest essay, were given one lesson on rhetorical differences between Japanese and English based on short writing samples in the two languages, and then wrote a posttest essay. The authors report considerable improvement in students' writing skills along several dimensions as a result of "only one instructional session and within a short period of time" (p. 81), claiming that "their study is one of the first attempts to prove that contrastive rhetoric has great potential in the EFL writing classroom" (ibid.). However, although the findings obtained by Oi and Kamimura are promising and confirm the viability of conducting longer-term studies of a similar nature, the theoretical assumptions underlying their approach need to be clarified, since a single lesson is clearly inadequate to establish an effective teaching

methodology, and a good deal more empirical evidence will have to be gathered on how the selection of specific teaching materials and pedagogical strategies affects student writing performance. The empirical study that follows offers an initial response in addressing these issues.

7.3 Identifying pedagogical solutions

In applying the results of research in contrastive rhetoric to the L2 composition classroom, the proposed pedagogy developed in the following investigation attempts to integrate key concepts in ELT with applied linguistic theory and principles of composition instruction in a teaching methodology that offers solutions to the writing difficulties of Japanese EL2 students. In identifying these pedagogical solutions, the following fundamental issues in teaching L2 writing skills in English are addressed: (1) the importance of language awareness, consciousness raising, and explicitness in classroom instruction; (2) integrating process with product; (3) the relevance of form-focused instruction, including the theoretical assumptions underlying an emphasis on forms, models, and conventions; and (4) providing students with appropriate corrective feedback within a framework that encourages independent self-correction.

7.3.1 Language awareness, consciousness raising, and explicit classroom instruction

There are a number of basic concepts derived from research in cognitive science, psycholinguistics, and second language acquisition that play an important role in English language teaching, among which the most frequently cited in terms of the pedagogical applications of contrastive rhetoric are language awareness, consciousness raising, and explicit classroom instruction. "Raising students' consciousness" is commonly viewed as one of the most important goals of L2 composition instruction, because it is thought that by enhancing students' conscious awareness of the rhetorical traditions of both their native language and the target language, they will be able to identify cross-cultural differences, thereby making an easier transition to the rhetorical patterns of the target language (Leki, 1991; Raimes, 1991; Mok, 1993, Fister-Stoga, 1993). Because of the mixed levels of awareness Japanese EL2 students have for the rhetorical values of their own culture, providing lessons in which they examine L1 texts can be a most useful "consciousness-raising device," according to Fister-Stoga (1993, p. 153):

[A]fter exploring the *ki-sho-ten-ketsu* model with students, they often have what Leki (1991) calls 'instant enlightenment about their writing in English, as students become conscious of the implicit assumptions behind the way they construct written ideas and behind the way

English does.' (Although this does not imply 'instant improvement.') ...That is, they understand that text organization is ultimately tied to cultural conventions.

Leki (1991; cited in Mok, 1993, p. 159) maintains that L1 and L2 readings should be used in tandem, however, so that students will have models for comparison and analysis: "In so doing, students will be able to discover and consider such rhetorical differences as use of logic, writers' attitudes, and writer-reader relationships between the two languages." Mok (*ibid.*, p. 157) claims that "[a]wareness of [these] differences is important because it makes students realize that to become part of the target language discourse community, they need to develop new attitudes, to meet certain criteria of the target language's traditions, and, in some cases, to put aside their native language habits."

In ELT contexts, language awareness is defined as "an interface mechanism to promote heightened awareness of language forms between the first language (L1) and the target language (TL) and thereby assist second-language (L2) learning" (Masny, 1997, p. 105). In other words, it is considered an effective tool for language instruction which "draws upon metalanguage to help explain aspects of the language code in the language classroom" (*ibid.*), allowing teachers "to draw attention to similarities and differences between the...L1 and the TL" in order to raise students' conscious awareness of these differences (*ibid.*, p. 106). However, although language awareness and consciousness raising are sometimes used synonymously in the literature, there are important distinctions between them, described by James (1992, pp. 183-184) as follows:

[M]etacognition of language comes in two versions: awareness (usually collocated as *language awareness*) and consciousness (usually in the collocation *consciousness raising*). At times they are treated as synonyms, and even get hybridised as conscious awareness. At other times they are treated as unrelated. ...We can define (language) awareness as an ability to contemplate metacognitively a language over which one already has a degree of skilled control and about which one will therefore have developed a coherent set of intuitions...., [or] 'implicit knowledge that has become explicit.' ...Consciousness raising is by contrast for learners who are not yet in command of such skills.

Language awareness and consciousness raising are thus associated with the notions of explicit and implicit knowledge, although, as Schmidt (1990, p. 214) points out, the terms themselves remain problematic:

Our ordinary language use of words like *conscious*, *consciousness* and *consciously* is ambiguous. This is one reason why theorists in psychology and applied linguistics have preferred to use related technical terms such as *explicit vs. implicit* knowledge (Bialystok, 1979, 1981; Krashen 1981; Odlin 1986; Sharwood Smith 1981)..., [and] *declarative vs. procedural* knowledge (Anderson 1982; Ellis 1989a; Faerch & Kasper 1984; O'Malley, Chamot & Walker 1987)... Unfortunately, the use of technical terms does not by itself eliminate the ambiguities.

In composition pedagogy, the expressions *declarative knowledge* and *procedural knowledge* (i.e., knowledge of *what* and knowledge of *how*) are often used to describe how forms of knowledge are brought to bear on writing. Hillocks (1986, p. 72), for example, distinguishes between two kinds of knowledge that writers make use of: substantive and formal—the former denotes "knowledge of facts, opinions, beliefs, events, and so forth"; the latter signifies "knowledge of lexical, syntactic, rhetorical, and discourse forms used to express substantive knowledge (and perhaps to store it in memory)." Cognitive scientists, on the other hand, distinguish between two other types of knowledge: declarative and procedural—the former "allows us to identify phenomena and to name or recall information stored in memory"; the latter "comprises the ability to produce, transform, or instantiate that knowledge." These two sets of knowledge are brought together in the act of writing (ibid., p. 73):⁸⁵

Declarative knowledge of substance can be thought of as the data base of any piece of writing—the facts, opinions, beliefs, and images incorporated in the discourse, whatever its form and purpose may be. Procedural knowledge related to substance permits the recall, ordering, and transformation of substantive knowledge. ...At higher levels..., procedural knowledge includes such strategies as classifying data and generalizing about it. Declarative knowledge of form involves the ability to identify forms, then parts, and their relationships. Procedural knowledge of form is the ability to produce examples of particular forms.

Explicit classroom instruction generally contributes to declarative knowledge, whereas systematic practice by the individual generates procedural knowledge, and both of these forms of knowledge are important in any kind of skills training such as learning to write, playing a musical instrument, competing in sports, and so forth. In other words, the development of students' procedural knowledge requires that they have extensive practice in actually writing (hence the adage "you learn to write by writing, writing, and more writing"), while the kind of explicit instruction that will advance students' declarative knowledge depends largely on materials selection, development, and presentation, including learning tasks, activities, and exercises—in short, the teaching methodology.

Explicit instruction has also been the subject of extensive research in second language acquisition where it is assumed that "learners are surrounded by language from a variety of sources...known as *input*. Input which becomes part of the learning process is known as *intake*. In psycholinguistic research, there is a particular interest in the intake...as a result of learners paying conscious attention to the input: this kind of intake is known as *noticing* (Schmidt, 1991)" (Batstone, 1996, p. 273). It is thought that one way in which classroom instruction can encourage noticing, resulting in input being converted to intake, is through

explicitness—for example, "by providing overt metalinguistic explanations" (ibid.), or through other forms of presentation such as modeling (see section 7.2.3.1):

Various SLA researchers hold that attention to input is necessary for input to become intake that is available for further mental processing (Long, 1991; R. Ellis, 1993; N. Ellis, 1994b, 1994d). Schmidt (1990, 1993, 1994) argues that the subjective experience of 'noticing' is the necessary and sufficient condition for the conversion of input to intake.... [In other words], intake is the subset of input that is attended to and noticed.... (Ellis, 1995, p. 124)

In terms of L2 composition pedagogy, Kaplan (1987, p. 11) points out that native speakers generally recognize the circumstances in which rhetorical forms can be used, as well as the constraints that these choices place on the way the resulting texts can be written. However, non-native speakers do not possess "as complete an inventory of possible alternatives," do not recognize "the sociolinguistic constraints on those alternatives," and do not understand the limitations their choices impose on the texts that follow. Kaplan maintains that from a pedagogical point of view "it is the responsibility of the second-language teacher to increase the size of the inventory, to stipulate the sociolinguistic constraints, and to illustrate the ways in which a choice limits the potentially following text." In attaining these goals, explicit classroom instruction can be particularly useful, as Mok (1993, p. 158) points out in the Japanese context:

[T]he Japanese seldom compose with an audience in mind except when writing letters. Furthermore, they assume a high degree of shared knowledge with their readers. These mismatches create barriers which make it difficult for Japanese writers to function effectively among native speakers of English. Hence, there is a need for the teacher to teach them audience analysis skills and the expectations of the English reader in the pre-writing stage. In an academic context, it is especially important for the teacher to explain *explicitly* to the students the widely accepted criteria used by academic audiences to evaluate their work. Such essential ingredients of good English expository writing as clarity, significance, support, unity, and conciseness are not necessarily taken for granted by Japanese learners. (my italics)

7.3.2 Integrating process with product

There are a variety of *approaches* to teaching English L2 composition, all of which are based on "theoretical positions and beliefs about the nature of language, the nature of language learning, and the applicability of both to pedagogical methods" (Brown, 1987, p. 51). For the past three decades, there has been a heated and sometimes vitriolic debate taking place about the way writing skills should be taught in the English-speaking world which centers on two basic approaches to the teaching of composition, most often described as process vs product (see Chapter 4). At present, however, there is a growing consensus among writing experts that the "radical dichotomization" created by this polarity is counterproductive and misleading, and that effective teaching requires the integration of both points of

view. As Kaszubski (1998, p. 173) observes, "a number of...authors have recently spoken in favour of keeping the balance between process and product, fluency and accuracy, and content and form." Kaplan (1988, p. 296), for example, points out that a composition is "a product arrived at through a process," while Purves and Purves (1986, p. 184) maintain that in "a cultural approach to writing we cannot disentangle 'process' from 'product'" because in viewing writing as a culturally-determined, cognitive activity, the act itself becomes inextricably linked to its results. An increasing number of composition textbooks are being written from a similar standpoint, as Smalzer (1996, p. v) describes in the introduction to *Write to be Read*: "The methodology is a blend of both the process and product approaches to writing. The process approach encourages students to develop their thinking about a topic. The product approach, relying heavily on student essays as models, helps writing students meet the expectations of educated native speakers of English." Textbooks designed for teacher training and development are also increasingly advocating that composition teachers maintain a balance between process and product, as well as between content and form, as illustrated by the following excerpt from *A Course in Language Teaching*:

The purpose of writing, in principle, is the expression of ideas, the conveying of a message to the reader; so the ideas themselves should arguably be seen as the most important aspect of the writing. On the other hand, the writer needs also to pay some attention to formal aspects: neat handwriting, correct spelling and punctuation, as well as acceptable grammar and careful selection of vocabulary. This is because much higher standards of language are normally demanded in writing than in speech: more careful constructions, more precise and varied vocabulary, more correctness of expression in general. Also, the slow and reflective nature of the process of writing in itself enables the writer to devote time and attention to formal aspects during the process of production.... One of our problems in teaching writing is to maintain a fair balance between content and form when defining our requirements and assessing. (Ur, 1996, p. 163)

It would thus seem that the distinction between these two positions has been overstated, and that the process/product debate has produced a false and misleading dichotomy (Spack, 1988, p. 29), "a strawman which has been created by some composition researchers" that has little relevance to students' actual writing needs (Grabe & Kaplan, 1996, p. 34).

Nevertheless, an appropriate balance between process and product perspectives is important in establishing an effective teaching methodology for students studying at the university level, where the development of academic writing skills is the primary objective. At this level, "composition instruction which concentrates on the academic essay provides the basis for all other forms of academic writing" (Smalzer, 1996, p. v), and as Kaszubski (1998, pp. 173-174) points out, "the academic approach, with its pragmatic emphasis on conventionality, has a lot to offer to advanced EFL learners, who, themselves, are often university students expected to

comply with academic standards [in] essay writing." In meeting these standards, Leki and Carson (1997, pp. 63-64) question whether writing that makes personal experience and individual self-expression the primary focus of composition instruction realistically prepares students for higher level academic work, arguing that expressivist modes of process writing (see section 4.3.3.1) deny students access to powerful writing genres and generate "solipsistic and self-referential" attitudes towards composing.⁸⁶ In the Japanese context, the results of research in contrastive rhetoric suggest that caution should be exercised in adopting certain perspectives within the process approach, especially those associated with expressivist modes that stress the personal voice in writing, because they strongly resemble *kansôbun* models of Japanese composition pedagogy, which neglect organizational structure and promote a highly personalized approach to composing. Since *kansôbun* are the most frequently practiced compositions in Japanese schools, they are the form of writing that Japanese university students remember most clearly in relation to their earlier education; hence, they have a great influence in shaping students' notions about writing in general. When applied to English academic writing, however, the *kansôbun* model can be extremely problematic, resulting in counterproductive writing habits that should not be reinforced. In examining the "disparity between language students writing on personal topics and writing for academic and professional purposes" in Japan, Kimball (1996, p. 57), for example, argues that "approaches are needed in which writers learn to fulfill the contextual demands of the academic subject matter. Japanese college students...face the prospects of researching and reporting in English about their fields of study as they proceed to graduate school and assume their professional duties. For these students, the practicality of academic writing seems obvious."

On the other hand, as Horowitz (1986a, pp. 141) points out, although the process approach is not a full-fledged theory of writing, it does offer a useful collection of teaching techniques that have "undeniable merits" in certain contexts:

Multiple drafts? Of course. Too many of our students believe that once it is down on the page, their job is finished.... Group work? Certainly. Our students surely can teach each other as much as or more than we can teach them. Get it down on the page and then organize it? This will help some of our students prepare for some academic tasks. Choose topics of personal interest? This has always been an effective technique at the lower levels. Gentle peer evaluation? Since we are teaching a developmental skill, we certainly must walk the line between discouraging our students with low grades and giving them a false impression of their abilities. (ibid., p. 143)

For Japanese university students, the cognitivist view of process writing (see section 4.3.3.2), which focuses on the intellectual processes a writer goes through while composing, can be especially useful in improving the quality of their written work in English. As Hinds (1987, p. 152) points out, "[a]s simplistic as this may

sound, it will be instructive for some writers from Japan to be informed that even native speakers of English frequently go through several drafts of a paper before being satisfied that information is presented in the most effective way." Explicit instruction concerning the steps involved in the writing process (i.e., planning, outlining, writing, editing, and rewriting) can be of great benefit to Japanese students, many of whom are accustomed to composing "exactly one draft which becomes the finished product" (ibid., p. 145). Hinds claims that teaching Japanese students to re-conceptualize the writing process can be an important step in improving their writing skills in English, and this can be accomplished by helping them become consciously aware of differences in attitude towards reader/writer responsibility in the two languages (ibid., pp. 151-152):

In addition to teaching students in ESL writing classes that there are differences in rhetorical styles between English and their native language, it may be necessary to take a further step and teach a new way to conceptualize the writing process. It may be necessary to instruct students from...Japan that the writing process in English involves a different set of assumptions from the ones they are accustomed to working with. It is not enough for them to write with the view that there is a sympathetic reader who believes a reader's task is to ferret out whatever meaning the author has intended. Such non-native English writers will have to learn that effective written communication in English is the sole provenance of the writer.

Research in contrastive rhetoric suggests that by integrating these cognitive views of process writing with text-oriented (i.e., product) approaches to L2 composition instruction, an effective teaching methodology can be developed that will provide solutions to the academic writing difficulties of Japanese EL2 students, especially at higher levels of academic study. In general, these text-oriented approaches emphasize linguistic features of text from a number of different perspectives that are "by no means discrete and sequential" (Raimes, 1991, p. 412). The most influential of these approaches include controlled composition, which stresses lexical and syntactic features in writing; current-traditional rhetoric, which emphasizes discourse-level text structures; and English for academic purposes (EAP), which focuses on the writer as a member of the academic discourse community (see section 4.3). Specific elements of each of these approaches can be of value in providing Japanese EL2 students with entry-level instruction in academic writing at the university level: controlled composition in terms of remediation related to lower-level linguistic features; current-traditional rhetoric because of its central concern for "the logical construction and arrangement of discourse forms" (Silva, 1990, p. 14), including an emphasis on modes of reasoning (i.e., illustration, definition, classification, etc.) and patterns of rhetorical organization (i.e., description, narration, exposition, and persuasion), a sequence of instruction that progresses from words to sentences to paragraphs to essays, and an insistence on the importance of the principles of unity, coherence, and emphasis in paragraph

development (Corbett, 1990, p. 572); and English for academic purposes (EAP) in terms of its focus on academic discourse genres and writing tasks designed to prepare students for integration into the academic discourse community. In brief, text-oriented approaches to academic writing are *form-focused*, emphasizing "principles, forms, and models" (Lindemann, 1995, p. 251); therefore, in order to understand how the diverse elements of text can be most effectively integrated and presented to students in the L2 classroom it is important to examine the theoretical assumptions underlying the use of forms in composition pedagogy.

7.3.3 Form-focused instruction

Winterowd claims that "the concept of form in discourse... concerns the way in which the mind perceives infinitely complex relationships. The way, indeed, in which the mind constructs discourse" (1975, p. 163). Coe agrees, stating that "the standard formal *patterns of development* (e.g., comparison and contrast, cause and effect, etc.), [for example], correspond with basic patterns of thought" (1987, p. 22). From the standpoint of composition pedagogy, *form* becomes *organization*, while in cognitive science and reading comprehension research, *form* underlies the concept of *schemata*, or mental representations of a text in the mind of a reader, also described in writing contexts as top-level rhetorical structures, macrostructures, and superstructures. As Coe (1987, p. 19) points out, recognizing culturally-accepted forms in reading and employing these forms appropriately in writing is essential for successful communication to take place:

Recognizing forms—both of the whole text (sonnet, editorial, term paper) and of parts within the text (definition, example, instructions)—is an important aspect of reading. Readers' abilities to recognize—even (or perhaps especially) subliminally—various kinds of formal patterns of development allow them to 'process' text (i.e., to understand it) efficiently. Those who fail to recognize forms, perhaps because they are from another culture or subculture, not part of the community, often misinterpret function, hence meaning. Writers' abilities to use formal patterns particular readers will recognize allow them to communicate accurately and effectively. In general, communication is most likely to succeed, to generate understanding rather than misunderstanding, when writer(s) and reader(s) know and use the same forms.

Forms that are used in reading and writing do not exist in a vacuum, however, but are embedded in culture as the result of the evolution of rhetorical traditions within linguistic communities over long periods of time. As such, "[f]orms are synchronic structures that function as generalized memories of diachronic processes," or put another way, "forms are attitudes frozen in synchronicity" (ibid.). In this sense, forms that are expressed as rhetorical structures function as a kind of social memory: "Like language, form is thus social. One function of discourse communities is to provide, prescribe, and prefer forms. Learning conventional forms, often by a tacit process of 'indwelling,' is a way of learning the

community's discourse, gaining access, communicating with that community" (ibid.). In other words, not only are forms in discourse "culture-bound," but "[l]earning socially significant forms—and understanding how they function, how to use them appropriately—is a key to success (sometimes even to survival) in a discourse community" (ibid., p. 21). As Purves and Hawisher (1990, p. 183) argue, "'good writing' is a culturally defined phenomenon, and...good academic writing has a particular definition within the academic circles of a culture. ...The content that is written and the forms or structures used to encode that content constitute the surface manifestations of those cultural differences."

This does not mean, however, that forms in discourse are fixed and immutable, or that students should be asked to learn them by rote. In fact, as Coe argues, teachers should encourage students to "think critically about form" and allow them to experience both their "constraining and generative powers" (ibid.):

Like other rhetorical factors, form should be taught in context, in terms of appropriateness and effectiveness. When teaching such standard forms as the thesis paragraph (i.e., thesis statement + partition used to prefigure the argument), it matters that we explain the importance of this form in academic (and other professional) discourse, make clear why it predominates in certain types of discourse (academic, scientific, professional—and textbooks). We should validate...this form by showing that...information can be taken in more efficiently if one knows in advance the outline of what is to be learned. In this way, we should put whatever forms we teach in functional rhetorical context. (ibid., p. 22)

Moreover, providing students with detailed knowledge of the structure and function of forms in discourse allows them to focus their attention on generating the information they need to "fill" these forms, freeing them to concentrate on invention. In cognitive terms, giving students access to forms releases short-term processing capacity which can then be redirected to other components of writing such as content development or the management of lower-level linguistic features:

Behind the traditional conception of form lies a long-dead metaphor.... In this metaphor, form is a *container* to be filled (hence the term *content*). ...Form is empty, an absence. But this emptiness has shape (i.e., form). In human beings, at least, this emptiness creates a desire to find what might fill it.... Form, in its emptiness, is heuristic, for it guides a structured search. ...Form becomes, therefore, a motive for generating information. Like any heuristic, it motivates a search for information of a certain type...; by constraining the search, form directs attention. (Coe, 1987, pp. 15-16 & 17-18)

Thus, explicit instruction in discourse forms not only provides students with an effective heuristic, guiding their search for content, but it also enhances the creative process in writing. As students learn to manipulate these forms with increasing confidence, they will begin to develop their own personal voice in writing, not in the expressivist sense, but as an expression of individuality constructed on the foundations of culturally-prescribed notions of rhetorical structure. In L2

composition contexts, where students do not possess native-speaker intuitions about writing and often do not recognize the circumstances in which rhetorical structures can be used, the "form as container" metaphor can be of particular value for teachers in developing models of these forms which will allow them to present information to L2 students in a clear and comprehensible manner.

7.3.3.1 Modeling

As pointed out earlier, research in psycholinguistics reveals that one of the ways in which teachers can most effectively encourage *noticing* in the classroom (i.e., intake resulting from learners paying conscious attention to input) is through explicit instruction—for example, by providing students with "overt metalinguistic explanations" (Batstone, 1996, p. 273). However, in L2 composition classes taught by native-speaking teachers, such explanations generally take place in the target language, resulting in potential problems for students who may not fully comprehend all the information being provided. Therefore, it is often necessary for NSTs to develop specialized teaching materials and presentation techniques to clarify and reinforce their explanations, many of which are based on the use of modeling.

Models come in many different forms and are used for a variety of purposes, although, as Tharp and Gallimore (1988, p. 48) state, the basic modeling process is the same regardless of whether meaning is conveyed through pictures, words, or physical actions. Graphic representations are generally considered the most powerful type of model in terms of commanding learners' attention, since it is often difficult to convey through words the amount of information contained in images. As a result, written descriptions or metalinguistic explanations will sometimes be "transformed into images and symbols" which are particularly useful in encouraging noticing and enhancing learner comprehension in the L2 classroom because they function to *illustrate* the information carried in texts, presenting their contents in a different medium, one that is "maximally transparent," and thus "maximally understandable" (ibid., p. 46). Indeed, according to Tharp and Gallimore (ibid., p. 48), "research has shown that the active coding of modeled descriptions increases learning and retention of complex skills [since] that which is modeled is internalized and represented by the learner as an image, a paradigm-icon, for self-guidance."

By far the most common type of model used in the composition classroom, however, involves written text rather than graphic representations, and this practice is known as prose modeling (Stolarek, 1994, p. 155). In a recent survey of American university-level composition instructors, for example, 76% reported using "prose modeling on a regular basis in their classes, with the largest number of respondents believing modeling was most effective in giving students stylistic models for their writing and in teaching rhetorical modes" (ibid.). According to

Charney and Carlson (1995, p. 90), prose models represent "a text written by a specific writer in a specific situation that is subsequently reused to exemplify a genre.... Such models are often used to supplement explicit guidelines or 'rules'...for spelling out some of the conventional features of the genre...." Stolarek (1994, p. 154) agrees, describing prose modeling as "the act of determining the defining characteristics of a model text, that is, a text which is seen as being exemplary of its kind, and developing methods of duplicating these defining characteristics using different content."

Some critics caution that not enough is known about the effects of prose modeling in language learning and that students can "misuse models, imitating their weaknesses as well as their strengths, or applying the model inappropriately or too literally..." (Charney & Carlson, 1995, p. 90). Purves and Hawisher (1990, p. 187) concur, stating that although "[j]udgments of texts based on mental models have informed rhetoric...and continue to inform writing pedagogy and the various rhetorical communities of the world..., [t]he use of these models can have a beneficial or a deleterious effect...[as] they are imperfectly understood."

Nevertheless, the use of prose models in composition pedagogy appears to have widespread support among writing experts: Rodrigues (1985, p. 26), for example, argues that students "need structure [and] they need models to practice," while Hairston (1982) insists that teachers "need to continue giving students models of excellence to imitate" (cited in Stolarek, 1994, p. 154). According to Hillocks (1986, p. 87), providing students with detailed criteria about the features that make a model exemplary, as well as giving them extensive practice in applying these criteria in order to internalize them in guiding their own production, results in compositions of much higher quality. Stolarek (1994, pp. 154-155) also points out that the use of prose modeling can be beneficial in improving students' compositions:

Those who support modeling assert that style can be improved through the modification of classical imitation exercises (Corbett, 1965, 1971), that models acquaint students with complicated structural conventions and patterns they have not previously used in their writing, thus enhancing creativity (McCampbell, 1966), or that creative imitation promotes originality in student writing by providing students with stylistic options, thus freeing them to concentrate on invention (D'Angelo, 1973). Others, such as Purves and Purves (1986), consider knowledge of models one of the three forms of knowledge (the others being semantic and pragmatic knowledge) imperative in learning how to write within the context of a particular culture. (Stolarek, 1994, pp. 154-155)

Although the number of empirical studies analyzing prose modeling is "surprisingly small" and "little research is available on the specific effects of models on the writing process or on the effects of various kinds of models" (Charney & Carlson, 1995, p. 91), the findings of two recent investigations strongly support the use of models in the composition classroom.

Stolarek's (1994) study examined the differences in response between expert and novice writers who were asked to write essays in an unfamiliar prose form after being given different sets of instructions, some of which included a model of the unfamiliar prose form and some of which did not. The results indicate that students write more successful products and use more active and evaluative strategies when given models in conjunction with standard instructions than when given models or guidelines alone, and that modeling enhances metacognitive functioning during the writing process. Metacognitive skill (i.e., the knowledge and conscious control of one's own thinking processes) has long been recognized "as a feature of expert response to problem-solving in general...as well as expert writing.... Expert writers are more consciously aware of what they write, they make more decisions about planning and monitoring as they write, and they are more likely to evaluate their writing as they write than are novices" (ibid., p. 156). As Stolarek points out, student writers "need to be actively aware of the rhetorical goals behind a writing strategy" and develop "self-conscious awareness of writing methods in an effort to produce more expert responses..." (ibid., p. 157). This study reveals that students "who engaged in prose modelling the most, that is, who most consciously modeled their work on the characteristics of the provided model, were also the most likely to engage in metacognitive thought during writing, and were most successful in completing [their writing tasks]" (ibid.). Stolarek (ibid., p. 168) concludes that "in modeling formal characteristics, conscious imitation of the form being modeled leads to success in achieving that form," and that the ability "to consciously criticize [one's] own text and its similarity to a prose model" during the process of writing facilitates metacognitive thinking and results in texts of higher quality.

In a similar study, Charney and Carlson (1995) investigated the effects of using prose models on the quality of research texts written by university students, since "[a] common technique for teaching genres such as the experimental research report is to present students with model texts that can be imitated or drawn on while students are writing their own texts" (p. 90). In this investigation, participants were divided into two groups: a control group who were not provided with models, and an experimental group who were given three different models of varying quality. The results indicate that the use of models increases the salience of the topical information provided by students and improves the overall organization of their research texts; in addition, there were significant benefits for students in "seeing several good models and observing the range of variation among them," as well as in "seeing counterexamples, examples of unsuccessful or wrongheaded efforts. Charney and Carlson (1995, p. 92) conclude that "comparing models of different quality may help students identify the strengths of the models and avoid the weaknesses," and that "model texts are a rich resource that may prove useful to

writers in different ways at different stages of their development." These results also suggest that "early experience in evaluating and drawing from models will be of lasting value," and that models can be effective tools for student writers in learning "the more enduring conventional forms or for understanding those that apply most broadly across the discipline" (ibid., p. 116).

7.3.3.2 Conventions

The conclusions drawn from research on modeling suggest that it is important for composition teachers to ensure that students "both within and without the culture" are aware of "the nature of the models held by the culture, to show that they are conventional and human and not divine, and that they may be violated with some attendant risk" (Purves & Hawisher, 1990, p. 197). As Purves (1986, pp. 50 & 39) notes, "[w]ith organization, style, and argumentation [i.e., rhetoric], one is dealing with *convention*"; as a consequence, "instruction in any discipline is acculturation, or the bringing of the student into the 'interpretive community' of the discipline, [which is also] a 'rhetorical community,' a field with certain norms, expectations, and conventions with respect to writing."

Purves and Hawisher (1990, p. 197) also point out that although most L2 students are aware to some extent of the conventions that apply in English to spelling, neatness, and grammar, many of them "seem to think these are the only conventions that exist, [and] that by attending to them, they will be good writers. Such is not the case in the world of writing, and the higher up in the system one goes, the more discourse conventions become important." In the Japanese case, although most L2 composition students have learned a good deal of the grammar and lexicon of English, they have rarely been taught the patterns of organization and style expected in academic writing, even at higher levels of education; as a result, most Japanese EL2 students have a great deal to both learn and unlearn when writing in their second language and in a new cultural context. However, as Purves (1986, p. 49) observes, "[s]tudents have learned to become members of the rhetorical community that dominates their educational system; that is a part of their survival in that system. When they enter another system, they are asked to participate as full-fledged members of the second system without fully knowing what its rules and conditions might be." Therefore, "it is important for teachers to be honest with students about the nature of the conventions of writing that abound in the academic and non-academic world" (Purves & Hawisher, 1990, p. 197). In other words, it is not of any value to try to do away with these conventions as some writers have suggested,⁸⁷ nor to deal with them in a "cynical" way. Conventions should be taught as conventions, and it should be acknowledged that they are created by humans "with all their wisdom and folly." As Purves (1986, p. 50) argues,

"[s]uch an attitude combined with an eye that can analyze differences in writing without passing judgment on those who are not the same as us is the best way for the teacher to deal with the non-native student—in a basic writing class or in any writing class."

7.3.4 Corrective feedback

Current controversies regarding corrective feedback notwithstanding, a chronic dilemma that all composition instructors face is how much to emphasize structural and mechanical correctness as opposed to content and organization in student writing. Ur (1996, p. 170) addresses this problem as follows: "We should, I think, correct language mistakes; our problem is how to do so without conveying the message that these are the only, or main, basis for evaluation of a piece of writing":

When a student submits a piece of original writing, the most important thing about it is, arguably, its content: whether the ideas or events that were written about were significant and interesting. Then there is the organization and presentation: whether the ideas were arranged in a way that was easy to follow and pleasing to read. Finally, there is the question of language forms: whether the grammar, vocabulary, spelling, and punctuation were of an acceptable standard of accuracy. Many teachers are aware that content and organization are important, but find themselves relating mainly to language forms in their feedback, conveying the implicit message that these are what matters. [However], [s]tudents also want their language mistakes to be corrected. (Ask them!). (ibid.)

Providing L2 students with systematic corrective feedback on their writing has three main functions: it establishes objective criteria by which they can evaluate their own writing skills, it focuses their attention on specific areas of their writing that may require improvement, and most importantly, it encourages independent self-correction. According to Jordan (1997, p. 175), the principal objective of corrective feedback is "to help students develop writer autonomy as quickly as possible; consequently, they 'have to be able to accept responsibility for editing, correcting and proof-reading their own texts.'"

In order to achieve these goals, students should be required to submit two drafts of their writing assignments. The first draft is proofread by the instructor and errors are identified by means of proofreading symbols. As Jordan points out, "[t]here is evidence...that shows that the use of teacher cues [i.e., the use of proofreading, or correcting codes] assists students to engage actively in the process of self-correction..." (ibid., p. 172). Students should be expected to correct their mistakes independently, following the cues provided by the correcting codes, and should keep a cumulative record of their errors on an assessment form designed to help them to identify specific aspects of their writing that need attention (i.e., in terms of grammar, usage, and mechanics).

The final draft is submitted after students make revisions, and according to Ur (1996, p. 171), this "rewriting is very important: not only because it reinforces learning, but also because rewriting is an integral part of the writing process as a whole." She argues that "it makes sense to see the first version as provisional, and to regard the rewritten, final version as 'the' assignment, the one that is submitted for formal assessment" (ibid.). The rewritten version is corrected by the instructor⁸⁸ by means of reformulation, which "consists, basically, of a native speaker rewriting a student's text, as far as possible retaining the intended meaning. Reformulation provides the student with information on how a native speaker would have written the same thing, i.e. a kind of model" (Jordan, 1997, p. 175). Finally, the composition is evaluated and a grade assigned in accordance with the assessment tool being used; i.e., holistic or analytic. Holistic scoring requires assigning a single grade based on the instructor's subjective evaluation of the composition as a whole, while analytic assessment involves the separation of the various features of the composition (i.e., organization, content, vocabulary, etc.) into components for scoring purposes—scores are numerical in nature and the final grade is derived from the sum of the ratings for each component.

7.3.5 Conclusions

Building on insights provided by research in contrastive rhetoric, the pedagogical approach developed in this thesis integrates general pedagogic principles with applied linguistic theory in a set of academic writing specifications designed to contribute to an effective teaching methodology for English L2 composition instruction at the university level in Japan. This approach synthesizes a number of important aspects of L2 composition pedagogy, including the concepts of language awareness, consciousness raising, and explicit classroom instruction; integrating process with product; form-focused instruction, especially in terms of models and conventions; and corrective feedback that encourages independent self-correction among students.

Based on these principles, an approach to teaching academic writing to Japanese students of English was developed in which the following main elements were emphasized: (1) the identification of rhetorical features distinguishing Japanese and English, (2) the steps involved in the writing process in English (i.e., planning, outlining, writing, editing, and rewriting), (3) the description of macrostructures in English expository and argumentative writing, (4) the isolation of grammatical features such as cohesive ties functioning at lower levels of discourse, and (5) the implementation of a system for self-monitoring by students at the morphosyntactic level. The basic premise underlying these specifications is that by stressing lower level morphosyntactic features and model sentences, current methods of teaching

English composition in Japan have the wrong orientation. Sentence-level instruction is certainly not unimportant—in fact, it has to be attended to—but university students can be trained to develop a sufficient degree of learner awareness to be able to self-monitor lower level linguistic concerns, allowing teachers to focus on other aspects of writing such as the composing process and discourse level features such as organizational structure, intersentential textual relationships, and stylistic choices, which lie at the heart of Japanese EL2 students' writing difficulties.

This approach to teaching English composition skills in Japan was tested in an empirical study of student writing, based on a quasi-experimental, pretest/posttest, experimental/control group design, to determine whether the implementation of the teaching methodology proposed in this investigation would result in significant improvements to the academic writing skills of Japanese EL2 students. The results of this teaching experiment should provide important insights into ways in which Japanese university students can be helped to function more effectively in the international academic community in terms of their individual writing goals.

7.4 Method

7.4.1 Subjects

A total of 61 Japanese university sophomores enrolled in entry-level English composition classes at two Japanese universities between 1997 and 1998 participated in this experiment, although none of the students were aware that a writing study was taking place. All of the participants were Japanese nationals specializing in English in some form (i.e., English L2 Education, English Language, and International Culture and Communication) and can be considered representative of this level of study in Japan. The students were not randomly selected, but had elected to take courses in English composition of their own accord or because they were required to do so by their university. Approximately half of the students were assigned to the experimental group (N = 31) which received instruction based on the teaching methodology described above; the other half constituted members of the control group (N = 30) which was taught by a professor at another university. The control group constituted a single class of students, while the experimental group was composed of two separate classes of 15 students each who were taught in exactly the same manner throughout the course (comparisons of pre- and posttest scores for the two experimental group classes displayed no significant differences).

7.4.2 Materials and procedures

A total of 122 essays was obtained from these students in the form of pre- and post-instruction writing samples. The pretest sample was written during the first

lesson of their composition course prior to any instruction being provided, and the prompt used was "English Education in Japan," a topic of considerable public interest at present and one which is quite familiar to most students. After an initial period of brainstorming for ideas, students were given approximately 80 minutes to complete their essays. The posttest sample was of similar duration and was written in the last class of a three-month composition course as a "final essay test." At this time, students were given a choice of the following topics for which they were allowed to prepare:

- (1) Compare and contrast university life in Japan with that of another country you are familiar with.
- (2) For most of its long history, Japan has been affected in many ways by the cultures of other countries. Describe in detail the influences of other cultures on Japanese life.
- (3) Discrimination against "outsiders" of all kinds is one of the most serious issues in Japan today. Describe this problem in detail and suggest a realistic solution.

In both the pre- and post-instruction essays, students were permitted to use dictionaries freely and to prepare a short, point-form outline on the assigned topic.

During the course itself, classes for both the experimental and control groups were held once a week in 90-minute lessons for a total of approximately 12 instructional sessions. It was not possible to determine the exact nature of the instruction given the control group, although it was apparent from students' written work (i.e., the pre- and posttest samples) that they had a good deal of writing practice at the essay level during the course and were employing a rather loose introduction-body-conclusion organizational structure in their posttest compositions. Instruction for the experimental group was carefully designed to meet the goals of the teaching methodology described above. The first four lessons involved (1) an introduction to the concept of rhetoric, focusing on differences in the way written information is organized and presented in various cultures (see section 2.2), (2) the identification of rhetorical features distinguishing Japanese and English, using writing samples in both languages (Appendices 2 & 3), as well as graphic representations such as the steppingstone model of Japanese rhetoric (see section 5.2), (3) instruction in the steps involved in the writing process in English (i.e., planning, outlining, writing, editing, rewriting), with particular emphasis and practice in outlining (Appendix 9), (4) an introduction to the principal modes of reasoning (i.e., comparison and contrast, cause and effect, classification, etc.) and patterns of rhetorical organization used in English (i.e., exposition, description, narration, argumentation), (5) a description of macrostructures in English expository

writing, presented in the form of a graphic representation of the 5-paragraph expository essay model, with emphasis on the importance of the principles underlying this organizational structure at all levels of English academic writing (Appendix 10), (6) instruction in the use of transition signals and other linking expressions in maintaining unity and coherence in written English (Appendix 11), (7) advice on the importance of clearly identifying the audience and purpose of writing, and (8) presentation of a self-monitoring system that permits students to identify and analyze their writing errors at the morphosyntactic level (Appendix 12).

No homework was required during these introductory lessons, but thereafter, students were asked to write an essay every week until the end of course, amounting to a total of four compositions, each of which was written twice. Students wrote the first draft of their essays after receiving classroom instruction dealing with rhetorical structures in English, and submitted this copy two days prior to the next lesson so that it could be proofread by the instructor and returned in class. Students were expected to correct their errors independently following the cues provided by the proofreading symbols and to keep a cumulative record of their mistakes on an error assessment form provided for this purpose, which was to be turned in on the final day of class with an accompanying analysis of the types of errors that were most prominent in their writing. The same basic schedule was followed for the second draft, which was graded by the instructor and corrected by means of reformulation. All essays were required to be typed and to conform to the standard manuscript conventions of written academic English. Students were also asked to include a short, point-form outline with the first draft, and to attach these two documents to the second draft before submission.

Instruction during the essay-writing phase of this course (i.e., eight lessons) was based on an alternating "macro/micro" orientation. Macro lessons provided instruction on the principal patterns of rhetorical organization used in English, after which the students submitted the first drafts of their compositions; micro lessons dealt with writing difficulties at the morphosyntactic level based on these homework assignments. Students often worked in small groups during the micro lessons, discussing individual problem areas and updating their error assessment forms; in addition, short mini-lessons were given by the instructor focusing on grammar and sentence structure. Macro lessons provided instruction with a top-down focus on expository writing in English, including chronological order (i.e., process writing), classification (logical division), comparison and contrast, and cause and effect (Oshima & Hogue, 1987), as well as the organization of persuasive essays—i.e., situation, problem, solution, evaluation (Connor, 1987b). Expository and persuasive writing were selected as the basis for this course because of their function in "transforming" information (Grabe & Kaplan, 1996, pp. 4-5), and also

because they are the writing genres in which cross-cultural differences in organization, style, and argumentation (i.e., rhetoric) are most apparent:

Composing... may be divided into writing which is, in essence, telling or retelling and writing which is transforming. Retelling signifies the sort of writing that is, to a large extent, already known to the author, such as narratives and descriptions. The planning involves recalling and reiterating. Transforming, on the other hand, signifies that sort of writing... which... involves the complex juxtaposition of many pieces of information as well as the weighing of various rhetorical options and constraints.... Many sorts of what traditionally have been labelled expository and argumentative/persuasive texts... involve transforming. In most academic settings where students are learning to write, the educational system assumes that students will learn to compose with the ability to transform information.

Macro lessons were primarily designed to provide students with basic information on standard patterns of organization in expository and persuasive writing and to demonstrate how top-level superstructures can provide a useful framework in writing essays. Students were also given prose models to study, which, as far as possible, were copies of exemplary compositions written by students from previous years, rather than textbook examples. In addition, exercises were developed that targeted lower level language structures associated with specific types of writing (e.g., process writing: the passive voice and sequence language, etc.). Thus, this approach to composition pedagogy involved a convergence of top-down and bottom-up (i.e., macro/micro) elements—the main focus of macro instruction was on organization and the language structures required to create discourse forms, whereas micro lessons stressed language at the morphosyntactic level in a context which encouraged independent self-assessment and self-correction among students. In general, the essay-writing phase of this course was quite intensive and required a high degree of commitment from both students and instructor alike.

7.4.2.1 Assessment

The pre- and posttest writing samples for both experimental and control groups were evaluated according to a modified ESL Composition Profile assessment scale containing five components, each focusing on a separate aspect of academic writing, with weighted, numerical band-scales provided in each category—i.e., organization, language use/grammar, content, vocabulary, and mechanics (Appendix 13). The ESL Composition Profile is based on a "landmark publication" by Jacobs et al. (1981) which "showed that direct testing of writing⁸⁹ *does* work..., and provided a compact, easily understood, and replicable system for conducting writing assessment, together with a strong research base" (Hamp-Lyons, 1991, p. 8). This assessment tool is also able to "combine stable judgments with meaningful judgments; that is, reliability with validity" (ibid., p. 7). The ESL Composition Profile has also been used in a number of other recent investigations of the writing

skills of Japanese EL2 students, including Sasaki and Hirose (1996), Hirose (1998), and Fujita and Sakamoto (1998). However, the original profile stresses the importance of content, whereas research has shown that organization is the component which requires most emphasis in the writing of Japanese EL2 students. As a result, the ESL Composition Profile was modified for the present study and a revised scoring scale was developed reflecting the importance of organization in student writing; in addition, a number of changes were made in order to clarify the descriptive criteria used in evaluating organizational ability. Modifications of this nature are supported by recent research on the transferability of a multiple-trait scoring instrument across assessment contexts (Hamp-Lyons & Henning, 1991), and are in keeping with recommendations made by other researchers in the field such as Fujita and Sakamoto (1998, p. 148):

The ESL Composition Profile proposed by Jacobs et al. (1981) seems to emphasize content over organization, since Jacob's ESL Composition Profile allots 30 points to content and 20 points to organization. We would like to propose an EFL Composition Profile for Japanese students which allots 30 points to organization and 20 points to content, because rhetorical organization is assumed to be the most difficult part of writing English for Japanese students.

As a result of these modifications, student writing samples were evaluated according to the following rating scale: organization/30, language use and grammar/25, content/20, vocabulary/20, and mechanics/5. An interpretive guide of the range of possible scores (34-100) and descriptive criteria for corresponding writing characteristics is provided in Appendix 13. The assessment of all 61 compositions was carried out by this author, but in order to verify the reliability of these evaluations, two independent raters, who were experienced EFL instructors at a British university, were asked to grade random samplings of 15 essays each (approximately one-quarter of the total) using the same assessment tool. The interrater reliability scores, as measured by the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient, were $r_1 = 0.91$ and $r_2 = 0.97$, respectively, indicating a high level of reliability in the scoring. Appendix 14 provides a detailed summary of the results of composition assessment and analysis in chart and graphic form.

7.4.3 Analysis

The resulting assessment scores were analyzed statistically and between group means comparisons were carried out on pretest-posttest scores at all component levels. The pretest and posttest scores of the experimental and control groups were compared using a *t*-test to determine if any pre-existing differences existed between the two groups, and the posttest scores of both groups were compared in a similar manner. The pre- and posttest scores of the experimental group were then compared using a matched-pair *t*-test, as well as the pre- and posttest scores of the control

group. Comparisons between experimental and control groups at each component level were also carried out by means of MANOVA.

7.5 Results

The results of the statistical analysis of the pretest scores for the experimental and control groups show that there was no significant difference between the groups prior to the commencement of instruction. As Table 1 indicates, the mean scores for both groups were in a very similar range, with grades averaging approximately 50%, a situation which also illustrates one of the main problems in using this profile. Since the lowest grade possible is 34, the scores of students with poor writing ability tend to cluster at the lower end of the scale, making it difficult to differentiate between individuals at this level.

Table 1: Pretest Scores for Experimental and Control Groups

Statistic	Experimental Group Pretest Scores	Control Group Pretest Scores	Mean Difference	t_{obs}
<i>N</i>	31	30		
<i>Mean</i>	51.19	49.7	1.49	0.57
<i>SD</i>	11.57	8.84		

* $p < .01$, $df = 56$

As Table 2 shows, the posttest mean scores for the experimental and control groups were 88.68 and 59.93, respectively, indicating a difference of 28.75, which a *t*-test revealed was significant. Table 3 illustrates pre- and posttest mean scores and the resulting gain scores for both groups in terms of the criteria used in the assessment scale, and MANOVA confirmed significant differences between the groups at all component levels. Gain scores for the experimental group were strong in all categories, but particularly in terms of organization, where an increase of 12.65 was reported, and although there were moderate gains in control group scores in some categories, organizational ability showed little improvement, with an increase of only 1.40.

Table 2: Posttest Scores for Experimental and Control Groups

Statistic	Experimental Group Posttest Scores	Control Group Posttest Scores	Mean Difference	t_{obs}
<i>N</i>	31	30		
<i>Mean</i>	88.68	59.93	28.75	21.24*
<i>SD</i>	4.18	6.16		

* $p < .01$, $df = 51$

Table 3: Mean Scores by Component

	Pretest: <i>M (SD)</i>	Posttest: <i>M (SD)</i>	Gain Scores
Experimental Group			
Organization/30	15.39 (2.36)	28.03 (1.33)	12.65
Language Use/Grammar/25	11.94 (4.20)	20.74 (2.03)	8.81
Content/20	10.65 (2.71)	17.45 (1.29)	6.81
Vocabulary/20	10.81 (2.80)	17.61 (1.02)	6.81
Mechanics/5	2.42 (0.56)	4.84 (0.45)	2.42
Control Group			
Organization/30	15.63 (2.01)	17.03 (1.56)	1.40
Language Use/Grammar/25	11.53 (3.07)	13.27 (2.61)	1.73
Content/20	10.00 (2.15)	12.83 (1.88)	2.83
Vocabulary/20	10.17 (2.13)	13.67 (1.60)	3.50
Mechanics/5	2.37 (0.56)	3.13 (0.68)	0.77

The results of the statistical analysis of pre- and posttest scores for both the experimental and control groups are shown in Tables 4 and 5, respectively. Table 4 reveals a considerable improvement in the writing of the experimental group students as a result of three months of instruction, with an overall gain score of 37.49. A matched-pair *t*-test confirmed that this difference was significant. Differences in the standard deviation values also show a narrowing in the range of the scores, indicating that the posttest results were clustered closely around the mean and signifying that most of the participants had been rated highly on their final writing sample. Table 4 shows a moderate improvement in control group results, with a total gain score of 10.23.

Table 4: Pre- and Posttest Scores for the Experimental Group

Statistic	Experimental Group Posttest Scores	Experimental Group Pretest Scores	Mean Difference	<i>t</i> _{obs}
<i>N</i>	31	31		
<i>Mean</i>	88.68	51.19	37.49	18.82*
<i>SD</i>	4.18	11.57		

**p*<.01, *df* = 30

Table 5: Pre- and Posttest Scores for the Control Group

Statistic	Control Group Posttest Scores	Control Group Pretest Scores	Mean Difference	<i>t</i> _{obs}
<i>N</i>	30	30		
<i>Mean</i>	59.93	49.7	10.23	5.57*
<i>SD</i>	6.16	8.84		

**p*<.01, *df* = 29

7.6 Discussion

The results of this study are very encouraging. The statistical evidence shows that *all* of the students who participated in the experimental group exceptional progress in the development of their academic writing skills at all levels of assessment, with aggregate scores on the posttest writing sample ranging from a low of 80 to a high of 96. These data suggest that a highly structured, integrated writing program with a primary focus on organizational structure, but which also includes a concomitant emphasis on the writing process, especially the steps of outlining and rewriting, as well as a commitment to encouraging self-correction and autonomy at lower levels of language use, can result in considerable improvements in student writing ability within a relatively short period of time. These results are in keeping with research in reading comprehension which suggests that teaching students about top-level rhetorical structure through the use of macrostructures, and how to signal this organization by means of linguistic devices such as signposting and linking expressions, as well as providing students with regular writing practice using different text structures on a variety of appropriate topics, can be highly beneficial. This proposed pedagogy is also in accord with research in cognitive science, psycholinguistics, and second language acquisition which offers important insights into the nature of the writing process and suggests that explicit classroom instruction which promotes language awareness and consciousness raising can facilitate noticing among students, and that teaching text structure apart from content by providing explicit instruction on the function of forms in discourse, allows students to focus their attention on generating the information they need to fill these forms, freeing them to concentrate on other components of writing. The use of graphic images and symbols to represent these forms, as well as furnishing students with prose models which exemplify the text structures being taught, can be particularly effective in the L2 classroom where students may have difficulty comprehending more complex metalinguistic explanations. The statistical evidence obtained from this study strongly suggests that instruction which focuses primarily on top-level rhetorical structure will not only result in improvements to students' organizational skills but will also have a positive ancillary effect on each of the other components of writing, including language use and grammar, content, vocabulary, and mechanics.

The data obtained from the control group indicates that students made relatively limited progress in their academic writing, with overall gain scores increasing by 10.23 and grades ranging from a low of 51 to a high of 71, suggesting that considerably more improvement is possible. Although the exact nature of the

classroom instruction this group received was unavailable, pre- and posttest writing samples indicate that the students were generally writing longer compositions by the end of the course and that they had developed more confidence in expressing their ideas, many of which were inventive and informative. However, they continued to compose in a manner which was both highly personal and overly digressive, structuring their essays in a loose introduction-body-conclusion pattern indicative of the kind of flexible approach to discourse structure that is advocated by the proponents of rhetorical pluralism (see Kobayashi & Rinnert, 1996). A gain score of 1.40 for organization in the control group suggests that perhaps this component of students' writing should be attended to in a more structured fashion.

A number of limitations are also apparent in this teaching experiment, arising mainly from a disparity between the goals of academic research and the needs of actual classroom practice (see section 7.7 on action research below). For instance, although some researchers do not allow students to utilize a dictionaries during composition tests, their use was actively encouraged in the present study and was part of the writing test instructions provided to students in both the experimental and control groups. Furthermore, there is an evident discrepancy in the way that the pre- and posttest writing samples were obtained in this investigation. The pretest essays were written by students on the first day of class to provide the instructor with a sample of their writing, whereas the posttest compositions were written as a final essay test, a writing context that had far more important consequences for the students. In addition, the amount of time spent in preparing ideas prior to writing the pretest essays was necessarily limited because it occurred in the classroom, while students writing the posttest compositions were given the week between classes to prepare and to draft an outline of their ideas. From a purely research perspective, this kind of discrepancy may be untenable, but in terms of actual classroom practice, the principal goal of instruction is to encourage students to develop effective writing tools and habits that will sustain them throughout their academic careers—from this point of view, as an instructor, it is important to "test what you teach." In other words, if students are taught that using a dictionary and taking the time to prepare an outline are an integral part of being a good writer, they should not be denied access to these tools because of a conflict with research goals. In taking these factors into consideration, the prompt used for the pretest essay, "English Education in Japan," was selected because it is a topic that is frequently discussed these days in Japan both in and out of the classroom; therefore, most students have a substantial knowledge base to draw from in writing on this subject. On the other hand, the topics chosen for the posttest essay were much more challenging and required preparation time for students. In an entry-level EL2 composition course, allowing students time to access information and to consider their rhetorical choices was

considered appropriate. Finally, it should be pointed out that these conditions applied equally to both the experimental and control groups, and that perceived advantages in posttest writing circumstances seemed to have little appreciable effect on control group assessment scores.

In conclusion, the results of this study suggest that despite the claims of some researchers to the contrary, the research potential of contrastive rhetoric in identifying correlations between culture and writing that can be applied in the L2 composition classroom is considerable. For example, our investigations have revealed that contemporary Japanese rhetoric is highly complex, reflecting a fundamental tension between the forces of tradition and modernization, between the aesthetic and the utilitarian, resulting in considerable confusion for students, especially in terms of rhetorical structure and preferred writing styles. In addition, a majority of Japanese students have done very little academic writing in any language upon entering university, and as a result, many of them may not be consciously aware of the rhetorical values of their own culture. As the present study demonstrates, an understanding of these factors can be invaluable for L2 composition instructors in developing teaching methodologies that will address the specific needs of these students, especially in terms of strategies for intervention and remediation.

7.7 Research and pedagogical implications

The concept of *integration* has been central to this thesis along a number of different dimensions. As described in the teaching experiment, the proposed pedagogy developed in this investigation integrates research in contrastive rhetoric with applied linguistic theory and general pedagogic principles in a set of academic writing specifications that has proven highly effective in providing solutions to the writing problems of Japanese students of English. From a broader perspective, however, this thesis also represents an attempt to integrate the findings of a wide range of disciplines contributing to the study of written discourse across cultures as they converge along synchronic and diachronic dimensions.

Diachronically, we traced the history of western rhetoric from its origins in the Hellenic world of the 5th century BC to the profound changes that took place a century ago when the traditional functions of the ancient art of rhetoric were transferred to more modern disciplines such as philosophy, speech communication, composition pedagogy, and linguistics. As a result, composition pedagogy now provides a venue for the practical application of rhetoric in written form, while in the field of linguistics, the relatively recent disciplines of discourse analysis and text linguistics have assumed responsibility for its theoretical underpinnings. This sociohistorical approach to the cross-cultural study of second language writing is

based on the belief that "history crucially influences current language practices" (Atkinson, 1999, p. 12), and that if we wish to understand the standards, norms, and conventions that govern and direct the writing canon of modern English prose, we need to recognize that "we live and communicate within the social consequences of our history" (Bazerman; cited in Atkinson, 1999, p. ix).⁹⁰

Synchronically, a diverse set of academic disciplines merge in the study of L2 writing, giving rise to a sometimes bewildering variety of research paradigms, teaching methodologies, and terminological problems that make the analysis of written discourse across cultures one of the "trickiest problems of language description and teaching" (Mauranen, 1993). We examined a number of disciplines along this synchronic axis, integrating research from discourse linguistics and composition pedagogy, and within these fields, investigating perspectives provided by discourse analysis and text linguistics, as well as the myriad approaches to composition instruction that proliferate today. We also explored the impact of these disciplines on the evolution of contrastive rhetoric, demonstrating how a new conceptualization of the nature of writing as a culturally-determined, cognitive activity has led to the establishment of contemporary research paradigms in contrastive rhetoric which now encompass cognitive and sociocultural variables of writing in addition to the linguistic features of text (Connor, 1996). In addition, we pointed out that research perspectives in contrastive rhetoric have paralleled those of contrastive linguistics in general, as analyses have moved beyond the sentence as a unit into discoursal and functional domains, and that this reorientation has contributed to a revival of the field by providing "an integrated approach to the use of contrastive studies for linguistic analysis and language education" (Nickel, 1999).

Finally, this thesis also reflects the importance of integration along the human dimension, since it is modeled on an approach to education known as action research, which has been described as a "teacher as researcher" movement that endeavors to bridge the traditional divide between academic theory and actual teaching practice. There are a number of definitions of action research, and as with any emergent movement, interpretations vary, but the main focus is to encourage teachers to become involved in their own practice and to view themselves as researchers (Stenhouse, 1975). Perhaps the most widely accepted working definition is provided by Carr & Kemmis (1986; cited in McNiff, 1988, p. 2):

Action research is a form of self-reflective enquiry undertaken by participants (teachers, students or principals, for example) in social (including educational) situations in order to improve the rationality and justice of (a) their own social or educational practices, (b) their understanding of these practices, and (c) the situations (and institutions) in which these practices are carried out.

The present study falls within these parameters, and as a model of action research, seeks to reconcile one of the key methodological problems inherent in the field today; i.e., the apparent tension between *action* and *research*; or "how to achieve apparently contradictory aims, viz. how to *research* a situation and how to *act* on it" (Hustler et al. 1986, p. 9):

The problem here is one of relevancies. What is important to some researchers (e.g. development objectivity, acceptance of findings by fellow researchers) is unlikely to be as relevant to practising teachers who have their own priorities (speed, improvement, practicability, acceptability in school). What collaboration between...these different relevancies might do is to generate research which is acceptable academically *and* is relevant and practicable in the school situation. (ibid., pp. 9-10)

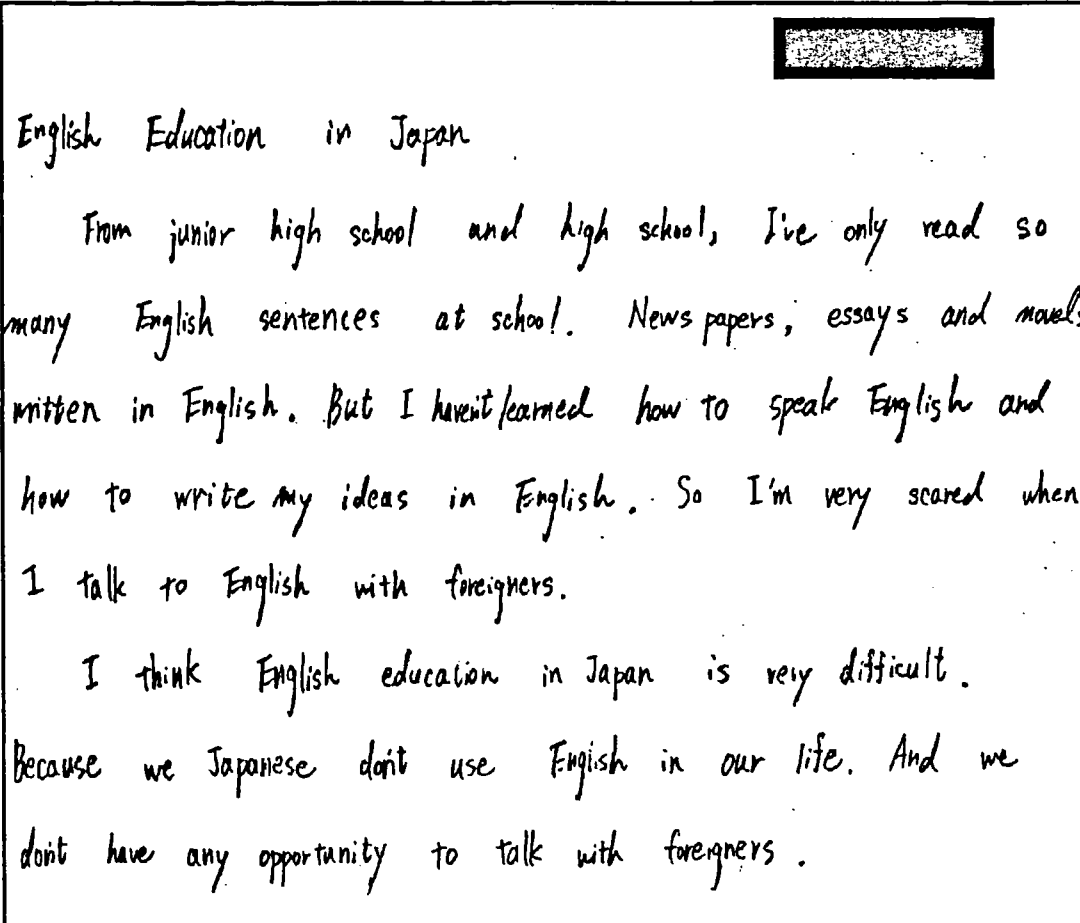
Research in education can be approached from a number of different perspectives, and there are two broad categories of established research traditions: the empiricist and the interpretative (Adelman & Young, 1985). At the heart of the empiricist tradition is the notion of evidence being empirically tested (i.e., data collection and statistical analysis), and the ways in which judgments are reached are standardized in order to eliminate human bias and error. They include the use of experimental and control groups, pre- and post-testing within controlled environments, and the statistical analysis of data. On the other hand, while the empiricist approach insists on the objective recording of data, the interpretative tradition encourages teachers to be "adventurous and creative in their practice" and to be "personally reflective and critical of that practice" (McNiff, 1988, p. 14). Present-day action research is a merging of these two traditions, and research projects can be large-scale and involve government funding or they can be small-scale with individual teachers conducting inquiries into their own classroom practice.

This thesis is an embodiment of this latter orientation, and as such, it should be viewed within a broader frame of reference, especially in terms of its research and pedagogical implications. From a research standpoint, it is the culmination of some five years of effort which has resulted in the publication and presentation of a number of related articles and papers, many of which have been incorporated into this work as subsidiary studies or as background support for the primary investigations. From a pedagogical point of view, the research findings themselves report on cross-sectional slices of a longitudinal process involving the ongoing development of student writing skills. Many of the students who were the subjects of these investigations have persisted in their efforts to improve their writing skills by taking higher level composition courses; a number of them have continued instruction with this author in tutorial settings as university seniors or postgraduate students completing theses and research articles in English. Some of these students

have gone on to study at graduate schools both within Japan and abroad; a few are co-authors of the subsidiary publications referred to above. Finally, over the five-year period of these investigations, students who continued to write in English in their senior year were asked to submit research papers on various aspects of Japanese culture. A collection of their essays now forms the basis of a book to be published shortly providing insights into the nature of Japan culture, both present and past (Davies & Ikeno, 2001).

In conclusion, it is thus perhaps appropriate to return to our point of departure in Chapter 1 and a pair of essays written by another of the third-year students who participated in a pilot project leading up to this thesis. The following pre- and post-instruction writing samples provide ample evidence in support of the basic premise of this thesis, which claims that given effective instruction based on a carefully articulated, integrated teaching program, one which is theoretically informed and empirically motivated, Japanese students are capable of making significant progress in the development of their academic writing skills:

Pre-instruction sample:



English Education in Japan

From junior high school and high school, I've only read so many English sentences at school. News papers, essays and novels written in English. But I haven't learned how to speak English and how to write my ideas in English. So I'm very scared when I talk to English with foreigners.

I think English education in Japan is very difficult. Because we Japanese don't use English in our life. And we don't have any opportunity to talk with foreigners.

The Influences of Western Culture on Modern Japanese Life.

The Japanese people have been receptive to Western culture since the Meiji Restoration. The Meiji Government carried out the plans for adopting Western culture for the purpose of enhancing the wealth and military strength of Japan. As a result, Western culture has spread through the whole Japanese life, particularly in the areas of education, transportation, and communication.

First of all, Western culture had a great influence on Japanese education. Because the Meiji Government thought that education was the most important factor to reach the cultural level of Europe, it established the new education system "Gakusei" in 1872. Furthermore, the government built a lot of elementary schools and universities in various areas of country, and engaged Westerners as teachers in each schools.

In addition to education system, people in Meiji period introduced several kinds of vehicles to their life. Trains, for example, were imported from England in the early Meiji period. The first railroad service was started between Shinbashi and Yokohama in Tokyo. The engineers from Europe taught the Japanese drivers how to operate railroad trains. Similarly, cars and bicycles became very popular among the Japanese people.

These means of transportation are indispensable to even modern Japanese life.

Finally, people from Western countries brought the useful systems of communication: telegraph and the telephone. These two systems, which were invented by Americans, have been adopted so quickly to Japanese society. Especially with regard to the telephone, the Meiji Government started its service as the national enterprise to meet the great demands for telephones.

To summarize, Western culture has contributed to Japanese life from the viewpoint of education, means of transport, and systems of communication. The Japanese people cannot describe the whole aspects of their culture without reference to the influences of Western countries.

Notes

¹ The term "Japanese students of English," as opposed to "Japanese English majors" for example, is a conscious choice and is not meant to be ambiguous. In Japanese post-secondary institutions, students specializing in English can be found in many different faculties and departments, and their "major" depends on the labels designated by the specific university. Students specializing in English generally major in subjects such as English L2 Education, International Culture and Communication, English Linguistics, English Language, American or British Literature, etc. In addition, in many cases students from other fields such as psychology, sociology, or even music, will seriously pursue English studies and are often at the top of their classes because of strong personal motivations. Even applicants for positions as English teachers in Japanese public schools do not have to "major" in English in order to obtain a teacher's licence or to get a teaching post. In addition, throughout this work, the term EL2 will be used in a generic way to refer to both second and foreign language learning. Many precedents exist for this choice, including Odlin (1989, p. 4), Swales (1990, p. 2), and Cohen (1998, p. 4). As Odlin points out, the difference between ESL and EFL may be crucial for those developing syllabuses or preparing pedagogical materials, but in studies such as this, the distinction is not important.

² This claim should be viewed with caution, however. Although reading is by far the strongest of the four language skills among Japanese EL2 students at the university level, their competence in this area still leaves much to be desired, particularly in terms of reading speed. Japan has a long tradition of foreign language learning called *yakudoku*, and according to Hino (1988, p. 45), it is the most important methodological antecedent to more modern EL2 teaching methods being used today. It can be considered an essential component of Japan's indigenous educational tradition, one which is over a thousand years old, but one which has undoubtedly become a serious handicap for Japanese EL2 students in the modern world. *Yaku* means "translation," and *doku* means "reading." *Yakudoku* can thus be defined as a technique for reading a foreign language, and it is a process which has three essential stages: translating, reordering, and recoding (p. 46). Hino states that there are two significant aspects to *yakudoku*: "the regressive eye movement resulting from the word-by-word translation, [and] the fact that the meaning is not understood directly in the target language, but only via translation" (ibid.). For many Japanese students, reading English and *yakudoku* are the same thing (i.e., *yomu*, or reading = *yakusu*, or translation): "They are neither aware that it is much more natural to read English in the original word order nor that it is desirable to read directly without recourse to translation" (p. 47). Hino also points out that *yakudoku* has certain important disadvantages (pp. 50-51): (1) it limits the speed at which the student reads (by some estimates reading in English directly is up to three times faster), (2) it reduces the efficiency with which the student is able to comprehend, (3) the meaning of the text obtained via Japanese translation is usually only a poor approximation of the original, and (4) *yakudoku* has detrimental effects on other language skills such as listening, speaking, and writing, as students employ similar strategies of translating every word into Japanese and then reordering and recoding (in reverse order for speaking and writing, however). Hino notes that *Mombusho's* (The Japanese Ministry of Education) Course of Study Guidelines, which define and control the contents of English teaching in secondary schools in Japan, make no mention of the necessity of teaching skills in translating English into Japanese, yet in spite of its obvious disadvantages, *yakudoku* continues to be used extensively in Japanese schools. Two recent nation-wide surveys conducted by the Japan Association of College English Teachers (JACET) showed that approximately 80% of Japanese teachers of English in high schools and universities used the *yakudoku* method, and by some estimates, 70% of Japanese university students today have been taught to read English solely with this method (p. 46).

³ TOEFL mean scores underscore these deficiencies. In 1995-1996, Japan's score was 499, which was 150th among 171 nations worldwide, and 20th among 25 Asian nations (Okihara, 1997, p. 8). In 1997-1998, Japan scored an average of 498 points, last among 25 Asian countries. In 1998-1999, the Japanese score increased to 501, surpassing the 500 mark for the first time. However, Japan ranked 18th out of 21 Asian countries, and 181st among the 189 countries of the United Nations (Kobayashi, 1999, p. 16). In fact, Japan had the lowest mean score in Asia except for Laos, Cambodia, and Afghanistan, despite the vast resources and time devoted to learning English (approximately \$30,000,000,000 per year, according to some experts). It is often said that these

results are skewed because Japan has a great many applicants sitting the exam, making it inappropriate to compare Japan with countries in which just a select few take the test. However, comparisons with countries like South Korea and China, which also have large numbers of applicants, are valid, and these comparisons are not flattering for Japan. It is also said that "Japan's traditional stress on reading and writing English has resulted in Japanese becoming quite skilled in these areas" (Joyner, 2000, p. 20). Nothing could be further from the truth, however, especially in terms of writing ability. As Joyner (*ibid.*) contends, "[t]he written English that is taught in Japanese schools is the sort that allows university hopefuls to answer grammar and vocabulary questions on an entrance exam. In fact, Japan's education system produces people who can barely write an intelligible sentence in English." This criticism is certainly exaggerated, but it is also true that the writing skills of Japanese EL2 students leave much to be desired, and it is not only the teaching of *spoken* English which needs to be overhauled in Japan.

⁴ In 1994, a new set of *Mombusho* Course of Study Guidelines for English education in Japanese senior high schools came into effect, emphasizing for the first time the development of students' communicative abilities as the primary goal of instruction: "Students should be encouraged to acquire communicative competence in English and to cultivate basic international understanding with a view to acquiring the indispensable qualities of following international progress and change, and of living in an international society" (*Mombusho*, 1994, p. 6). In order to attain this goal, several new courses were instituted in Japanese high schools, including Oral Communication A (speaking ability), B (listening comprehension), and C (presentations, debates, etc.). At the present time, however, Oral Communication C remains almost non-existent, and most institutions select either A or B. In addition, in order to meet the demands of college entrance examinations, it appears that a great many oral communication classes are used primarily as a means of providing extra grammar instruction for students. In a survey conducted by Brown and Wada (1998), it was reported that approximately 68% of high school teachers had apparently read the guidelines, and when asked what their most important classroom goal was, most cited the development of students' communicative competence (p. 104). Brown and Wada point out that although this may seem like a very promising set of responses, it is likely that they were answering what they thought they *should* be teaching, and note that a vast body of other studies indicates that "more traditional, translation-oriented methods [e.g., *yakudoku*] still prevail in most Japanese classrooms" (p. 105). They add that when one considers that "the majority of English teachers in Japan receive no formal training," that only 35% of teachers responding to the survey "reported making their own lesson plans," and that "every *Mombusho*-approved textbook comes with a teacher's manual that has detailed lesson plans emphasising translation and drill-focused teaching techniques, it is not surprising that a wide gap exists between the communicative goals of the guidelines and actual classroom practice" (*ibid.*).

⁵ Recent statistical evidence underscores this trend. According to a study funded by the United States Information Agency, US academic institutions are the most popular choice for foreign students wishing to study overseas. In the 1996-97 academic year, 457,984 foreign students were enrolled in US colleges and universities, of which 260,743, or 57%, were from Asia. Of the Asian students, the majority were from the following countries: (1) Japan: 46,292; (2) China: 42,503; (3) South Korea: 37,130; (4) India: 30,641; and (5) Taiwan: 30,487. In the 1997-98 academic year, the total number of foreign students in the US rose to 481,280, an increase of 5.1%, led once again by Japan, China, and South Korea. 21% of the foreign students were in business management, 15% in engineering, and 6% in the arts. Many students at the *undergraduate level* were initially enrolled in "sheltered programs" which are designed to help them improve their academic skills in English before joining mainstream courses. The study also noted that "the US share of students studying abroad has dropped from 40 percent to 30 percent over the last 15 years, mostly because tuition costs have climbed...and other countries have offered attractive alternatives." Britain, Canada, Australia, France, and Germany were cited as the United States' chief competitors in this regard, and the steady decline in the US share of foreign students was reported to be a source of serious concern among American officials (Foreign enrollment in US, 1997; Foreign students in US, 1998). In 1999, the number of Japanese students dropped slightly to 46,406, down 1.4% from the previous year, and China surpassed Japan as the country with the most students studying at American universities and graduate schools with a total of 51,001 students enrolled (Japanese nationals outnumbered, 1999). According to Britain's Education Minister, there are approximately 200,000

foreign students currently studying at British universities, of which around 7,300 are Japanese (U.K. committed to increasing, 2000).

⁶ For our present purposes, we will stipulate *discourse* in its most general sense, agreeing with Chafe that "the term...is used in somewhat different ways by different scholars, but underlying the differences is a common concern for *language beyond the boundaries of isolated sentences*" (cited in Widdowson, 1995, p. 162; my italics). In accordance with recent developments in the field, however, this perspective includes not only the analysis of larger, suprasentential units, or texts, but also pragmatic factors related to the way that people use language within specific situational and sociocultural contexts.

⁷ The need for lexical variety has led to the use of a number of (partial) synonyms throughout this work (e.g., deficiencies, shortcomings, infelicities, drawbacks, errors, mistakes, misconstructions, misuses, etc.). No attempt is being made at this point to draw precise distinctions between these terms as this is not primarily a study in error analysis.

⁸ Unfortunately, this explanation now appears too simplistic in light of subsequent investigations (see Hino & Davies, 1998).

⁹ Although it may seem unusual for third-year university students to be taking "entry-level" courses, it should be remembered that many EL2 students in Japan will graduate from university without ever having taken a single English composition course, while others will attend purported classes in English composition and end up doing little more than grammar-translation exercises. In almost all cases, the third-year students referred to in the study were receiving genuine instruction in English academic writing for the first time.

¹⁰ The terms "average," "high," and "low" are being employed here as general and somewhat subjective categories, and no empirical claims are being made at this time.

¹¹ The terms "model" and "theory" are sometimes used interchangeably, but according to Enkvist (1987, pp. 27-28), there is an important distinction between them. A model is a simplified operational representation of reality. It is simplified because it aims at reproducing a selected elements of reality rather than reality itself, and it is operational because it should allow for manipulation that produces new data or predictions not available when the model was built. A theory is a set of principles on which a model is built which allows us to choose specific elements of reality for our model.

¹² There is a good deal of terminological confusion in the field at present. Liebman-Kleine, for example, maintains that contrastive rhetorical theory is *an extension of contrastive grammar* (1986, p. 1). Connor (1996, p. 5) defines contrastive rhetoric as *an area of research in second language acquisition*. Grabe and Kaplan (1996, p. 201) refer to contrastive rhetoric as *a notion rather than a theory* because it "does not yet comprise a fully articulated set of principals (sic) and methods...." James (1998, pp. 162-163) labels contrastive rhetoric *a research paradigm*: "The observation that L2 users unconsciously transfer their L1 conventions has led to the development of a research paradigm known as contrastive rhetoric...." The conceptual framework developed in this thesis treats contrastive rhetoric as subsumed within the wider field of discourse linguistics and as synonymous with the term *contrastive written discourse analysis*.

¹³ Pike (cited in Houghton & Hoey, 1983, p. 8) distinguishes two types of description—the etic and the emic. Etic descriptions represent an outsider's objective description of a language using predetermined categories found to have been of value in previous descriptions of languages; emic descriptions represent an internally consistent description, the categories for which have grown out of the requirements of the language in question and can only be achieved by someone "inside" the language. With Pike's etic/emic distinction, we arrive at a major difficulty in carrying out contrastive rhetorical research in that we are seeking to compare what may be, strictly speaking, incommensurable—ways must be found to relate the internally defined terms of one linguistic system with those of another, a necessary prerequisite if both linguistic systems are to be defined in terms of the same discourse/rhetoric theory. But an agreed theory of discourse is not yet available.

¹⁴ In many cultures, the goal of individual development in writing is not stressed except for a limited number of "culture-producers"; in others, such as in many western countries, it is stressed more highly, at least in theory (Purves & Purves, 1986, p. 194).

¹⁵ According to Purves and Purves (1986), in western literary theory, much of which is derived from religious hermeneutics and classical aesthetics, the text has long held a central position of

authority. This primacy of the text has been challenged recently by post-structuralist critics who place the interpreter of the text in an equal position. Although this has not been widely accepted, a generally relativist position concerning the authority of the text has been gaining ground in Anglo-European culture. It is not yet clear, however, what effect this shift in view of the text and the authority of the text is having on writing production (see also section 4.3.3.3 on the influence of social constructionism in composition pedagogy).

¹⁶ Interlanguage studies represent another paradigm of L2 learning that evolved from EA in the 1970s (Selinker, 1972). In this model, interlanguage (IL) refers to the "successive linguistic systems that a learner constructs on his way to the mastery of a target language" (Sridhar, 1981, p. 227). An interlanguage is characterized by its indeterminate status, its instability, and its recognition of the systematic, rule-governed nature of the learner's performance, as well as its adequacy in functional communication (ibid.). Interlanguages are therefore viewed as internally-patterned, autonomous language systems that are structurally independent of the L1 and L2 (Selinker, 1972). Today, interlanguage studies are still considered important in L2 acquisition, though definitions and characteristics of the term itself remain "highly disputed" (Nickel, 1998, p. 1). Interlanguage studies insist on "describing a learner's language in its own terms without reliance on the descriptive categories derived from the analysis of another language" (James, 1998, p. 6); in other words, the IL is viewed in *sui generis* terms. Because of this "insistence on being wholly descriptive and eschewing comparison" (James, 1998, p. 6), it will not be considered here as directly relevant to contrastive studies. For an alternative viewpoint incorporating interlanguage studies in descriptions of movements influencing contrastive rhetoric, see Connor (1996).

¹⁷ It was felt that one could explain or predict up to 30% of learners' errors in this way; i.e., errors that arose through wrongly transferring L1 systems to the L2 (James, 1998, p. 4).

¹⁸ In a seminal article on error analysis, Corder (1967) made five crucial points about "the significance of learners' errors": (1) L2 learning is probably facilitated by the learners' knowledge of the L1; (2) intake should not be equated with input; (3) learners develop a transitional competence (now called interlanguage); (4) errors should be distinguished from mistakes; and (5) errors are significant in three aspects: they tell the teacher what needs to be taught; they tell the researcher how learning proceeds; and they are a means by which learners test their hypotheses about the L2.

¹⁹ Grabe (1985, pp. 101-102) states that "[t]he term 'discourse analysis' has, in recent years, assumed immense proportions. As a generic term, it has come to mean many different things to many different people": for rhetoricians, it involves the study of literary texts and the stylistic features of various authors; for functional linguists, it involves the study of form-function relationships within language segments usually larger than the sentence or utterance, though seldom larger than the paragraph in written language or the brief dialogue in its oral counterpart; for formal linguists, it is a domain where certain linguistic processes and systems become complexly determined by non-sentential relations, such as anaphora and deixis—the data is oral though it is usually abstracted to written form; for sociolinguists, it is the study of language in actual use in different contexts, by different people, and for different purposes, and is primarily thought to involve the study of oral language; for psycholinguists and cognitive psychologists, it is primarily involved with the study of relations between language units, conceptual units, retention, comprehension, production, and the mental representation of knowledge; for applied linguists, it involves the study of language as it is used by different cultural/learner groups; for composition researchers, it involves the development and assessment of students' writing abilities; and for textlinguists, it involves the study of text corpora, usually to examine text type variation or linguistic features defining text structure (ibid.).

²⁰ Mauranen (1993), for example, analyzed text structures in a contrastive Finnish-English textlinguistic project, partly on the basis of theme/rheme, while Lautamatti (1987) developed a form of text analysis called topical structure analysis (TSA) in which sequences of sentences are examined from a topic-comment perspective to determine "how the topics in the sentences work through the text to build meaning progressively" in order to attain coherence within a text (Connor, 1987a, p. 682). Connor and Farmer (1990) applied topic structure analysis in ESL composition contexts with some success as a revision strategy for students, while Schneider and Connor (1990) used TSA as a means of rating L2 student essays.

²¹ The problem that exists today, however, is not so much in "distinguishing between coherence and cohesion, which has already been done, as in finding an adequate definition of coherence"

(Connor, 1987a, p. 680). For example, Phelps (1985, p. 21) defines coherence as "the experience of meaningfulness correlated with successful integration during reading, which the reader projects back into the text as a quality of wholeness of meanings." The problem arises when "one asks for a definition of *successful integration*" (Connor, op. cit.). Furthermore, from this perspective, coherence is what the reader or listener does with the text, but as James (1998, p. 169) argues, the problem with this definition is that "it makes the text the concern of the speaker-writer and discourse the activity of the listener-reader...[cutting out] the text-producer from participation in discourse and the text-receiver from engagement with the text."

²² Meyer's semantic content structure model of text analysis, for example, has been applied to research on the interaction of the rhetorical structure of texts and reading comprehension (e.g., Bartlett, 1978; Carrell, 1984b; Connor & McCagg, 1987). Results indicate that "the relationship between use of the text's structure in organizing one's recall of the text is not only highly correlated with the amount of information recalled, but causative" (Carrell, 1987a, p. 51).

²³ There are far more complex and sophisticated approaches to rhetoric and discourse that have been developed within a framework text linguistics and reading research. Mann and Thompson (1988), for example, provide a descriptive framework for Rhetorical Structure Theory, "a linguistically useful method for describing natural texts, characterizing their structure primarily in terms of relations that hold between parts of the text" (p. 243). The development of RST, however, has taken place within the context of work on text generation for computer programs and lies beyond the scope of the present investigation. (See also related research by Sanders et al. (1992) and Knott & Dale (1994) on the role of coherence relations in the deeper processing of text structure.)

²⁴ In fact, many of the foremost handbooks and textbooks on academic writing today have continued this tradition in following these structural principles. See, for example, *Harbrace College Handbook* (Hodges et al., 1994), *Writing Academic English* (Oshima & Hogue, 1991), and *Study Writing* (Hamp-Lyons & Heasley, 1987).

²⁵ Guba and Lincoln (1994) define critical theory and (social) constructivism as follows:

The term *critical theory* is...a blanket term denoting a set of several alternative paradigms, including additionally (but not limited to) neo-Marxism, feminism, materialism, and participatory inquiry. Indeed, critical theory may itself usefully be divided into three substrands: poststructuralism, postmodernism, and a blending of the two. Whatever their differences, the common breakaway assumption of all these variants is that of the value-determined nature of inquiry.... The term constructivism denotes an alternative paradigm whose breakaway assumption is the move from ontological realism to ontological relativism (p. 109).

Critical theory is based on subjectivist assumptions that "knowledge is value mediated and hence value dependent; constructivism is based on similar, though broader subjectivist assumptions that "knowledge is created in interaction among investigator and respondents" (p. 111). Both are aimed at the "reconstruction of previously held constructions" (p. 112). The aim of inquiry in critical theory is "the *critique and transformation* of the social, political, economic, ethnic, and gender structures that constrain and exploit humankind...[and] advocacy and activism are key concepts." The aim of inquiry in constructivism is "understanding and reconstruction of the constructions that people (including the inquirer) initially hold, aiming toward...new interpretations [and]...more informed and sophisticated constructions. Advocacy and activism are also key concepts in this view" (p. 113). In terms of epistemology and methodology, critical theory and constructivism are almost identical in that both are subjectivist and dialectical, with values seen as shaping or creating inquiry outcomes. In terms of ontology, they are somewhat different in that the former stresses historical realism (i.e., "virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values"), whereas the latter emphasizes relativism (i.e., "local and specific constructed realities") (p. 109).

²⁶ According to Leki (1992, p. 90), "not many cultures appear to teach rhetorical patterns directly, as we do in our schools. In fact while English bulges with rhetoric handbooks, few other languages have handbooks or courses specifically devoted to teaching writing. (See Kachru, 1984; Eggington, 1987; and Hinds, 1987, for discussions of India, Korea, and Japan, respectively)."

²⁷ McLuhan suggests that typographic culture is "linear" in the sense that...

...it encourages the habit of assimilating matter in sequences, one item after another.... Oral-aural culture by contrast encouraged a sense of simultaneity...., multi-related events occurring not in chains but in clusters. Vision [i.e., the visual field of the printed word] presents its objects in

relatively disjointed, strung-out fields: one has to move one's eyes or turn one's head to [visually access the field of print], which means that one catches it in [a] series [of] linear sequences" (Ong, 1967, p. 11).

²⁸ The ornamental style (sometimes called Ciceronian) is attributed to Isocrates and the Sophists and was attacked by Socrates and Plato. It originated in the Greeks' "love of sensuous forms" and is characterized by "schemes," which are chiefly "repetitions of sound used as purely sensuous devices to give pleasure or aid the attention." With the spread of Sophist teachings, this style continued into Roman times in the oratory of Cicero, and later with the church fathers and medieval schools. The origins of the plain style (sometimes called Attic, after the Attic writers of ancient Greece who were models for Cicero's Roman opponents; hence, the style is also known as Anti-Ciceronian) reside in the philosophical curiosity of the Greeks, and this style is first described by Plato as the appropriate method for Socrates' dialectic (i.e., philosophy and the means of discovering truth as opposed to rhetoric and the methods of persuasion). The plain style was first codified by Aristotle in the *Rhetoric*, which became the principal authority, along with Seneca, of the plain style and Anti-Ciceronianism of the seventeenth century (Adolph, 1968, p. 12). The plain style turns on Aristotle's two essential principles of style: clarity and appropriateness. To this the Roman Stoics added a third, brevity. With the Stoics, brevity takes the form of aphorisms and maxims which were widely used later by "scientific writers" of English. "Literary history in the Renaissance is a duplication of the struggle between [these two forms] of antiquity" (ibid., p. 14). The plain style was felt to be appropriate for philosophy and the essay, as opposed to oratory which was dominated by the ornamental style, and the seventeenth century regarded the history of prose style as chiefly a conflict between these two modes (ibid., p. 11).

²⁹ By invention is meant one of the five departments of the art of rhetoric in classical antiquity concerned with researching one's material and discovering arguments and supporting evidence.

³⁰ The following passages illustrate the contrasts between Restoration and pre-Restoration prose styles. Both are translations of an identical selection from Plutarch, originally written in Latin. The source is Adolph's *The Rise of Modern Prose Style* (1968, pp. 246-247):

(1) P. Lancaster's (1684) translation (Restoration prose):

Envy and Hatred are passions so like each other, that they are often taken for the same; and generally all the vices are so confusedly twisted and entangled, that they are not easily to be distinguished: for, as differing diseases of the Body agree in many the like causes and effects; so do the disturbances of the Mind. He who is in Prosperity, is equally an occasion of grief both to the Envious, and Malicious Man: therefore we look upon Benevolence, which is a Willing our Neighbours good, as an opposite to both Envy and Hatred; and fancy these two to be the same, because they have a contrary purpose to that of Love. But their Resemblances make them not so much One, as their Unlikeness, distinct: therefore we endeavour to describe each of them apart, beginning at the Original of either Passion

(2) Philemon Holland's (1603) translation (pre-Restoration prose):

It seemeth at the first sight, that there is no difference betweene envie and hatred, but they be both one. For vice (to speake in generall) having (as it were) many hookes or crotchets, by means thereof as it stirreth to and fro, it yeeldeth unto those passions which hang thereto many occasions and opportunities to catch holde one of another, and so to be knit and enterlaced one within the other; and the same verily (like unto diseases of the body) have a sympathie and fellow-feeling one of anothers distemperature and inflammation: for thus it commeth to passe, that a malicious and spiteful man is as much grieved and offended as the prosperitie of another, as the envious person: and so we holde, that benevolence and good-will is opposite unto them both, for that it is an affection of a man, wishing good unto his neighbour: and envie in this respect resembleth hatred, for that they have both a will and intention quite contrary unto love: but forsmuch as not things like to the same, and the resemblances betweene them be not so effectual as to make them all one, as the differences to distinguish them asunder; let us search and examine the said differences, beginning at the very source and original of these passions.

The language of the Restoration prose passage above is described by Adolph (ibid., p. 248) as "nominal-operative," while that of the pre-Restoration prose piece is labeled "verbal-descriptive." In the former, the verbs are chiefly operative, markers to indicate distinctions and logical processes to the reader, whereas in the latter, they are more descriptive and evaluative and play a leading role in the selection. As a result, Restoration prose seems more impersonal and technical, has fewer clauses and less complexity in sentence patterns, and is more concerned with processes of abstract logic than the writer's subjective viewpoint. In contrast, the style of pre-Restoration prose has

greater sentence complexity, syntactic variety, and more subordinate qualifying elements expressing the observations and attitudes of the writer:

In the Restoration, nouns are very important, frequently doing the jobs that verbs or verbal constructions performed previously. The Restoration habit of capitalizing nouns is significant. [Words such as Envy, Benevolence, and Hatred stand for] fixed, technical concepts, of which everyone has a clear and distinct idea, and which have already been defined. (ibid., p. 249)

In other words, in Restoration prose, nouns have "invariable meanings unaffected by their contexts" (ibid., p. 2-8), and this precision is not apparent in the "tangle of subordinate clauses" (ibid., p. 2-9) that make up the pre-Restoration passage above. This is because the function of language in the Restoration was to explain or argue purposefully. The merely descriptive, idiosyncratic, and highly personalized language of pre-Restoration times, which did not advance such an argument, was frowned upon.

The Elizabethan adds synonyms ("preparatives and flourishes, or preambles") and extra phrases...not to define the application of the first word or phrase but to make everything more rhetorically or dramatically emphatic. He is more interested in giving us his own feelings about the text than in translating with 'accuracy.' He is delighted with language for its own sake. (ibid., pp. 249-250)

In general, pre-Restoration prose, "though quite lively, is static, but intimate and descriptive, while in contrast, Restoration prose always seems to be moving toward a goal or indicating a causal process" (ibid., p. 250). While the Restoration prose piece above seems to almost contain "a set of mathematical ratios, these are not balanced rigidly, or even antithetically," but in much of the earlier Elizabethan prose, this balance is "obtrusive and often obviously antithetical" (ibid., p. 253). Thus, Restoration prose, which is "subsumed under the progress of 'The Argument,'" reflects a style of writing in which language does not exist for its own sake. As a result, there is much less need for figures of speech, metaphors, and other "similitudes" (ibid., p. 275). Metaphor is a kind of "verbal shorthand" for expressing emotion directly instead of just describing it: "it does not describe, but makes us experience" (ibid., p. 252). For the Restoration, "metaphor in general is suspect" (ibid., p. 254).

³¹ Olson (1977) approaches these issues from somewhat different perspective, tracing the history and impact of written language from the invention of the Greek alphabet, to the invention of the printing press, through the rise of *the British essayist technique*, claiming that the British essayists described in this section "were among the first to exploit writing for the purpose of formulating original theoretical knowledge" (p. 268):

John Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1660/1961) well represents the intellectual bias that originated at that time and, to a large extent, characterizes our present use of language. Knowledge was taken to be the product of an extended logical essay—the output of the repeated application in a single coherent text of the technique of examining an assertion to determine all of its applications. ...For Locke and others writing as he did, the essay came to serve as an exploratory device for examining problems and in the course of that examination producing new knowledge. The essay could serve these functions, at least for the purposes of science and philosophy, only by adopting the language of explicit, written, logically connected prose. This specialized form of language was adopted by the Royal Society of London which, according to its historian Sprat (1667/1966), was concerned 'with the advancement of science and with the improvement of the English language as a medium of prose' (p. 56). The society demanded a mathematical plainness of language and rejected all amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style. This use of language made writing a powerful intellectual tool.... The process of formulating statements, deriving their implications, testing the truth of those implications, and using the results to revise or generalize from the original statement characterized not only empiricist philosophy but also the development of deductive empirical science. (pp. 268-269)

³² As Williams (1989, p. 49) points out, however, "[t]here is no consensus among editors and writers on how best to use transitional words. ...The more careful we are to organize the sequence of our ideas, the fewer of them we need." He provides the following counsel for effective transitions:

[H]owever often you use them, keep them short, use them precisely, and keep them close to the beginning of their sentences.... [The challenge of English prose is that] every sentence requires us to find the best compromise between the principles of clarity and directness...and those principles of cohesion that fuse separate sentences into a whole discourse. [In making these choices, the

priority should always be given to cohesion], to what fuses sentences into cohesive discourse. (ibid., pp. 49 & 39-40)

³³ Kehe and Kehe (1996, pp. 110 & 112) state that college freshmen in the US will normally take English 101 (essay-writing) and English 102 (research-paper writing), while students with "minimum competency" skills will be placed in remedial-level writing courses, which sometimes also incorporate EL2 students. In American colleges, students are said to write an average of "eight papers of 1-5 pages per (16-week) semester" in English 101, where the focus is often on the basic modes of writing (ibid.). Teachers of English 102 provide instruction on different aspects of research paper writing, emphasizing, in particular, the ability of students to paraphrase and synthesize information from sources (ibid.). Of note is the fact that in recent times "remedial courses in composition have doubled and tripled on [American] university...campuses" (Valdés et al., 1992, p. 333), with some professors claiming that many American students are now entering college without previous experience in employing the modes of writing, and others arguing that "considering the lack of writing done in American high schools nowadays, as many as half of...American students could probably benefit from taking an ESL Writing class" (Kehe & Kehe, 1996, p. 111). Recent statistics seem to support this contention; for example, "the California State University system reported in 1998 [that] forty-seven percent [of its incoming freshmen] failed to pass an [entry-level] English placement test" (Moving On, 2000, p. 7). Due to ongoing budget cuts in higher education, a pattern that has also been developing in many American universities is the "blurring of the distinction between ESL writers and L1 basic writers," with many campuses offering writing courses that amalgamate the two types of course (Santos, 1992, p. 12).

³⁴ Santos (1992, pp. 2-3) provides a list of current titles of books, journal articles, and conference presentations in support of this contention: "Composing Ourselves: Politics, Commitment, and the Teaching of Writing" (Lunsford, 1990); *The Social Uses of Writing: Politics and Pedagogy* (Fox, 1990); "Rhetoric and Ideology in the Writing Class" (Berlin, 1988); *The Social Construction of Written Communication* (Rafoth & Rubin, 1988); "Writing as an Act of Power: Basic Writing Pedagogy as Social Practice" (Purdue, 1984); "The Politics of Literacy" (Rouse, 1979), and so on.

³⁵ Hosbaum states that...

...[British] universities are accepting students at a level of literacy that would not have been permitted as recently as ten years ago. Academics are primarily concerned with their own areas of study and have little time to assess English prose composition. The student will be penalized if he cannot write coherently under examination conditions; yet his previous circumstances of education may well have protected him from ever finding out what coherent expression entails. ...Students who have never been taught to write ordered prose are expected to write ordered prose at university [and] the provision of courses to improve L1 students' standards remains patchy: some...make specific provision, while others pretend the problem does not exist. (1984, pp. 72-73 & 75)

³⁶ Jordan (1997, p. 2) states that in UK universities these courses "are normally run by Language Centres, English Language (Teaching) Centres or Units, or departments with various other broadly similar names. If they are not free-standing, the majority are located in Departments of English, Linguistics, (Modern) Languages or Education."

³⁷ Traditional methods of teaching L1 writing were criticized for "radically dichotomiz[ing] form from 'content'...and emphasiz[ing] structure: sentence structure, paragraph structure, essay structure, even the proper structures for term papers, business letters, resumes..." (Coe, 1987, p. 14). Behind this emphasis on structure, is the metaphor of "form [as] a *container* to be filled" (ibid., p. 15), but the question of substance is avoided by defining "content" as outside the field of composition (ibid., p. 16). Coe (ibid., p. 14) provides a brief historical outline of the failings of this traditional model of writing, and the development of new approaches emphasizing composition process:

[It was assumed that] if the proper forms were defined, they could be described and exemplified for students. After students wrote, they could be shown where their writing failed to match the ideal forms. And then, the formalists hoped, students would correct their writing to create a better match. Unfortunately, most students failed to do this because the formalists told them only *what* to do, not also *how* to do it. Until a few decades ago, however, this was not a major social problem because such students also failed to stay in school. Although data vary from country to country and region to region, we may safely say that only after World War II do even half the students who start grade one complete high school. But then radical changes in the nature of work and other social realities led to declining drop-out rates and increasing post-secondary enrollment, creating a need for a pedagogy that would work with students who used to disappear before senior high school....

Hebron (1984, p. 87) concurs:

The basic problem...grew out of the mass nature of American college education. As enrolments increased and as more groups within the population came to attend college, it became increasingly obvious that the sophisticated elaborate speech and writing skills that instructors traditionally expected from students were just not being acquired by many freshmen. Responses to the 'events of [the 1960s]'—affirmative action, open colleges and the like—all simply brought in more and more students who just *could not write*.

³⁸ For a slightly different four-part taxonomy, see Raimes, 1991.

³⁹ Trimbur (1990, pp. 669-670), a leading advocate of social constructionist theory and its applications in collaborative learning, argues in reply:

The fact of the matter is that the intellectual context of composition studies has changed over the past five or ten years as teachers, theorists, researchers, and program administrators have found useful some of the ideas and insights contained in contemporary critical theory, whether feminist, poststructuralist, neopragmatist, or neoMarxist.... Some teachers...do indeed want to do more than help students 'enjoy writing and reading'. I see writing and reading as powerful tools for students to gain greater control over their lives and to add their voices to the ongoing debate about our communal purposes.

⁴⁰ A raft of recent publications, for example, has decried the encroachment of the political and ideological agendas of social constructionism into the realm of science. Authors such as Gross and Levitt (1994), Gross et al. (1996), and Sokal and Bricmont (1998), denounce contemporary cultural theories which claim that physical reality is a social and linguistic construct largely determined by dominant ideologies, and argue that as humanists, social scientists, and literary theorists on the academic left deconstruct scientific texts, principles and practices that underlie the whole history of western scientific achievement are now under attack, with far more serious potential consequences for western societies than the current "political correctness" debates currently being waged on university campuses.

⁴¹ Horowitz (1986a, p. 143) also speaks for a good many practitioners in the field when he asks:

Who are we to try to change the value structures of our students? Many of our students, for better or for worse, have been highly conditioned by the demands of their native education systems.... This may offend some teachers' humanistic sensibilities and may, according to certain Western psychological theories, prevent these students from reaching their full human potential, but...we, as teachers, would be better advised to tap into the motivation behind it than to try to restructure our students' thought patterns.

⁴² There is still a good deal of disagreement with regard to definitions of these categories. According to Swales, however, WAC and EAP can be seen as serving different populations, although there is certainly some overlap: in the former, mostly native-speaking, university undergraduates in English-speaking countries; in the latter, predominantly non-native speakers in educational institutions throughout the world, ranging from pre-college students to senior professors (1990, p. 6). Note also that Malmkjaer (1991, p. 176) places genre analysis "within English for Specific Purposes (ESP) oriented studies."

⁴³ "[T]he fact that English now occupies an overwhelmingly predominant role in the international world of scholarship and research...entails that the coming generation of the world's researchers and scholars need...to have more than adequate professional skills in the English language if that generation is to make its way without linguistic disadvantage in its chosen world (Swales, 1990, p. 10)." Moreover, the highest expectation of instruction in EL2 programs is "to raise the level of the students' language proficiency to somewhere fairly close to that of an average native speaker..." (i.e., native speaker competence is a point of arrival). But in the research world, "the aim is to help people achieve a level of competence that, in career-related genres at least, surpasses that of the average native speaker." This is achieved when "non-native speakers can operate as members of the anglophone discourse communities that most likely dominate their research areas." Thus, genre analysis is concerned with advanced English in an "academic climate that gives...weight to publication and presentation..., increasingly at the graduate student level" (ibid., pp. 10-11). In addition, the academic world itself is "divided into privileged researchers and unprivileged instructors." Efforts to provide instruction in "senior genres" (in order to go up the academic ladder) are important because they can provide individuals with the skills needed to escape from "the ivory tower ghetto of remediation." Therefore, the research article, in particular, can be seen as a genre-based vehicle for attaining influence in higher places (ibid., p. 10).

⁴⁴ Hewings and Henderson define the assumptions underlying schema theory as follows:

Schemata are abstract generic concepts constructed in the mind on the basis of patterns of experience.... They are stored in long term memory and may be perceived as a framework we call up to help store new ideas and information. If appropriate schemata are already stored in the brain it is an easier matter to activate them than to try to establish new concepts and ideas on a sketchy or non-existent foundation. (1987, p. 167)

Swales (1990, p. 81) also states that...

...[t]he concept of schemata was introduced by Bartlett as long ago as 1932 to explain how the information carried in stories is rearranged in the memories of readers or listeners to fit in with their expectations. In Bartlett's experiments British students re-interpreted Apache folk-tales so that they fitted in with their own schemata, or prior knowledge structures, based on their European folk-tale experiences. Since then there have been many further studies in both L1 and L2 contexts that have shown that human beings consistently overlay schemata on events to align those events with previously established patterns of experience, knowledge and belief.

⁴⁵ According to Carrell (1983, p. 87), the ways in which these two types of schemata interact is still incompletely understood, however:

[T]he more serious problem is how to measure the separate or interactive contributions of both content and formal schemata when considering the processing of naturally-occurring texts...in natural...settings. In other words, real people in real language-processing situations encounter texts which have simultaneously a content expressed in a given rhetorical form. What we need to know...is what the relative contributions are of both prior knowledge in the content area as well as the prior knowledge of the rhetorical form.

⁴⁶ From a contrastive rhetorical perspective, other genres have been investigated to some extent in the literature, but this research is beyond the scope of the present investigation. Jenkins and Hinds (1987), for example, have compared business letters in English, French, and Japanese; Oi and Sato (1990) and Kamimura and Oi (1994, 1997) have examined application and refusal letters in Japanese and English; Shishin (1985) has investigated rhetorical patterns of organization in letters to the editor in Japan; Ricento (1989) has analyzed the rhetorical structures of English and Japanese editorials; Dennett (1985, 1990) has conducted research on ESL technical and business writing among Japanese and American graduate students; and Kamimura (1996) has examined narrative writing in Japanese and English.

⁴⁷ In a opinion that differs from most other researchers, Achiba and Kuromiya (1983, pp. 6-7) maintain that older generations of Japanese have studied *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* in school but that the present generation no longer learns it, although the term itself is familiar to students.

⁴⁸ Ricento (1987, p. 50) claims that the *jo-ha-kyû* is also considered a very loose version of the introduction-body-conclusion pattern.

⁴⁹ The *zuihitsu*, or "literary essay," is still a common writing model in Japan but one which is often criticized as "too impressionistic and subjective for serious intellectual discussion" (Harder & Harder, 1982, p. 23): "[T]he result is often a seemingly loose series of observations with weak connections between the evidence and the interpretations." Perhaps due to such influences, even today, Japanese intellectual writing remains notoriously difficult to grasp:

The 'round-table discussions'—*zadankai*—used in Japanese academic-populist writing effectively discourage clear thinking and serious scholarship. The vague terminology, the lack of analytic discourse, the complex sentence structure and the multilayered suggestion used by even the finest Japanese thinkers combine to keep much obscured. (Corr, 1996, p. 15)

⁵⁰ The importance of nature in literary genres and other art forms in Japan has a long history, arising originally from indigenous Shintoist beliefs. For example:

- in Japanese poems known as *haiku* (17 syllables: 5-7-5) and *waka* (31 syllables), there are important rules for writing which are tied to specific key words (*kigo*) describing nature (e.g., *sakura* (cherry blossoms), *uguisu* (Japanese bush warbler), and there are special books for writers which provide such *kigo*
- analogies, allusions, and metaphors are important in Japanese literature and nature is the most widely used theme; in other words, "nature" is frequently employed as a metaphor in Japanese writing, acting as a common cultural link and providing a kind of emotional bond within society
- nature and aesthetics (i.e., "the beauty of nature") are common themes in the introductions and conclusions of Japanese essays and other pieces of writing in which the main topic is approached tangentially; the introduction draws the readers' attention and focuses on related (but not too

directly related) topics such as aspects of nature and the life cycle; the main topic is usually specified near the conclusion, and often the theme of nature is returned to, generally in an ambiguous fashion

- greeting cards, letters to friends and acquaintances, and even invitations to parents for school events in Japan always contain seasonal greetings, reflecting the changes of the four seasons (often divided into early and late); books of greetings are sold everywhere and provide a variety of seasonal greetings in the form of set phrases which have a long tradition

However, it must also be stressed that the concept of "nature as metaphor" exists in stark contrast to the reality of the widespread destruction of the environment in modern Japan where virtually all the rivers and over 60% of the wells are said to be contaminated (Survey, 1999, p. 2), only three of Japan's 30,000 rivers and streams are said to remain undammed and even these have their streambeds encased in concrete, and concrete blocks account for over 30% of the country's several thousand kilometers of coastline (Kerr, 1996, p. 49). A recent article in *Time* magazine, for example, claims that "[a]fter decades of ignoring the dangers of toxic chemicals and hazardous waste, Japan is pockmarked with thousands of dangerous hot spots—from leaky garbage dumps and clandestine toxic-waste sites to aging incinerators belching dioxin. The nation's incinerators churn out almost 40% of the world's emissions of dioxin," leading Greenpeace to proclaim Tokyo as the world's dioxin capital (Japan's dirty secret, 2000, p. 31). In addition, Japan's continuing duplicitous program of hunting whales for so-called "scientific research" despite widespread international condemnation and calls for cessation has been well documented, but less well known is the fact that the Japanese government sanctions the brutal slaughter of more than 22,000 dolphins a year in a quota system for coastal villages around Japan, totaling some 400,000 deaths in the last two decades alone. Much of this dolphin meat is then relabelled as whale and finds its way to marketplaces throughout the country, although because of the pollution of coastal waters, high levels of toxic contaminants such as PCBs, DDT, and mercury are now being detected in these products (An urgent call, 2000, pp. 1-15). Thus, as numerous critics have pointed out, the reverence of nature evinced in Japanese writing is extremely difficult to reconcile with the country's "deserved reputation as one of the world's consummate wreckers of environmental havoc, both at home and abroad" (McCurry, 1999, p. 15). Environmentalist Stephen Hesse (2000, p. 18), for example, satirically maintains that "modern Japanese love nature about as much as your average New Yorker loves riding buffalo," while Alex Kerr, author of *Lost Japan* and winner of Japan's prestigious *Shincho Gakugei* Literature Prize, claims that the systematic destruction of the natural environment by the Japanese has resulted in Japan achieving "a position as one of the world's ugliest countries," and that apart from certain showpiece areas, "Japan's countryside has been utterly defiled" by dioxins, nuclear waste, overfishing, forest destruction, and so on (1996, p. 49).

⁵¹ A limited number of studies have been done on cohesion and coherence in the writing of Japanese students of English. Reid (1983) claims that one of the main reasons for the lack of cohesion often found in student compositions is a lack of awareness of the functions of connectives. Kanno (1989) develops this contention by categorizing and stipulating connective use in Japanese students' writing. Ricento (1987), on the other hand, argues that most types of lexical, referential, and conjunctive cohesion occur with equal frequency in the texts of both languages (p. 155), while also noting that Japanese writers are "less likely to use transition statements at the end or beginning of a paragraph than their English counterparts" (p. 160).

⁵² Swales and Feak (1994, p. 12) state that transition expressions such as sentence connectors "are particularly associated with formal written English," but that they are "surrounded by controversy." They maintain that "[i]t can be quite easily shown that the best of writers of academic English use sentence connectors very sparingly; [however], [a]dmired NS writers have a host of devices for maintaining cohesion [and] for our students, logical connectors can be a powerful aid for clarity." James (1998, pp. 166-167) concurs, noting that while the use of signalling devices is "discretionary, and at times even undesirable," including explicit cohesion markers can also "be a courtesy to the reader, reducing his uncertainty and often his processing effort." Moreover, for many EL2 writers, appropriate signalling can be crucial in ensuring that their writing is comprehensible (see also section 2.4.3).

⁵³ According to Teele (1983, pp. 22-23), the word "paragraph" comes from the Greek *paragrapbos*, which was "a short horizontal stroke drawn below the beginning of a line in which a break in the sense occurs" in the writing of ancient Greece (OED). Punctuation also began in fifth century BC

Greece with several additions being made to the *paragraphos*. The system died out, however, and by the sixth century AD, most writing was done in a continuous stream with only a gap between sentences. The Vulgate Bible of St. Jerome (fifth century AD) was well punctuated, however, and this had an important influence on Anglo-Saxon writing. By the time of King Alfred, writing contained periods, dashes, colons, and semi-colons. A precursor of the modern English paragraph was developed in the Middle Ages when scribes left a mark in the margins of hand-copied manuscripts to signal a new idea. According to Lindemann (1995, p. 143), "[m]edieval monks, concerned with saving parchment, rarely indented manuscripts to start new paragraphs. Instead, they began new sections by enlarging the first line of script or by decorating the initial character." The idea of paragraphing became more widespread after the invention of printing and by the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the term "paragraph" is used in the sense of "a distinct passage or section of a discourse, chapter, or book" (OED). By this time, it had become the practice to indent the first line of a paragraph, although the notion of the paragraph as a unit in which a topic is stated and developed did not become standardized until the spread of mass education in the nineteenth century.

⁵⁴ Teele (1983, p. 21) states that the first example of expository prose in Japanese is the *hiragana* preface to the *Kokinwakashū* (c. 913). From this time on, there was a steady stream of expository writing produced in Japan, mostly written in Chinese, although a form of essays on poetry (*karon*) developed which was done in Japanese itself. Even until recent times, discussions in books on Japanese prose were generally centered on differences between Chinese and Japanese writing styles.

⁵⁵ *Wabungo-kei* is "the original, colloquial, relatively plain Japanese language in written form" (Namba & Chick, 1986, p. 80). It was generally used by ordinary people who were literate, as well as women of the upper classes (e.g., Murasaki's *Tale of Genji*). A form of *wabungo* is still found in modern Japanese writing. *Kanbun-kundokugo-kei* is "something of a 'mixed' style, modeled...on Chinese literary lines and employing many more Chinese characters" (ibid.). "Since Chinese was considered to be a more 'logical' language than Japanese in terms of coherence, and therefore in a sense to be more 'masculine', *kanbun-kundokugo* became the preferred style of male writers" (ibid., pp. 80-81), and during the Kamakura and Tokugawa periods, the samurai and upper classes commonly wrote in this style.

⁵⁶ Toyama (1973; cited in Kobayashi, 1984, p. 33) points out that "perhaps due to this lack of a clear concept of paragraph..., many Japanese are not aware of when to indent a new paragraph in the process of writing." Even today, sometimes Japanese paragraphs are indented, sometimes they are not—in the latter case, one simply starts a new line.

⁵⁷ Kubota (1992, pp. 22-23) notes that in the late nineteenth century, drastic changes took place in the form of the written Japanese language, influenced by the forces of modernization and westernization. It was a time when a great deal of western knowledge and technology flowed into Japan, and the dominant theme was concerned with modernization and "catching up with the West." As a result, Japanese social and political systems underwent significant changes: western forms of modernization were sought after and many traditional Japanese values and systems were rejected as "backward" (Minami, 1980; Befu, 1987; cited in Kubota, 1992). The disparity between written and oral forms of the language was felt to be an obstacle to modernization, leading to efforts at script reform in order to have the oral and written language correspond to a greater degree. According to Morioka (1972; cited in Kubota, 1992), the influence of the direct translation of texts written in western languages brought about changes to the Japanese language, as a great deal of western writing of all kinds was translated into Japanese in the latter half of the nineteenth century (according to some sources, 70-80% of books published around 1878 were translations from western languages). Kubota points out that translators and writers at this time invented a number of new lexical items and syntactic devices in Japanese to correspond with parallel structures in western languages, including "certain conjunctions, third person pronouns, expressions for the present progressive, the passive and causative with an inanimate subject," and so on (ibid.). New forms of punctuation such as the comma and period were introduced, and at this time, paragraphing also began to be used, which created the sense of a sentence as a unit and increased the logical relationships between clauses.

⁵⁸ Lindemann (1995, p. 143) states that, nowadays, the kind of writing we do in English determines the length of a paragraph: "Informal letters, newspaper articles, and advertising copy contain 'overdifferentiated' or short paragraphs. 'Underdifferentiated' or long paragraphs occur in formal

essays, encyclopedia articles, and some legal documents." In addition, "[p]aragraph lengths also reflect cultural and historical preferences"; for example, eighteenth and nineteenth century English prose seems now to have extremely long paragraphs because we are used to reading the shorter paragraphs of modern newspapers and news magazines (*ibid.*).

⁵⁹ According to Lindemann (1995, pp. 141-142), "methods of paragraph development discussed in modern textbooks vary, and the following catalogue is a standard list: narration, description, details, definition, comparison and contrast, cause and effect, examples and illustration, enumeration, classification." This list has a long history and is derived from Aristotle's *Rhetoric* which catalogues 28 *topoi* (see Chapter 3). For Aristotle, this was a means of generating subject matter, lines of inquiry that could be used to invent an argument (i.e., invention). Over the years, however, terms that had originally meant techniques of invention at a prewriting stage have come to describe structures of arrangement. However, "the terms we use to describe effective paragraphs—*unity*, *coherence*, and *emphasis*—are relatively recent. They derive from Alexander Bain's *English Composition and Rhetoric* (1866)" (*ibid.*, p. 142; see also section 3.2.4).

⁶⁰ Communicative style is defined by Barnlund (1975; cited in Clancy, 1986, p. 213) as including "the topics people discuss, their favorite forms of interaction, the depth of involvement sought, the extent to which they rely on the same channels for information, and the extent to which they are tuned to the same level of meaning, such as factual versus emotional content." As such, communicative style "both reflects and reinforces fundamental cultural beliefs about...the nature of interpersonal communication" (*ibid.*).

⁶¹ Of interest here is the claim by Hinds that Japanese has much in common with Classical Chinese as a reader-responsible language. Classical Chinese is described by Li and Thompson as "telegraphic" (1982; cited in Hinds, 1987, p. 145): "[I]n order to extract the correct message..., the reader has to rely heavily on inference based on his/her knowledge of the world...." Nevertheless, according to Hinds (*ibid.*), "there appears to be a major shift in typological style between Classical and Modern Chinese. Classical Chinese appears to be more like Japanese in that it is a reader-responsible language, while Modern Chinese is more like English in that it is a writer-responsible language." However, there are also indications that the Japanese language may be undergoing a similar transition at the present time.

⁶² In high-context cultures most of the information lies either in the setting or people who are part of the interaction. Very little information is actually contained in a verbal message. In low-context cultures, however, the verbal message contains most of the information and very little is embedded in the context or the participants (Samovar & Porter, 1995, p. 102).

⁶³ Zen gardens, for example, originally developed as a form of spiritual training for monks, and the "dry landscape gardens" for which modern Japan is famous incorporate Zen principles in a secular art form. The well-known rock garden of the Ryoanji Monastery in Kyoto features variously-shaped larger stones set in a bed of smaller white stones, with the larger ones having some four-fifths of their mass concealed underground to represent the greater magnitude of things unseen. In a similar fashion, Zen had a decisive impact on the Japanese tradition of landscape painting. Artists painted flowers, rivers, and trees executed with sudden deft strokes as symbols of the flux and emptiness at the bottom of things.

⁶⁴ Keene (1988) claims that this feeling of the beauty of suggestion is in direct contrast to the western ideal which tends to place more value on climactic moments such as a rose in full bloom or when the soprano hits high C.

⁶⁵ In Chinese art and architecture one generally finds a sense of symmetry; i.e., what is on the right side is likely to be a mirror image of what is on the left. The typical layout of a Chinese monastery, for example, has the same buildings on one side of a central axis as on the other. But in Japan, even though the original plans were imported from China, buildings seem to cluster on one side or the other.

⁶⁶ Irregularity is also a feature of Japanese ceramics—the most admired wares are never regular in shape and even glaze is applied in such a way as to leave occasional bald patches. Nor do flower arrangements and gardens in Japan emphasize western-style geometrical precision. The symmetry of the gardens at Versailles, for example, is in marked contrast to the asymmetry of the rock garden of the Ryoanji with its fifteen randomly placed stones (Keene, 1988).

⁶⁷ In fact, the *nihonjinron* theory of Japanese uniqueness is based on some rather dark and openly racist antecedents, as the following doctrine espoused by the nationalist Hirata Atsutane (d. 1828) illustrates:

The two fundamental doctrines are: Japan is the country of the gods, and her inhabitants are the descendants of the gods. Between the Japanese people and the Chinese, Hindus, Russians, Dutch, Siamese, Cambodians, and other nations of the world there is a difference of kind, rather than of degree.... The Mikado (Emperor) is the true Son of Heaven, who is entitled to reign over the four seas and the 10,000 countries.... From the fact of the divine descent of the Japanese people proceeds their immeasurable superiority to the natives of other countries in courage and intelligence. They are honest and upright of heart, and are not given to useless theorizing and falsehoods like other nations. [Rolling back democracy, 2000, p. 20]

This set of beliefs eventually led Japan to proclaim the slogan "*hakko-ichiu*" (all eight corners of the world under one roof), to invade China and Southeast Asia in the twentieth century.

⁶⁸ For a scholarly examination of *nihonjinron* theory, see Hall and Beardsley (1965), Mouer and Sugimoto (1986), and Sugimoto and Mouer (1989).

⁶⁹ Of interest in this regard are Kubota's (1992, 1997, 1998a, 1999) efforts to link *nihonjinron* to theories of critical literacy, social constructionism, and English linguistic imperialism (see section 3.4.2.3.3), the stated purpose of which is to bring to light unequal power relations which exist between Japanese and English as competing discourses "in order to transform inequalities that exist in the world" (1992, p. ii). The critical literacy theories she advocates represent an express ideological agenda in which literacy itself is perceived as a "social and political construction [which] must be understood not only as a liberator but also as a weapon" (ibid., p. 45):

English is legitimated as a privileged canon, while other languages are reduced to exotic and inferior categories. ...It is also important to note here that English rhetoric is also reduced to standard edited written English, which is a privileged form for white, middle class, male academics [and] the political nature of such...rhetoric (Berlin, 1984) is rendered neutral or unquestioned, and is made canonical while other forms (feminist, black, working-class, etc.) are completely excluded. [Critical literacy advocates that] teachers and students critically engage in the English rhetoric with critical consciousness of how literacy is implicated in the relations of power, ideology and history, and work for emancipation and social transformation. (ibid., pp. 34-35 & 45)

To these ends, Kubota maintains that "*nihonjinron* generally *champions* the uniqueness of the Japanese" (1998a, p. 299; my italics), representing resistance to "the hegemony of the West with a promotion of nationalistic values" (ibid., p. 295). In this tacit support of *nihonjinron* theory, Kubota continues to cite the widely discredited research of Tadanobu Tsunoda on the uniqueness of the Japanese brain: "Tsunoda (1978)...highlights the uniqueness of brain functions of the Japanese based on the findings of a series of experiments" (1992, p. 141; see also, 1999, p. 19). Unfortunately, these so-called "experiments" are based on "rigid lines of racial demarcation": on the one side are the Japanese whose left cerebral hemispheres are said to be anatomically specialized, allowing them to process the unique sounds of the Japanese language, Japanese nature, and so on; on the other side of this racial barrier are the other peoples of the world, including westerners and all other Asians, whose brains are undifferentiated and thus unable to perceive such distinctions. Tsunoda's research is viewed by serious Japanese scholars as an embarrassment and has been charitably described as "totally without scientific basis and conducted on a level of amateurism that would not be countenanced in any serious scientific community anywhere in the world" (Miller, 1982, p. 81): "The racist thrust of such a thesis is only too apparent. Rarely in modern times has anyone dared to put forth as unabashedly racist an approach to any issue as we confront in Tsunoda's publications" (ibid., p. 71). In addition, Kubota maintains that "in the field of contrastive rhetoric, recent studies have debunked cultural myths that Japanese written discourse is characterized by culturally-specific features such as *reader responsibility*, *ki-shoo-ten-ketsu*, and *delayed introduction of purpose* proposed by Hinds (1983, 1987, 1990), and that Japanese and English discourse patterns exhibit distinct differences..." (1999, p. 15). Considering the fact that John Hinds has been widely credited with carrying out more substantial research into Japanese rhetoric than virtually anyone else in the field, the validity and intent of such claims should be carefully scrutinized. In an overview of the evolution of research in contrastive rhetoric during the past three decades, for example, Connor (1996, p. 41) notes that "[t]he most extensive research on Japanese-English contrasts has been conducted by Hinds. His studies are frequently cited and have influenced contrastive rhetorical research dealing with Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Thai...." Not

surprisingly, the principal studies Kubota cites in support of her erroneous assertions are her own earlier works (i.e., Kubota 1997, 1998a; op. cit., p. 15).

⁷⁰ This observation is substantiated by the comments of many of this author's students with regard to their own experiences in cram schools, where a common method for having students memorize vocabulary items is to have them write out individual words up to seventy or eighty times each.

⁷¹ Widdowson maintains that "if critical...analysis is an exercise in interpretation, it is invalid as analysis," and the name itself becomes "a contradiction in terms" (1995, pp. 158-159):

[Y]ou can look at your data primarily in reference to language use, thereby bringing discourse within the terms of reference of linguistics, or primarily in reference to social contexts, thereby bringing discourse within the domain of sociology. Of course, you can seek to do both and be commendably interdisciplinary...[b]ut there will always be differences in the direction of enquiry, which will inevitably privilege one perspective over the other. ...How you select data and the significance you attach to it are bound to be in some degree different. [O]ne tradition...has made statements about social attitudes and beliefs, the exercise of power, the influence of ideology, and so on, with scant reference to the linguistic data; and another tradition has made statements about the specifics of language use without paying much attention to social factors. It ought to be possible to bring the two traditions into closer correspondence, but it is no easy matter. Particularly if the question of scope is confused with that of commitment.

⁷² Among the most serious educational problems being discussed in the Japanese media at present, the following issues are particularly noteworthy (the statistics below were collated by Davies (1999d) from current Japanese publications and local media reports):

- classroom collapse (*gakkyū hōkai*): large increases of complete breakdown in classroom authority are being reported, especially at the primary school level
- school refusal (*tōkō kyōhi*): a record number of almost 130,000 students missed 30+ days of school in 1998, although this figure would be significantly higher if those students who attend school but refuse to go to class and stay in special areas such as school clinics, known as "sick-bay schooling," were included
- bullying (*ijime*) and related crimes such as extortion, sometimes resulting in death
- other forms of school violence, increasingly directed against teachers (many Japanese senior high schools have to have a police presence during graduation ceremonies in order to protect teachers from the students)
- suicide (*jisatsu*): in recent years, the suicide rate among students has dropped slightly, although it is reportedly still the highest in the world
- secret reports (*naishinsho*) written by teachers about students which parents are not allowed to see
- large class sizes: teacher/student ratios of 1:40 (cf. 1:20 in the UK, 1:18 in the USA, and 1:15 in Germany); it is financially difficult for *Mombusho* to reduce the size of classes, however, because Japanese teachers are so highly paid; due to the extremely low birthrate, fewer children are entering schools, and since class sizes are not being reduced, the recruitment of new teachers has dropped dramatically; as a result, the average age of teachers in Japan will rise from approximately 40 years old at the present time to almost 50 by the end of this decade
- rote learning at all levels, but especially in preparation for university entrance tests, known as "examination hell" (*juken jigoku*)
- cram schools (*juku*): attended by up to three-quarters of primary and secondary school students in some areas
- university "leisurelands" (*yūenchi*): universities continue to allow large numbers of students who put little effort into their studies once they pass entrance exams to graduate without impediment
- inadequate teacher training: students receive little practical training at university in preparation for becoming teachers; the amount of practice teaching required by *Mombusho* for a teacher's licence, for example, is two weeks, with eight to ten student teachers often assigned to one class; as a result, first-year teachers have to spend more than 90 full school days attending in-service sessions
- teacher misconduct: in 1997, reported incidents of corporal punishment and obscene conduct by teachers increased 37% and 36%, respectively, a situation which one newspaper editorial described as "simply appalling"; equally dismaying is the number of cases in which such misconduct was covered up by school officials or where the guilty parties received only token reprimands (see Okano & Tsuchiya, 1999, pp. 207-210)

• teacher stress and breakdown: 1,385 teachers took "temporary retirement" in 1998, a record number for the 4th consecutive year

⁷³ *Mombusho* guidelines for foreign language study, which in Japan essentially means English, are also informative in that they present an outlook on education that is remarkably similar to directives for Japanese L1 composition pedagogy. The new guidelines for senior high schools were made public in 1999 and will come into effect in 2003. The objectives for the Revised Course of Study in foreign language education are "to enable students to deepen their understanding of language and culture, to foster a positive attitude toward communication, and to develop the students' practical communicative competence so that they can understand information and ideas and express their own ideas" (Niisato, 1999, p. 1). In terms of writing, stated guideline objectives are "to improve students' ability to express messages or thoughts in writing according to a situation or purpose, thus fostering a willingness to communicate in English" (Tokyo Shoseki Editing Group, 1999), emphasizing for the first time that, "in clarifying specific situations and purposes, writing instructors should draw students' attention to the reader's point of view..., give instruction on [organizational] structure and development..., [and emphasize] students' sensitivity toward different people from different cultural backgrounds" (Aibara, 2000, p. 2).

⁷⁴ The origins of *dokusho-kansôbun* are not clear, but according to Namekawa (1977, p. 51), the belief in reading literature in many forms to improve students' writing skills was already prevalent early in the Meiji era. Moriya, a well-known scholar of the subsequent Taisho period, emphasized the importance of *kanshô* (appreciation) in writing education, and this concept became popular among educators of his day (Namekawa, 1978, p. 216). He had students write down comments after reading assigned passages, and this may have been the origin of *dokusho-kansôbun*. Okuno (cited in Namekawa, 1983, pp. 312-320) provides sample *dokusho-kansôbun* compositions from this period that are hardly different from those written today. By the early Showa period, the style had become firmly established in Japanese schools.

⁷⁵ In fact, as Hattori, Ito, Kanatani, and Noda (1990; cited in Kimball, 1996, pp. 55-56) report, Japanese teachers generally feel "the obligation to respond to errors in writing is so time-consuming that they avoid assigning large-scale compositions."

⁷⁶ The authors also noted that they tried to set up interviews with Japanese language teachers at a number of local schools to determine their opinions on these issues, but with the exception of a junior high school attached to the university and one other public school, teacher responses were markedly defensive and evasive. As a result, an accurate assessment of teacher viewpoints was not possible in this study.

⁷⁷ *Mombusho* will issue new guidelines for senior high schools in 2003. At this time, the compulsory subjects are expected to be either *Kokugo Hyôgen I* (Styles of Writing and Speaking) or *Kokugo Sôgô* (General Japanese Language), and schools will have to choose one or the other (To have a larger selection, 1999, p. 1).

⁷⁸ For example, Fujita (1997, p. 14) reports that the following question was assigned in a *shôronbun* test at Nara Educational University: "Look at the graph on the quantity of sugar, insulin, and glucagon in the blood right after a meal, and explain how the amount of sugar is maintained at one level in human bodies using 19 medical words including terms such as adrenaline, alpha cell, liver, sympathetic nerve, pancreas, feedback, and adrenal gland."

⁷⁹ In the prefecture in which this author lives, for example, only two senior high schools have established "*shôronbun* projects" in order to develop a systematic means for teaching this essay form in regular classes, although it is expected that many more will implement such programs in the coming years.

⁸⁰ These observations seem to be supported by Tadaki's (1999, p. 2) survey of Japanese university students in which 99% knew of the *ki-shô-ten-ketsu* pattern, although only 33% of them were able to give a reasonable explanation as to its structure, with the *ten* section causing most students difficulty. When asked what organizational patterns native Japanese speakers considered most important in L1 writing, however, 52% replied *ki-shô-ten-ketsu*, 17% said they had never been taught, and 10% chose introduction-body-conclusion.

⁸¹ Of interest here is the fact that Benesse also evaluates students' compositions written in English, employing a 6-point writing rubric devised by an affiliated educational company in the United States which they make freely available.

⁸² In setting up this survey, the author also wishes to gratefully acknowledge the assistance of several years of senior undergraduate and postgraduate students at Ehime University in helping to explain and clarify the complexities of the Japanese education system, as well as the advice provided by Dr. Carl James in modifying earlier versions of the questionnaire.

⁸³ Oe explains this dilemma and what it means for the Japanese spirit by referring to *Genji Monogatari* (The Tale of Genji), the most famous of all Japanese literary works, written by Lady Murasaki Shikibu in the Heian era:

'Only after we have had enough book learning,' Genji explains, 'can we bring our Yamato spirit into full play'—Yamato being an old name for Japan. By 'book learning' Genji means knowledge of Chinese literature; so he is arguing that it is only after establishing a solid foundation in the Chinese classics that intrinsically Japanese talents will be treated with due respect. 'Yamato spirit.' Those of you who have studied modern history may hear an ominous echo in this expression, for it came to take on a dangerous overtone in the earlier half of this century as the battle cry of Japanese soldiers pressing forward on their march of aggression into China. But...here...the words [have] a specific and limited meaning...., not unlike what Aristotle calls *sensus communis*, that is a shared sensibility. '...Having Yamato spirit is important,' she has Genji say, and he goes on to argue that this 'shared sensibility' should influence one's behavior as a human being. But without a solid foundation in Chinese learning, its benefits are limited, and so, he concludes, his son should study at the university. Such formal education has, in fact, been the means by which the Japanese have, from ancient times, sought to learn about foreign cultures. Traditionally, that meant Chinese culture.... After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, 'foreign culture' came to mean not Chinese but European learning, with all the implications that had for the modernization of Japan; but fundamentally there was no real change in the attitude toward learning from those outside. Once again, however, the notion of 'Yamato spirit' was brought into play, as Meiji politicians used it to unify the people's cultural consciousness in the interests of creating a modern state. This was done, in large part, by stressing the absolute nature of Japanese culture, with the emperor as its central feature. From there, however, it was only a short step for the concept of 'Yamato spirit' to assume its role as a slogan for imperialist Japan. In the same period, the similar expression *wakon-kansai*, or 'Yamato spirit with Chinese learning,' was replaced by *wakon-yosai*, 'Yamato spirit with Western learning....' (1994, pp. 17-18 & 19-20)

⁸⁴ Brown, (1987, p. 51) offers a similar set of guidelines:

- Methodology: The study of pedagogical practices in general (including theoretical underpinnings and related research). Whatever considerations are involved in "how to teach" are methodological.
- Approach: Theoretical positions and beliefs about the nature of language, the nature of language learning, the applicability of both to pedagogical methods.
- Method: A generalized set of classroom specifications for accomplishing linguistic objectives. Methods tend to be primarily concerned with teacher and student roles and behaviors and secondarily with such features as linguistic and subject-matter objectives, sequencing, and materials. Methods are thought of as being broadly applicable to a variety of audiences in a variety of contexts.
- Curriculum / Syllabus: Designs for carrying out a particular language program. Features include a primary concern with the specification of linguistic and subject-matter objectives, sequencing, and materials to meet the needs of a designated group of learners in a defined context (syllabus is used more often in the UK; curriculum is more popular in the USA).
- Technique (sometimes also called task, procedure, activity, and exercise): Any of a wide variety of exercises, activities, or devices used in the language classroom for realizing lesson objectives.

⁸⁵ Hillocks (1986, pp. 73-83) also provides the following extended definitions of each of the four types of knowledge that have a bearing on writing:

- Procedural knowledge of substance:

By procedures for the analysis of substance, I mean those procedures that writers appear to bring to bear on substantive knowledge which permit the recall of data, the formulation of new generalizations, the development of criteria necessary to contrast, and so on. Research has not provided a clear analysis of such procedures as they relate to text production. Available research, however, strongly indicates that such skills are important to effective writing.

- Declarative knowledge of substance:

[Theories of] reading comprehension have recognized the importance of prior knowledge in the comprehension of texts [distinguishing] between world knowledge of the kind that comes with increasing experience and domain-specific knowledge that comes with levels of expertise within content areas. ...Current theory...hypothesizes that successful comprehension involves an

amalgam of retrieving meaning by decoding (bottom-up processing) and by bringing prior knowledge to bear even on the decoding process as well as on inference making (top-down processing). For skilled reader these act as complements. ...Schema theories of cognition elaborate these ideas and provide plausible explanations of how prior knowledge is activated and how it operates on the emerging interpretation of texts.

- Declarative knowledge of form:

By declarative knowledge of form I mean the kind of knowledge which permits the identification or recall of forms and their parts, whether those be syntactic, generic, or rhetorical forms. Traditionally, instruction in composition...has focused on form. ...Books on writing have provided model compositions such as the model paragraph with its topic sentence and development by illustration, detail, and up to nine or ten more methods of development. The conception of learning to writing underlying this kind of instruction is that if one knows the appropriate forms, one can use them and that knowing them is largely the ability to identify their parts.

- Procedural knowledge of form:

By procedural knowledge of the use of form I mean that knowledge which permits writers to manipulate forms and their parts. Declarative knowledge of form allows their identification and perhaps their definition. A person may have declarative knowledge of a musical instrument, its parts, and how it works but may lack the procedural knowledge to play it effectively. In composition this distinction between declarative and procedural knowledge is still hypothetical, but considerable evidence suggests that the distinction is real.

⁸⁶ Leki and Carson (1997) also point out that "what is valued in writing for writing classes is different from what is valued in writing for other academic courses" (p. 64). They report that even in EAP classes 52% of the writing assigned were personal "in the sense that the source of information for these assignments was personal experience and knowledge. Only 7% of the writing topics assigned in other courses were primarily personal; these topics drew instead upon information students were to gather from some source text external to their personal experience and knowledge" (p. 42).

⁸⁷ Purves and Hawisher (1990, p. 197), for example, state that it "has been our experience that some of those who have attacked the idea of "product" and called for process, in fact have substituted a modified set of discourse conventions for those we have listed above. Often they have masked these with terms like 'honest writing,' and 'your own voice,' or 'expressive writing.' These get translated into specific conventions such as opening with a personal anecdote. The teachers are sometimes unaware that they have these conventional criteria, but students...seem to be aware of them."

⁸⁸ As Ur (1996, pp. 171-172) observes, "[c]orrecting written work is very time-consuming, particularly if we have large classes. One possible solution is to let students correct and edit each other's writing. ...The problem is: will students feel comfortable correcting, or being corrected by, their peers? ...In general, yes, peer-correction can be a time-saving and useful technique; also, critical reading for style, content and language accuracy is a valuable exercise in itself. This does not release us from the duty of checking and evaluating student writing; but it can be a substitute for first-draft reading.

⁸⁹ A *direct* test of writing (cf. an indirect test) has the following five characteristics (adapted from Hamp-Lyons, 1991, p. 5):

- (1) Each individual taking the assessment must actually, physically write at least one piece of continuous text of 100 words or longer (100 words being widely regarded as a minimum sample).
- (2) While the writer is provided with a set of instructions and a text, picture, or other "prompt" material, she or he is given considerable room within which to create a response to the prompt.
- (3) Every text written by a candidate is read by at least one, usually two or more, human reader-judges who has been through some form of preparation or training for the essay evaluation process.
- (4) The judgments made by readers are tied in some way to a common yardstick, such as a description of expected performance at certain levels on one or several rating scales.
- (5) The readers' responses to the writing are expressed as a number or numbers of some kind.

⁹⁰ The British philosopher, Bryan Magee, expresses this diachronic perspective as follows (1997, pp. 25-26):

All human beings—past, present and future—find their lives embedded at some arbitrary point in the middle of a rich, complex and unceasing historical flow that is ever-changing and goes on after their death. No one point in it is privileged as against any other, and none either more or less real than any other. ...People in each generation tend to believe that what matters most is what is being done by themselves and their contemporaries. And I always see this as a delusion. Nearly all of what is done in any generation is quickly forgotten. Only a tiny amount, if any, survives to become part of the accumulating treasure of an ever-extending remembered past. Nearly everything of lasting value and significance that is available to each generation is already in the past. ...Whitehead, who once famously said that the whole of Western philosophy is footnotes to Plato, once remarked that it is possible to be provincial in time as well as in place; and the unfortunate truth is that all but a handful of people are narrowly provincial in time.

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APPENDIX 1: Japanese Chronology

JAPANESE CHRONOLOGY

(Note: There continue to be disagreements about the exact dates of the periods listed below. The following chronology is adapted from Ohnuki, 1987.)

ANCIENT (Kodai)

Jōmon Period (Neolithic)	8000 BC - 300 BC
Yayoi Period (Agriculture)	300 BC - 250 AD
Kofun [Tomb] Period (State Formation)	250 - 646 AD
Nara Period	646 - 794 AD
Heian Period	794 - 1185 AD

MEDIEVAL (Chūsei)

Kamakura Period	1185 - 1392 AD
Nanbokuchō Period	1336 - 1392 AD
Muromachi Period	1392 - 1603 AD

EARLY MODERN (Kinsei)

Edo Period (Tokugawa Shogunate)	1603 - 1868 AD
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MODERN (Kin-Gendai)

Meiji Period	1868 - 1912 AD
Taishō Period	1912 - 1926 AD
Shōwa Period	1926 - 1989 AD
Heisei Period	1989 - present

APPENDIX 2: *Ki-Shô-Ten-Ketsu*

Harmony in Driving

(adapted from Hinds, 1984, pp. 68-69)

起 [*ki*] This columnist first learned to drive and obtained a driving license in New York City. At that time, what the driving instructor most naggingly stressed was "harmony." He said that the knack of driving lay first in harmony, second in harmony, no third and fourth and fifth in harmony.

承 [*shô*] Ignoring the question of how to shift gears, he lectured, while on the road, on the importance of maintaining the minimum necessary distance between cars. There were times when this writer became sick and tired because he kept harping on the matter so much. It may be questionable whether American drivers actually place importance on "harmony," but at least that aged instructor kept insisting on it all the time.

転 [*ten*] The most frightening thing in the accident in the Nihonzaka Tunnel of the Tomei Expressway on July 11 was that there were about 170 vehicles within the tunnel and most of them burned. Why were there so many as 170 vehicles within the tunnel?

In order to run at a speed of 80 kilometers per hour within the tunnel, vehicles must keep a distance of 80 meters between each other. If the vehicles had been running at 80-meter intervals, the total of vehicles on the two lanes from the entrance to the site of the accident about 1.6 kilometers away should have been about 40 at the most. Since the expressway was crowded that day, the speed may have been less than 80 kilometers per hour. Still, 170 vehicles are just too many.

First, there was disregard of the proper distance between vehicles. On expressways, there are cases of vehicles running at 100 kilometers an hour with only 10 or 20 meters between them. Even if a driver tries to maintain the proper distance between vehicles, other vehicles cut into the space in front of that driver, immediately destroying the harmony. Drivers are aware of the danger of a collision and pile-up but keep on driving, comforting themselves with the thought, "It will be all right." The piling up of such disharmony is dangerous.

There was also the fact that warnings were ignored. Immediately after the accident occurred, the panel at the tunnel entrance lit up with the warning, "Fire Outbreak, Entry Banned." But it appears that a considerable number of cars entered the tunnel after the warning had been posted. Did they speed into hell, unable to apply brakes suddenly because the distance between vehicles was too small?

結 [*ketsu*] The preventative measures taken by the Japan Highway Public Corporation were grossly inadequate. Experts should be well aware of what a lack of water for firefighting means in emergencies. They knew but closed their eyes to the fact. The psychology of, "It will be all right," on the part of the drivers and of the corporation caused this major accident.

APPENDIX 3: *Tensei Jingo* Articles (adapted from Fister-Stoga, 1993)

鳥の目 虫の目

九州か南端から台湾にかけ長い「ノ」の字の形に、大小の島々が連なっている。南西諸島だ。その上を本社機で沖縄本島まで飛ぶのは心躍る体験だった。島々を一つ一つ見ながら行く。近づいて丹念に確かめたりもする。

左に広がる太平洋。右は東シナ海だ。さながら鳥になった気分である。小型機だからだろう。そういえば、ここはサシバの渡りの経路そのものだ。サシバは中型のタカである。日本に来て夏鳥として繁殖し、秋になると東南アジアに渡る。

愛知県の伊良湖岬あたりから一斉に飛び立ち、四国、九州を経て南西諸島の上を南下する。島を見下ろし、偵察もし、時には降りて羽を休め、燃料、いや、食料を補給するかも知れない。群れと一緒に飛べたらさぞ面白いだろう、と思う。

眼科の海は黒潮だ。南から北に向かう大きな帯。局地的には反転して南向きに流れている場所もあるらしい。琉球大学生たちが黒潮に乗り、いかだで沖縄本島から鹿児島まで漂流したら、速い時は時速9キロほどだったと聞いたことがある。

空の上にも、海上にも、道がある。海中にもあるだろう。人々は島づたいに南方から船やいかだで渡来し、交易が始まった。島津藩は北から南へと、島々を伝って統治の手を伸ばしたことだろう。鳥はそういう動きを見ていたかも知れぬ。

鳥カン図」というのは、空中から地上を見下ろしたように描いた図のことだ。カンは見下ろすという意味である。うまい表現だ。人間の目の高さではとらえられぬ範囲を一望におさめる。全体を見渡して大局をつかむことが、鳥ならできる。

もっとも、それでは細かい部分はわからない。地べたをほう虫でないと思えないものもある。本当は、私たちがものを判断するには、鳥と虫の両方の目が必要なのだ。今年の自分を省み、来年を見渡す場合にも。

しばし鳥の気分を味わい、楽しかった。

A Bird's-Eye View

Extending in a long, sweeping arc from the southern tip of Kyushu to Taiwan is a chain of large and small islands known collectively as the Nansei, or Ryukyus. Flying over them is quite an experience. Seen from the air, each island stands out in stark contrast against the water. To the left stretches the Pacific Ocean; to the right, the East China Sea. I feel as if I've become a bird—only a bird sees panoramas like this. Being in a small plane helps. It wouldn't be the same view from a 747. Speaking of birds, our flight plan follows the migration route of the *sashiba*, a medium-size hawk which appears in Japan in summer, breeds here, and then in autumn steers a course for southeast Asia.

These birds' long south-bound journey begins around Cape Irago in Aichi Prefecture, the whole flock flying together as one—over Shikoku, Kyushu, and the Nansei Islands. Sometimes they send a scouting party down to an island, and if conditions seem favorable, land for a while to rest their wings and feed. If only we could travel like that!

I'm looking down over the *kuroshio*—the Japan Current which flows from south to north like a great belt. Here and there, though, it forms eddies flowing from north to south. Once a group of students from Ryukyu University rode the *kuroshio* on a raft from Okinawa to Kagoshima. I hear that at times their drifting speed reached nine kilometers an hour.

One can travel among these islands by air, by sea—what about under the sea, I wonder? At one time, people made their way up from the south, advancing island by island, by ship or by raft. Trade developed. Later, the powerful feudal Shimazu clan moved in the opposite direction, proceeding south from their base in southern Kyushu, and consolidating their rule over the islands as they went. It is amusing to think of the birds who must have looked down on all that history as they passed overhead.

The expression "bird's-eye view" suggests a view of vast horizons seen from a great height—an unlimited expanse ordinarily inaccessible to the human eye. Do birds, then, have a broader perspective than other creatures? No doubt they do. But being able to see the forest, they lose sight of the trees. When it comes to perceiving details, it is the insects—lowly, crawling ones—that can claim the ideal viewpoint. As for human beings, in order to judge things properly we must learn to see them from both the bird's-eye view and the insect's-eye view. This applies, for example, to our reflections on the year just past as well as our projections regarding the one about to begin.

Really, it's fun to feel like a bird for a while.

大自然の色の饗宴

「今日はもう十一月の二十日なり桐の梢に桐の実が鳴る」山崎方代。

今日の日付が入り、まるで日記のような歌だが、この季節の空気を的確にとらえている。桐の木の子ばで育った者には懐かしい。薄い紫色の、つりがねのような花を初夏に咲かせたあと、実がなる。乾いてはじけて落ちるのが今ごろだ。風に鳴る。見上げれば背景には澄んだ青空・・・・・・。

山からは雪のたより、という時候だが、里や都会では木々の紅葉、黄葉がまだまだ見事である。ぶどう酒の色のハナミズキの葉。燃え上がるツタの色。よく見れば一枚一枚の色合いは微妙に違う。イチヨウの本格的な黄葉は、これからだろう。

カキやカツラの葉があまりにもうつくしいので、せんだって、散ったばかりのを何枚も拾った。飽かず眺めたあげく、一計を案じた。捨てるにしのびない。一枚ずつ蠟紙に挟み、上からアイロンをかける。変色をとめようという魂胆だ。

どうやら蠟による表装はうまく行ったらしく、今にいたるも本のしおりに使っている。自然が織りなした山野の色の饗宴を、しおり一枚が机上に運んできた観がある。それにしても大自然にあふれる色の多様さ。古人も驚いたことだろう。

この夏的女子美術大学の公開講座「緑の美と科学」をまとめた「緑の本」に、教授の寺村祐子さんが染め物について語っている。1856年に英国で合成染料が初めて使われる以前は、世界中で染色は天然染料によっていた。そのほとんどは植物から採れる染料だ。

植物で染めた色を分析すると、どの色にも赤、黄、青の三原色が含まれ、そのため隣にどの色を組み合わせても不快になることがなく、調和しやすいそうだ。合成染料との大きな違いの一つだという。

草木を見るのが目に快いのも道理だ。

もうしばらくの間、濃淡さまざまな天然の点描画を楽しみ、惜しむことができそうだ。

Natural Colors

"Today is already November twentieth, on the tops of the empress trees the seeds are sounding" (Hodai Yamazaki).

Putting in the date like that makes the poem seem almost like a diary entry, but it does accurately capture the atmosphere of this time of the year.

To those who grew up near empress trees it brings back fond memories. In early summer these trees put out their pale mauve blossoms, which have the shape of temple bells, and after that bear fruit. It is round about the present season that they dry out, split open, and drop their seeds. The fruits make a sound in the wind. When you look up at the sound, in the background you see the clear blue sky....

Now is the season when we start to hear of snow in the mountains, but in the cities and villages the leaves of the different trees are still splendid in reds and yellows. There are the wine-red leaves of the flowering dogwood and the flaming hues of the Japanese ivy—if you look closely you will see that the shade of each leaf is slightly different from the others. It is probably still a bit early for the pure yellow of the *ginkgo* leaves. But the leaves of the persimmon and *katsura* trees were so beautiful that the other day I picked up a good many that had just fallen. Gazing untiringly at them I thought of a scheme. Since I couldn't bear the thought of throwing them away I wrapped them one by one in wax paper and passed an iron lightly over them. The idea was to stop the color from changing, and up to now binding them in wax seems to have worked very well. I have now started to use them as bookmarks. One might say that a bookmark has been brought to my desk from the feast of color held by nature in the fields and hills.

The ancients too were astonished by the variety of color that abounds in nature. This summer Professor Yuko Teramura gave a public lecture at the Women's College of Fine Arts on "Science and the Beauty of Greenery." The professor later included this in a book entitled *Midori no Hon* (The Book of Greenery) in which she writes about materials used to make colors.

Before the first synthetic dyes were brought into use in Britain in 1856, all colors were produced using natural pigments, and the majority of these were taken from plants.

If we analyze these plant pigments we find that every one of them includes the primary colors red, yellow, and blue. Apparently, it is for this reason that whichever color they are set against the effect is not an unhappy one. This is said to be one major difference between natural and artificial pigments.

It therefore makes sense that the eye takes such pleasure in looking at grass and trees. For a little while, we will be able to both enjoy and feel a pang for the hues nature has sketched for us.

社会党 田辺委員長辞任

「かげ」という言葉がある。辞書によれば、「光がさえぎられて当たらない所」は「陰」である。「物が光をさえぎった時、光源と反対の側にできる、その物の黒い形」は「影」だ。

影には、本影と半影がある。光が全く届かぬために暗黒になる部分ができる。これが本影だ。半影は光の一部分が届いて薄暗くなったところをさす。月が太陽の光をさえぎるのが日食だが、地球に落ちた月の影のうち、本影の地域では皆既食、半影の場所では部分食が見られる。

昨日の朝、全国各地で部分日食が観測された。好天に恵まれた関東、東海、北海道などの各地方では、太陽がだんだんに欠け、またもとに戻る有り様がよく見えた。東京では50%以上、札幌では70%近くも欠け、月のようだった。

つまり、この時の日本は半影の地帯なのだ、と考えていたら、午後になって別の影のニュースが起きた。社会党の田辺委員長が辞任した。「影の内閣」の首相である。宮沢首相を退陣に追い込む、といきまいていた影の首相の方が自ら先に辞めた。

今年の夏に土井たか子さんの後任として委員長になり、いつでも政権をとれる態勢をと「影の内閣」を組閣したのが記憶に新しい。国会の牛歩戦術や、参院選での不振も人々の記憶に残る。任期を残しての、短い田辺時代だった。

「新しい時代に即応した理念・思考、時代を先取りする基本的政策の確立、近代的で国民に密着した党の組織づくり、時代を担うにふさわしい人材」の四項目を記者会見で列挙した。問題は、それらに実質的な中身を入れられるかどうかである。

顔のすげかえと方針の修正で、社会党は前進できるだろうか。自民党の深刻な「陰」の部分がこれほど大きな社会問題になり、人々が政治への不信を深めている時、人々の不満は、「陰」を暴き得る実を持った野党の不在にも向けられているのだ。

A Shadow Play

If you look up the word *kage* in a Japanese dictionary you will find two principal definitions of the word, written with different characters. The first [陰] corresponds to the English word "shade," and is defined as "a place onto which the light is prevented from falling"; the second [影] is "the black shape made on the far side of an object which obstructs a light source." This is of course the English word "shadow."

In the case of shadows there are also the words *honkage* and *hankage* (full shadow and half shadow) to which English gives more technical Latin names—"umbra" and "penumbra." The umbra is the intensely dark place where the light does not penetrate at all, whereas the penumbra is the place where the light can partially reach, and which becomes shadowy. A solar eclipse takes place when the moon blocks the sun's rays from falling on the earth. Those in the umbra of that shadow as it appears on earth perceive it as a full eclipse, while from the area of the penumbra it is seen as a partial eclipse.

On Thursday morning such a partial eclipse could be observed in all parts of the country. The Kanto, Tokai, and Hokkaido regions, which were blessed with fine weather, could clearly see the sun gradually diminish and then regain its former appearance. From Tokyo more than half the sun was blocked out, and in Sapporo more than 70 percent, so it seemed like the moon.

Japan, in other words, was the site of a penumbra. Upon which thought, the afternoon news of a different kind of shadow—the resignation of Makoto Tanabe, the Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Japan, who is also the leader of the shadow Cabinet. The shadow Prime Minister had threatened to force Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa to step down, but it was he who resigned first.

Tanabe became the chairman of the party after the resignation of Takako Doi in the summer of last year. His formation of the shadow Cabinet in order to show that his party was ready to take over the government at any time is still fresh in the memory. People will also still recall the tactic of ox walking (walking very slowly to hold up the vote) in the Diet, and the party's poor showing in the Upper House elections. Tanabe has now stepped down and his brief era is over.

At a press conference Tanabe listed four principal aims for the party in the future: "To conform to the concepts and ideas of the new generation, to establish a fundamental policy that will be at the forefront of the era, to put together a party that will be both modern and closely correspondent to the people's wishes, and to choose those who are able to meet the requirements of the age."

The question is whether such things can be made the actual nucleus of the party or not. Can the SDPJ make progress by changing faces and reforming some policies? The deep "shadiness" of aspects of the Liberal Democratic Party will become an even more serious social issue in the future, and at a time when people's distrust of politics is growing, popular dissatisfaction is also directed toward the fact that there is no opposition party with the power to expose this shadiness to the light.

正体は何か？

美しい女性が実は姿を変えている鶴だったという話がある。あるいは、醜い蛙が王子の仮の姿だったりする。民話や童話には、正体は何か、という興味を呼び起こすものが多い。正体を知ることは常に人間の関心をひく。

握りずしの正体は何か……。最近の話題では、これが面白かった。大阪の会社「すしボーイ」が冷凍のすしを米国から輸入しようとした。食糧庁はいい顔をしない。平たく言えば、すしの正体は米であり、従って輸入は食糧管理法に違反する、という判断だ。

米を炊いた飯は「穀物調整品」で、輸入が認められない。しかし米を含んでいても「魚等の調整品」なら認められる。冷凍のエビピラフやイカ飯などがこれに当たる。その場合、魚等の重さが全体の20%を超える、という条件を満たすことが必要だ。

そもそも輸入を考えたのは、すしを安く売るためだという。人件費や魚はどうしても金がかかる。米は日本の半額以下の米国の米を使えば値を下げられる。そこで冷凍技術を開発し、米国の米ですしを握って輸入することにした。

魚は20%を超える重さです、と会社側は言い、関税を扱う大蔵省も輸入は認められるとの判断を示して論争は決着。すしは、法的には「魚等調整品」ときまった。どう考えても、初めから、すしの正体はすし、米でも魚でもないのに。

面白がってられないのは、最近の政治家たちの正体だ。正体は何か。金丸問題の深刻さについて自党内と有権者との感覚のずれは著しい。新鮮な倫理観や政治家としての見識は、いわば、すしに載っているわさびや魚。それが無ければ政治家といってもただの握りめしだ。

世論の蔽しさに気づき、金丸代議士は活動再開を見合わせるという。しばし静かに風が過ぎるのを待つつもりなら、無責任だろう。鮮度もよく味もよい政治家の発言、行動を待つこと切である。

What's the True Character?

There is the story of a beautiful woman who is actually a crane that has changed its form. Or the ugly toad is the temporary form of a prince. There are many folktales and fairytales that arouse interest over the true nature of the main characters. Learning about the true character always draws people's interest.

What is the true character of *nigiri-zushi* (hand-rolled sushi)? Among recent topics of discussion, this question was the most interesting. Sushi Boy, a company in Osaka, tried to import frozen sushi from the United States. The Food Agency was not happy about the matter. Simply stated, the agency's judgment was that the true character of sushi is rice and that, consequently, its import would violate the Staple Food Control Law.

Cooked rice cannot be imported because it is a "grain processed product." However, import is permitted if it is a "fish processed product" containing rice. In the latter category are frozen shrimp pilaf and frozen *ika-meshi* (squid rice). In these cases, there is need to fulfill the condition that the seafood portion comprise more than 20 percent of the total weight.

Sushi Boy says it thought about importing sushi in order to sell sushi at low prices. Labor and fish cost money, and the price can be lowered if American rice, which costs less than half of Japanese rice, is used. Consequently, it developed freezing technology and decided to make sushi using American rice and import it.

Sushi Boy said that the weight of the fish was more than 20 percent of the total weight, and the Finance Ministry, which handles customs, judged that imports can be allowed, thereby ending the controversy. It was decided that, legally, sushi is a "fish processed product." This is despite the fact that, no matter how one considers the matter, the true character of sushi has been sushi and neither rice nor fish from the very beginning.

What we do not find amusing, however, is the true character of politicians today. What is their true character? Concerning the gravity of the Shin Kanemaru problem, there is a conspicuous gap in feeling between the Liberal Democratic Party members and the voters. The fresh moral philosophy and the insight of politicians are, as it were, the *wasabi* (Japanese horseradish) and fish atop the sushi. A politician without moral philosophy and insight is just a plain rice ball.

It is reported that Kanemaru, sensing the severe public opinion, postponed resumption of his political activities. If he intends to quietly wait for the storm to pass, he is being very irresponsible. We are eagerly waiting for statements and actions by outstandingly fresh and tasty politicians.

APPENDIX 4: High and Low Context Cultures

HIGH & LOW CONTEXT CULTURES

Cultures develop rules that govern human interaction in specific contexts. Anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1976) has written extensively about context, and categorizes cultures as being either high-context or low-context.

In high-context cultures most of the information is either in the physical context or is internalized in the people who are part of the interaction. Very little information is actually coded in the verbal message. In low-context cultures, however, most of the information is contained in the verbal message and very little is embedded in the context or within the participants.

In high-context cultures such as Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, people tend to be more aware of their surroundings and their environment and do not rely on verbal communication as their main information source. The Korean language contains the word *nunchi*, which literally means being able to communicate through your eyes. Japanese makes use of a similar expression called *haragei*—translated literally, *haragei* means to communicate through the belly; that is, to feel out intuitively, rather than to verbally state the precise position of each person. In high-context cultures, the belief is that so much information is available in the environment that it is unnecessary to state verbally that which is obvious.

According to Hall, there are four major differences in how high- and low-context cultures affect the setting. First, verbal messages are extremely important in low-context cultures. It is in the verbal message that the information to be shared is coded; it is not readily available from the environment because people in low-context cultures tend not to learn how to perceive information from the environment. Second, low-context people who rely primarily on verbal messages for information are perceived as less attractive and less credible by people in high-context cultures. Third, people in high-context cultures are more adept at reading nonverbal behavior and reading the environment. Fourth, people in high-context cultures have an expectation that others are also able to understand the unarticulated communication; hence, they generally do not speak as much as people from low-context cultures.

HIGH-CONTEXT CULTURES

Japanese

Korean

Taiwanese

Arab

Greek

Spanish

Portuguese

Italian

British

French

American

Scandinavian

German

German-Swiss

LOW-CONTEXT CULTURES

APPENDIX 5: Writing Questionnaire

WRITING QUESTIONNAIRE	
<p>Name: _____ Age: _____ Major: _____</p> <p>A. The questions in this section relate to instruction you have received during your schooling for writing compositions in English.</p> <p>1. Have you ever studied in an English-speaking country (even for a short time)? If so, where, when, how long, and what did you study?</p> <p>2. How often did you study how to write English compositions in school? Every year Most years Some years Almost never Never</p> <p>3. When did you receive writing instruction for compositions in school in English? a. Junior high school b. High school c. University d. Other (e.g., elementary school, cram school, private tutoring, overseas, etc.)</p> <p>4. For question #3, were your instructors Japanese teachers of English or native speakers of English? (jr = jr. high school, hs = high school, u = university, o = other) [✓] jr hs u o</p> <p>a. Japanese teachers of English _____ b. Native English speaking teachers _____</p> <p>5. Which of the following writing activities did you do in English in each of jr, hs, u, & o? [✓ as many as apply] jr hs u o</p> <p>a. translating individual Japanese sentences into English _____ b. writing English sentences to practise grammar _____ c. combining short sentences to make one longer sentence _____ d. writing single paragraphs _____ e. writing essays (i.e., more than one paragraph) _____ f. research papers _____ g. journals or diaries _____ h. letters _____ i. literary work (e.g., stories, poems, etc.) _____ j. summaries or paraphrases of materials read _____ k. <i>shouronbun</i> (short expository writings) _____ l. <i>kansoubun</i> (personal impressions of materials read) _____ m. others (please specify) _____</p>	<p>6. Please estimate the amount of required writing (not translation exercises) that you did in each of jr, hs, u, & o. jr hs u o</p> <p>a. more than 10 pages per term _____ b. 5-10 pages per term _____ c. 2-5 pages per term _____ d. about one page per term _____ e. none _____</p> <p>7. Give some examples of topics that you wrote about in English compositions in school.</p> <p>8. What techniques did your teachers use to teach you how to write compositions in English in each of jr, hs, u, & o? [✓ as many as apply] jr hs u o</p> <p>Presentation:</p> <p>a. The teacher lectured. _____ b. The teacher gave us notes about writing. _____ c. We read books about writing. _____ d. We studied literature as the basis for our writing. _____ e. We imitated the examples of famous writers. _____ f. We used model essays as the basis of instruction. _____ g. We learned different patterns of organization. _____ h. We discussed writing techniques in class. _____</p> <p>Practice:</p> <p>i. We wrote compositions for homework. _____ j. We wrote compositions in class. _____ k. We wrote letters to other people. _____ l. We wrote in journals or diaries. _____ m. We wrote research papers. _____ n. We studied grammar and did grammar exercises. _____ o. We did translation exercises. _____ p. We read our papers out loud. _____ q. We copied sentences on the blackboard. _____</p> <p>Feedback:</p> <p>r. We read and corrected other students' papers. _____ s. The teacher always corrected our errors. _____ t. We rewrote our compositions and corrected our errors. _____</p> <p>9. In your opinion, which of the above were most emphasized? (Please give three.)</p>

1

<p>10. Which of the following activities did you do in your writing classes in English composition? jr hs u o</p> <p>a. discussing topics in class before writing _____ b. outlining ideas on paper before writing _____ c. writing compositions (at home or in class) _____ d. editing (revising) compositions after writing _____ e. rewriting compositions to correct errors _____</p> <p>11. According to your teachers, how should a composition be organized in English? Please explain in detail.</p> <p>12. What kind of corrections and feedback did your teachers give you in evaluating your writing in English? Please explain in detail.</p> <p>13. Who was your audience when you wrote compositions in English?</p> <p>a. No one in particular Always Usually Sometimes Never b. Teacher Always Usually Sometimes Never c. Self Always Usually Sometimes Never d. Other students/friends Always Usually Sometimes Never e. Other..... Always Usually Sometimes Never</p> <p>14. Which of the following did your teachers emphasize when they graded your English compositions? [✓ as many as apply] jr hs u o</p> <p>a. Clarity of the ideas _____ b. Correct grammar _____ c. Correct spelling _____ d. Joining ideas together clearly and smoothly _____ e. Expressing your feelings _____ f. Neatness and handwriting _____</p>	<p>g. Originality and imagination _____ h. Organization _____ i. Quoting experts or traditional (classical) sources _____ j. Using good examples & details to illustrate your ideas _____ k. Beauty of the language _____ l. Other (please specify) _____</p> <p>15. In your opinion, which of the above were most emphasized? (Please give three.)</p> <p>16. Besides school writing, what other kinds of writing have you done in English? Please give details.</p> <p>17. Please explain the differences between Japanese English teachers and native English speaking teachers in how they taught you to write compositions in English.</p>
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<p>B. The questions in this section relate to instruction you have received during your schooling for writing compositions in Japanese.</p> <p>1. How often did you study how to write Japanese compositions in school? Every year Most years Some years Almost never Never</p> <p>2. When did you receive writing instruction for compositions in school in Japanese? a. Elementary school b. Junior high school c. High school d. University</p> <p>3. Which of the following writing activities in Japanese did you do in each of the institutions indicated in question #2? (el = elem. school, jr = jr. high school, hs = high school, u = university) [<input type="checkbox"/> as many as apply] el jr hs u a. writing Japanese sentences to practise grammar, etc. ----- b. writing single paragraphs ----- c. writing essays (i.e., more than one paragraph) ----- d. research papers ----- e. journals or diaries ----- f. letters ----- g. literary work (e.g., stories, poems, etc.) ----- h. summaries or paraphrases of materials read ----- i. <i>shouronbun</i> (short expository writings) ----- j. <i>kansoubun</i> (personal impressions of materials read) ----- k. others (please specify) -----</p> <p>4. Please estimate the amount of required writing that you did in Japanese in each of the institutions indicated in question #2. el jr hs u a. more than 10 pages per term ----- b. 5-10 pages per term ----- c. 2-5 pages per term ----- d. about one page per term ----- e. none -- -----</p> <p>5. Give some examples of topics that you wrote about in Japanese compositions in school</p>	<p>6. What techniques did your teachers use to teach you how to write compositions in Japanese? [<input type="checkbox"/> as many as apply] el jr hs u Presentation: a. The teacher lectured. ----- b. The teacher gave us notes about writing. ----- c. We read books about writing. ----- d. We studied literature as the basis for our writing. ----- e. We imitated the examples of famous writers. ----- f. We used model essays as the basis of instruction. ----- g. We learned different patterns of organization. ----- h. We discussed writing techniques in class. ----- Practice: i. We wrote compositions for homework. ----- j. We wrote compositions in class. ----- k. We wrote letters to other people. ----- l. We wrote in journals or diaries. ----- m. We wrote research papers. ----- n. We studied grammar and did grammar exercises. ----- o. We read our papers out loud. ----- p. We copied sentences on the blackboard. ----- Feedback: q. We read and corrected other students' papers. ----- r. The teacher always corrected our errors. ----- s. We rewrote our compositions and corrected our errors. ----</p> <p>7. In your opinion, which of the above were most emphasized? (Please give three.)</p> <p>8. Which of the following activities did you do in your writing classes in Japanese composition? el jr hs u a. discussing topics in class before writing ----- b. outlining ideas on paper before writing ----- c. writing compositions (at home or in class) ----- d. editing (revising) compositions after writing ----- e. rewriting compositions to correct errors -----</p> <p>9. What books have you used that show students how to write compositions in Japanese (e.g., in school, recommended by your teacher, chosen yourself, etc.)?</p>
	3

<p>10. According to your teachers, how should a composition be organized in Japanese? Please explain in detail.</p> <p>11. What kind of corrections and feedback did your teachers give you in evaluating your compositions in Japanese? Please explain in detail.</p> <p>12. Who was your audience when you wrote compositions in Japanese? a. No one in particular Always Usually Sometimes Never b. Teacher Always Usually Sometimes Never c. Self Always Usually Sometimes Never d. Other students/friends Always Usually Sometimes Never e. Other. Always Usually Sometimes Never</p> <p>13. Which of the following did your teachers emphasize when they graded your Japanese compositions? [<input type="checkbox"/> as many as apply] el jr hs u a. Clarity of the ideas ----- b. Correct grammar ----- c. Correct spelling ----- d. Joining ideas together clearly and smoothly ----- e. Expressing your feelings ----- f. Neatness and handwriting ----- g. Originality and imagination ----- h. Organization ----- i. Quoting experts or traditional (classical) sources ----- j. Using good examples & details to illustrate your ideas ----- k. Beauty of the language ----- l. Other (please specify) -----</p>	<p>14. In your opinion, which of the above were most emphasized? (Please give three.)</p> <p>15. Besides school writing, what other significant writing have you done in Japanese? Please give details.</p> <p>16. In your opinion, what are the biggest differences between Japanese and English in terms of writing compositions?</p>
	4

APPENDIX 6: Writing Survey Subjects

Ehime University Faculty of Education Department of English 2nd year students age: 19-20 years school year: 1998-99	English Education Majors 15	International Culture Majors 0	*Other Majors 14	*Music: 3 J. History: 1 Math: 1 Home Econ: 1 Psych: 5 Sociol: 3
Ehime University Faculty of Education Department of English 3rd year students age: 20-21 years school year: 1997-98	English Education Majors 7	International Culture Majors 19	Other Majors 0	
Ehime University Faculty of Education Department of English 2nd year students age: 19-20 years school year: 1997-98	English Education Majors 13	International Culture Majors 1	*Other Majors 6	*Elem Ed: 2 Infant Ed: 1 Psych: 1 Math: 1 Pedag: 1
Ehime University Faculty of Education Department of English 3rd year students age: 20-21 years school year: 1996-97	English Education Majors 20	International Culture Majors 12	Other Majors 0	
Matsuyama University Faculty of General Education Department of English 3rd year students age: 20-21 years school year: 1996-97	English Language Majors 14	*Other Majors 3		*Bus Admin: 2 Eng Lit: 1
Ehime University Faculty of Law & Literature Evening Courses students: variable age: variable school year: 1996-97	*Various Majors 5			*Eng Lit: 2 Law: 1 Eng Lang: 2
TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS = 129 English Education majors = 55 International Culture majors = 32 English Language majors = 16 Other majors = 26		*Students with "other majors" generally took these composition courses in order to obtain credentials for a teacher's licence in English or simply because of personal or academic interest.		

APPENDIX 7: Japanese L1 Composition and Practice

(1) How often did you study how to write Japanese compositions in school?		
	# of tallies	% of total
every year	36	28%
most years	41	32%
some years	38	29%
almost never	13	10%
never	1	1%

(2) When did you receive instruction for writing compositions in Japanese?		
Levels of schooling	# of tallies	% of total
elementary school only (el)	38	29%
junior high school only (jr)	4	3%
high school only (hs)	5	4%
university only (u)	1	1%
elementary school + junior high school (el+jr)	16	12%
high school + university (hs+u)	1	1%
elementary school + high school (el+hs)	3	2%
elem school + junior high school + high school (el+jr+hs)	37	29%
junior high school + high school + university (jr+hs+u)	20	16%
elementary school + high school + university (el+hs+u)	1	1%
no response	3	2%

(3) Which of the following writing activities did you do in Japanese? [multiple responses]				
# of tallies	elem. school	jr. high school	high school	university
writing sentences to practice grammar	66	27	13	5
writing single paragraphs	54	16	8	6
writing essays	52	47	26	11
writing research papers	11	19	25	11
journals or diaries	50	24	12	3
letters	46	28	16	6
literary work	43	36	19	2
summaries or paraphrases	13	34	33	1
sketches	0	15	61	7
karaoke	71	64	57	2
Total # of tallies	406	310	270	54
Total # of tallies as % of all writing	39%	30%	26%	5%

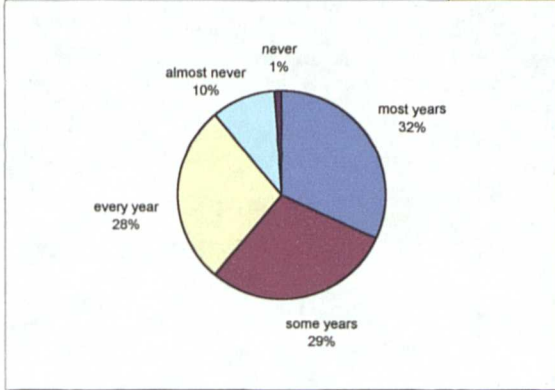
(5) Give some examples of topics you wrote about in Japanese at school.		
[multiple responses: jr/hs/u/o]	# of tallies	% of total
karaoke about a school event	16	7%
karaoke about a book read	36	16%
war and peace	7	3%
human rights	16	7%
traffic safety	5	2%
my hobbies	9	4%
my family	26	12%
my summer / winter vacation	11	5%
my dreams for the future	23	10%
education in Japan	16	7%
the environment	16	7%
Japanese culture	6	3%
other	33	16%
Japanese dialects	1	*
fashion	1	*
health	2	*
biography of a famous person	1	*
taxes	3	*
Japanese women	1	*
Korea and Japan	1	*
my hometown	3	*
volunteerism	3	*
social problems	2	*
morals	2	*
Japanese politics	2	*
jobs	1	*
my friend	2	*
my hero	1	*
AIDS	1	*
my teacher	1	*
brain death	1	*
internationalization in Japan	1	*
haiku	3	*
Japanese seasons	2	*

(8/9) What techniques did your instructors use to teach you to write compositions in Japanese?		
	# of tallies	% of total
Presentation		
The teacher lectured.	33	26%
The teacher gave us notes about writing.	9	7%
We read books about writing.	18	14%
We studied literature as the basis of our writing.	21	17%
We imitated examples of famous writers.	10	8%
We used model essays as the basis of instruction.	11	9%
We learned different patterns of organization.	14	11%
We discussed writing techniques in class.	10	8%
Practice		
We wrote compositions for homework.	62	38%
We wrote compositions in class.	31	19%
We wrote letters to other people.	7	4%
We wrote in journals or diaries.	25	16%
We wrote research papers.	2	1%
We studied grammar and did grammar exercises.	22	13%
We read our papers out loud.	13	8%
We copied sentences from the blackboard.	2	1%
Feedback		
We read and corrected other students' papers.	7	8%
The teacher always corrected our errors.	40	51%
We rewrote our compositions and corrected our errors.	32	41%

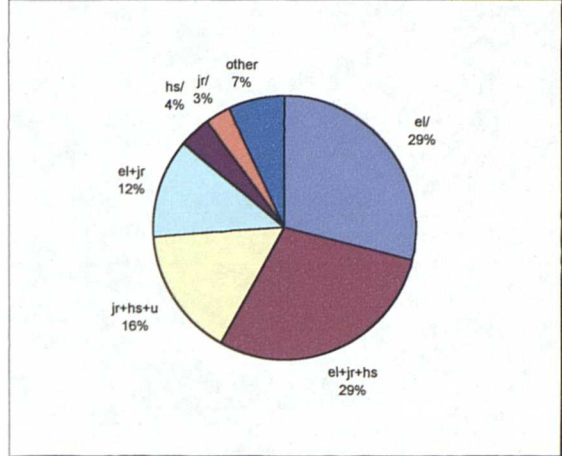
(13) Which of the following did your teachers emphasize when they graded your compositions?		
	# of tallies	% of total
clarity of the ideas	56	15%
correct grammar and spelling	33	9%
joining ideas together clearly and smoothly	23	6%
expressing one's feelings	80	21%
neatness and handwriting	18	5%
originality and imagination	37	10%
organization	57	15%
using good examples and details	28	7%
beauty of the language	40	11%
quoting experts or traditional sources	3	1%

(10) According to your teachers, how should a composition be organized in Japanese?		
	# of tallies	% of total
ki-sho-ten-kyoku	53	36%
"I was never taught." / "I don't know."	44	30%
inductive style (main idea at the end)	4	3%
Express your feelings and opinions.	6	4%
"The teacher gives me the topic; I write about it."	3	2%
Be clear.	12	8%
Be direct.	2	1%
logical structure	3	2%
jorou/bonron/kyoroku (introduction/body/conclusion)	13	9%
beauty of the language	4	3%
Outline ideas first.	3	2%

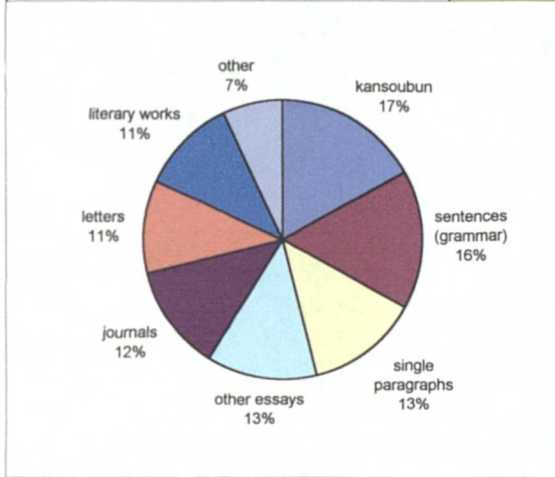
(1) Composition Instruction: frequency	% of total
most years	32
some years	29
every year	28
almost never	10
never	1
TOTAL	100%



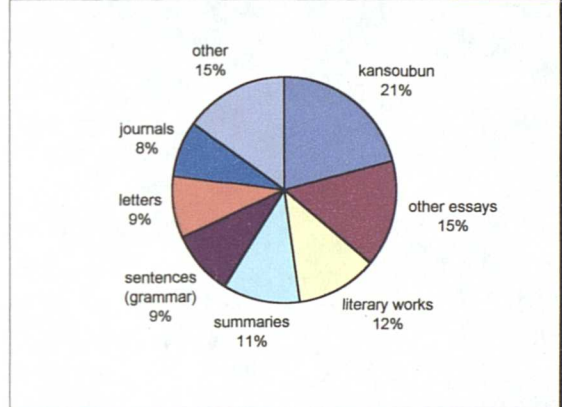
(2) Composition Instruction: levels	% of total
elementary school only (el/)	29
elementary + junior high school + high school (el+jr+hs)	29
junior high school + high school + university (jr+hs+u)	16
elementary school + junior high school (el+jr)	12
high school only (hs/)	4
junior high school only (jr/)	3
TOTAL	93%



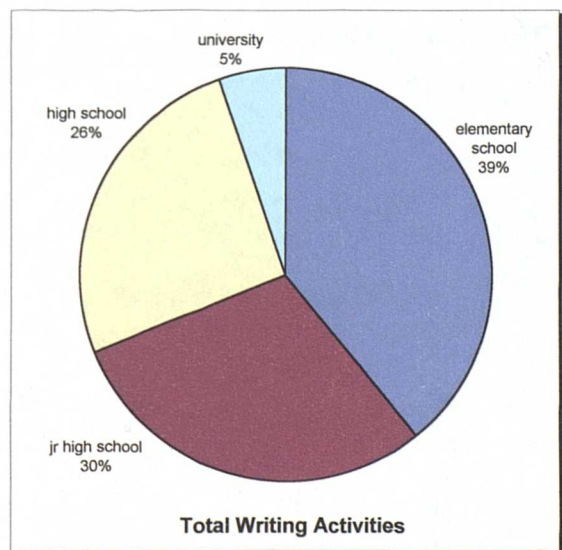
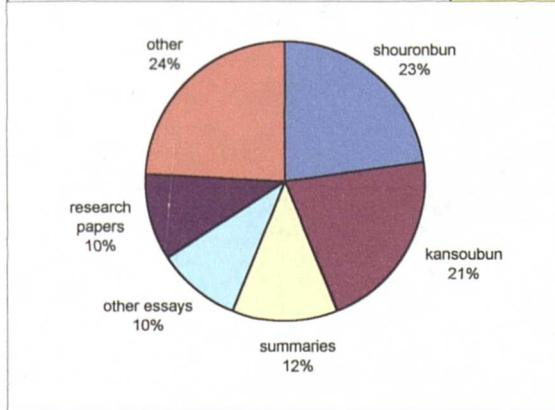
(3) Elementary school writing activities	% of total
kansoubun (personal impressions of materials read)	17
writing Japanese sentences to practice grammar	16
writing single paragraphs	13
other essays	13
journals or diaries	12
letters	11
literary works (e.g., poems, stories, etc.)	11
TOTAL	93%



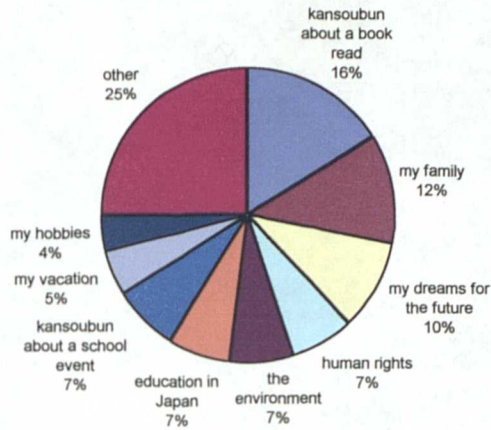
(3) Junior high school writing activities	% of total
kansoubun (personal impressions of materials read)	21
other essays	15
literary works (e.g., poems, stories, etc.)	12
summaries or paraphrases	11
letters	9
writing sentences to practice grammar	9
journals or diaries	8
TOTAL	85%



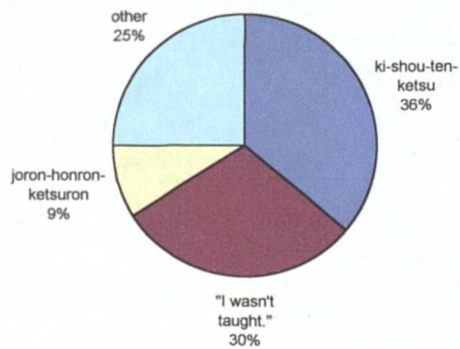
(3) High school writing activities	% of total
shouronbun (short expository works)	23
kansoubun (personal impressions of materials read)	21
summaries or paraphrases	12
other essays	10
research papers	10
TOTAL	76%



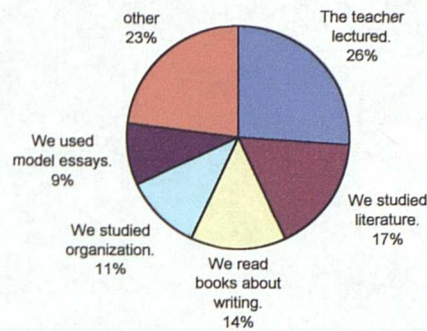
(5) Composition topics assigned	% of total
<i>kansoubun</i> about a book read	16
my family	12
my dreams for the future	10
human rights	7
the environment	7
education in Japan	7
<i>kansoubun</i> about a school event	7
my summer/winter vacation	5
my hobbies	4
TOTAL	75%



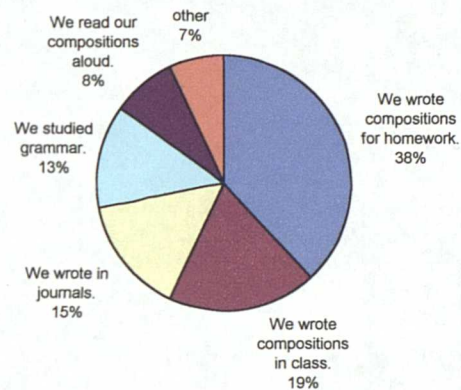
(10) Composition organization	% of total
<i>ki-shou-ten-ketsu</i>	36
"I wasn't taught."	30
<i>joron-honron-ketsuron</i> (introduction-body-conclusion)	9
TOTAL	75%



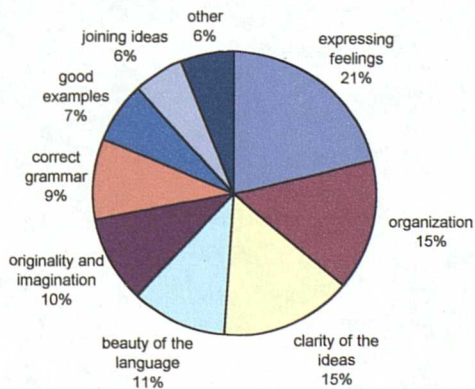
(8/9) Composition instruction: presentation	% of total
The teacher lectured.	26
We studied literature.	17
We read books about writing.	14
We studied organization.	11
We used model essays.	9
TOTAL	77%



(8/9) Composition instruction: practice	% of total
We wrote compositions for homework.	38
We wrote compositions in class.	19
We wrote in journals.	15
We studied grammar.	13
We read our compositions out loud.	8
TOTAL	93%



(13) Composition evaluation	% of total
expressing feelings	21
organization	15
clarity of the ideas	15
beauty of the language	11
originality and imagination	10
correct grammar	9
using good examples	7
joining ideas smoothly	6
TOTAL	94%



APPENDIX 8: English L2 Composition and Practice

(2) How often did you study how to write English compositions in school?		
	# of tallies	% of total
every year	6	5%
most years	18	14%
some years	57	44%
almost never	46	36%
never	2	1%

(4) Were your composition instructors Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) or native speaking teachers (NSTs)?		
	# of tallies	% of total
Japanese teachers of English composition only (JTEs)	91	71%
Some contact with native speaking teachers of composition (NSTs)	38	29%

(7) Give some examples of topics you wrote about in English compositions at school.		
(multiple responses: jr/hs/u/o)	# of tallies	% of total
English education in Japan	18	9%
impressions of a film (kansoubun)	14	7%
my dreams for the future	8	4%
my family	8	4%
my hobbies	33	16%
my hometown	28	13%
my school	8	4%
my summer / winter vacation	37	18%
self-introduction (myself)	10	5%
other	45	21%
a person I respect	1	*
a successful moment	1	*
an embarrassing moment	2	*
communication	1	*
differences between Japan and America	2	*
discrimination	2	*
haiku	2	*
hair color	1	*
India	4	*
Japanese customs	1	*
Japanese food	1	*
Japanese literature	1	*
Japanese seasons	2	*
Japanese university students	1	*
jobs	1	*
language acquisition	1	*
look at a picture: describe your feelings	1	*
manga comics	1	*
my club activities	3	*
my neighborhood	1	*
nuclear power plants	1	*
smoking	2	*
sports	1	*
student life	3	*
television	1	*
the five-day school week	1	*
the environment	2	*
the global village	1	*
the graying of society	2	*
today's happenings	1	*

(11) According to your teachers, how should a composition be organized in English?		
	# of tallies	% of total
Be clear about what you write.	13	10%
"I was never taught." / "Nothing in particular."	51	40%
Paragraph structure is important.	23	18%
Sentence structure is important.	5	4%
It is important to use correct grammar.	16	13%
other	19	14%
Express your feelings.	3	*
Use conjunctions skillfully.	3	*
First, write in Japanese, then translate into English.	3	*
Write your opinions directly.	2	*
Don't repeat the same words.	2	*
Don't literally translate from Japanese.	1	*
Learn English idioms.	1	*
Write neatly.	1	*
Coherence and unity are important.	1	*
Don't mind if you make mistakes.	1	*
Use strong final comments.	1	*

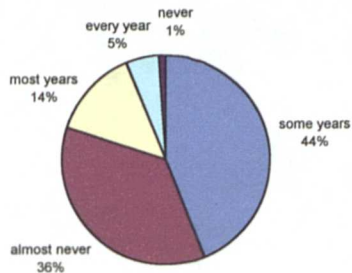
(3) When did you receive instruction for writing compositions in English?		
Levels of schooling	# of tallies	% of total
junior high school only (jr)	9	7%
high school only (hs)	40	31%
university only (u)	22	17%
other only (o)	4	3%
junior high school + high school (jr+hs)	5	4%
high school + university (hs+u)	29	22%
university + other (u+o)	2	2%
junior high school + high school + university (jr+hs+u)	9	7%
junior high school + university + other (jr+u+o)	1	1%
high school + university + other (hs+u+o)	7	5%
never	1	1%

(5) Which of the following writing activities did you do in English composition classes?		
(multiple responses: jr/hs/u/o)	# of tallies	% of total
combining sentences	139	16%
writing English sentences to practice grammar	176	21%
translating Japanese sentences into English	201	24%
writing essays	80	9%
writing single paragraphs	82	10%
other	169	20%
letters	52	6%
kansoubun (personal impressions of materials read)	30	4%
journals or diaries	29	3%
shouronbun (short expository compositions)	23	3%
literary material (e.g., poems)	19	2%
summaries or paraphrases	16	2%
research papers	0	0%

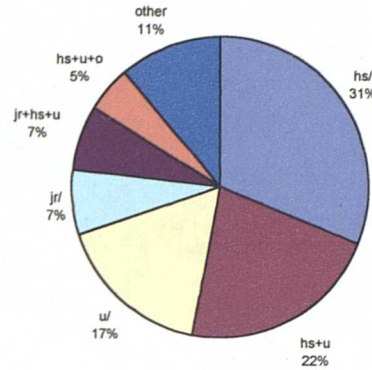
(8/9) What techniques did your instructors use to teach you to write compositions in English?		
	# of tallies	% of total
Presentation		
The teacher lectured.	29	37%
The teacher gave us notes about writing.	4	5%
We read books about writing.	9	12%
We studied literature as the basis of our writing.	13	17%
We imitated examples of famous writers.	0	0%
We used model essays as the basis of instruction.	12	15%
We learned different patterns of organization.	8	10%
We discussed writing techniques in class.	3	4%
Practice		
We wrote compositions for homework.	44	23%
We wrote compositions in class.	11	6%
We wrote letters to other people.	4	2%
We wrote in journals or diaries.	9	5%
We studied grammar and did grammar exercises.	57	29%
We did translation exercises.	51	26%
We read our papers out loud.	11	6%
We copied sentences from the blackboard.	8	4%
Feedback		
We read and corrected other students' papers.	4	*
The teacher always corrected our errors.	27	*
We rewrote our compositions and corrected our errors.	19	*

(14) Which of the following did your teachers emphasize when they graded your compositions?		
	# of tallies	% of total
clarity of the ideas	39	12%
correct grammar and spelling	109	33%
joining ideas together clearly and smoothly	38	12%
expressing one's feelings	36	11%
neatness and handwriting	8	3%
originality and imagination	23	7%
organization	46	15%
using good examples and details	20	6%
beauty of the language	2	1%
quoting experts or traditional sources	0	0%

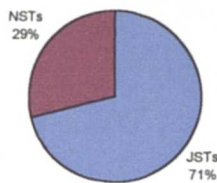
(2) Composition instruction: frequency	% of total
some years	44
almost never	36
most years	14
every year	5
never	1
TOTAL	100%



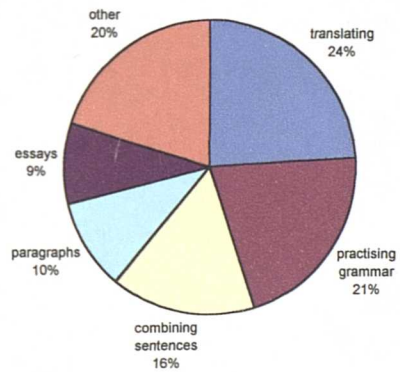
(3) Composition instruction: levels	% of total
high school only (hs/)	31
high school + university (hs+u)	22
university only (u/)	17
junior high school only (jr/)	7
junior high school + high school + university (jr+hs+u)	7
high school + university + other (hs+u+o)	5
TOTAL	89%



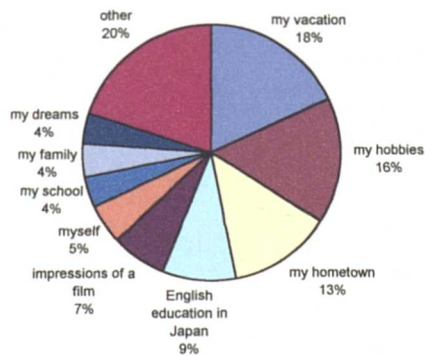
(4) Composition teachers	% of total
Japanese teachers of composition only (JSTs)	71
Native speaking teachers of composition (NSTs)	29
TOTAL	100%



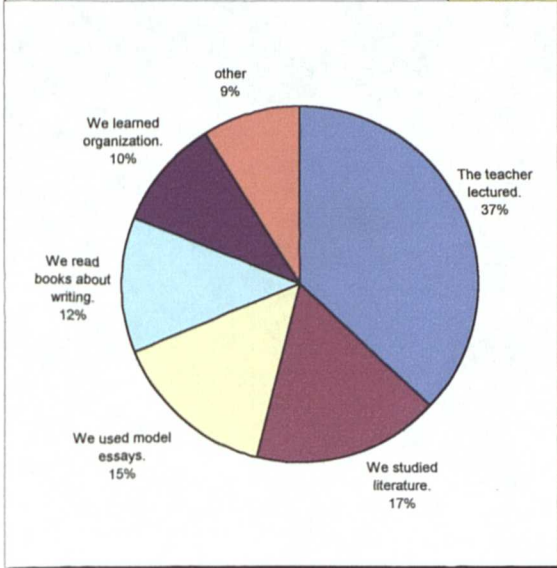
(5) Classroom composition activities	% of total
translating Japanese sentences into English	24
writing English sentences to practice grammar	21
combining sentences	16
writing single paragraphs	10
writing essays	9
TOTAL	80%



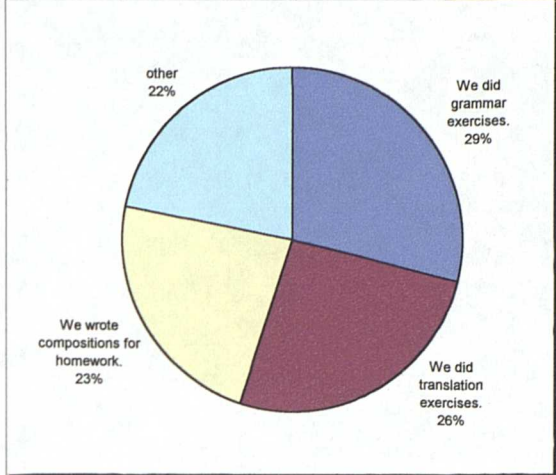
(7) Composition topics assigned	% of total
my summer/winter vacation	18
my hobbies	16
my hometown	13
English education in Japan	9
impressions of a film	7
self-introduction (myself)	5
my school	4
my family	4
my dreams for the future	4
TOTAL	80%



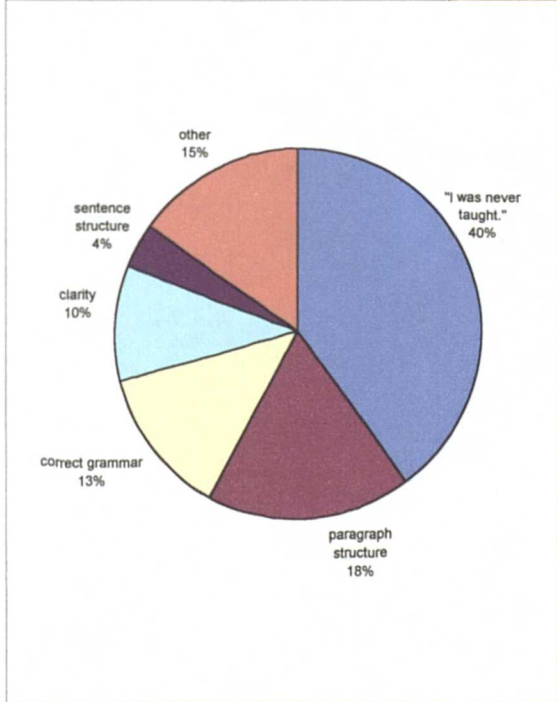
(8/9) Composition instruction: presentation	% of total
The teacher lectured.	37
We studied literature as the basis for our writing.	17
We used model essays as the basis of instruction.	15
We read books about writing.	12
We learned different patterns of organization.	1
TOTAL	91%



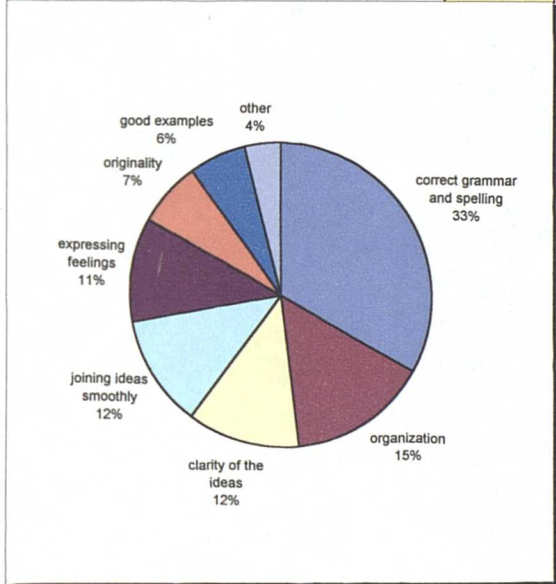
(8/9) Composition instruction: practice	% of total
We studied grammar and did grammar exercises.	29
We did translation exercises.	26
We wrote compositions for homework.	23
TOTAL	78%



(11) Composition organization	% of total
"I was never taught." / "Nothing in particular."	40
Paragraph structure is important (topic sentences, etc.).	18
It's important to use correct grammar.	13
Be clear about what you say.	10
Sentence structure is important.	4
TOTAL	85%



(14) Composition evaluation	% of total
correct grammar and spelling	33
organization	15
clarity of the ideas	12
joining ideas smoothly	12
expressing one's feelings	11
originality and imagination	7
using good examples and details	6
TOTAL	96%



APPENDIX 9: The Writing Process

The Writing Process

The steps in the process of writing an essay can be illustrated by the acronym POWER: (1) Plan, (2) Outline, (3) Write, (4) Edit, and (5) Rewrite.

Plan

- Determine the purpose of the essay and the type of information to be included.
- Choose a method of organization.
- Develop a tentative thesis statement.
- Collect and evaluate the details needed to develop the thesis statement.

Outline

- Write a one-sentence thesis statement for the essay.
- Develop the main supporting ideas in terms of three or four major points.
- Arrange the points in a logical order and write a topic sentence for each one.
- Add supporting data (i.e., facts, examples, statistics, reasons, etc.) to further support the major points.

Write

- Write the introduction to the essay, providing directly relevant background information which leads naturally into the thesis statement.
- Write the body of the essay, following the outline and creating a separate paragraph for each major point.
- Be sure to join the ideas together clearly and smoothly using transition signals and other linking expressions, both within and between paragraphs.
- Write the conclusion to the essay by summarizing the main points or paraphrasing the thesis statement. End decisively by adding an evaluation or judgment related to the topic.

Edit

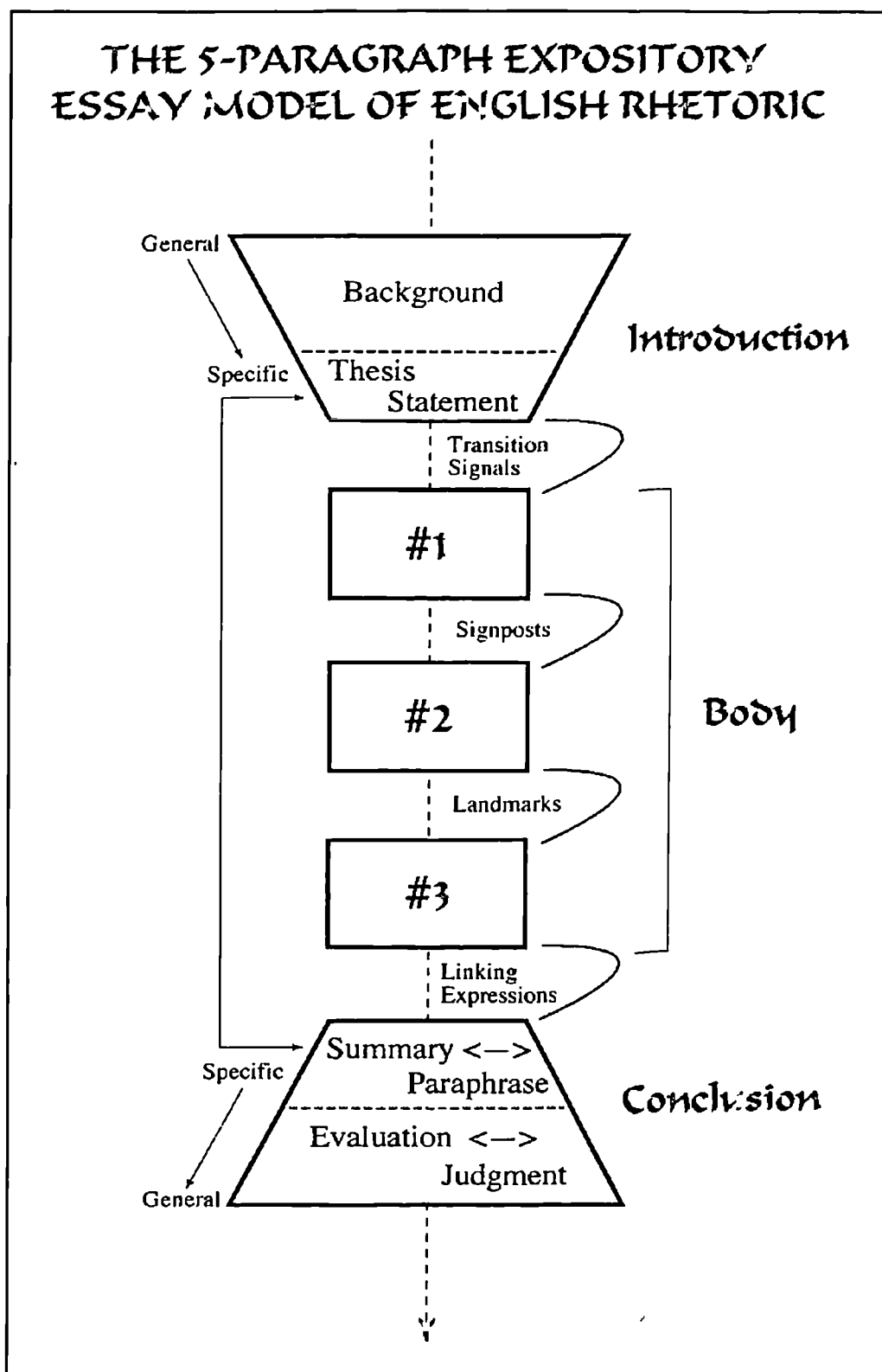
After putting the essay away for a time (e.g., overnight)...

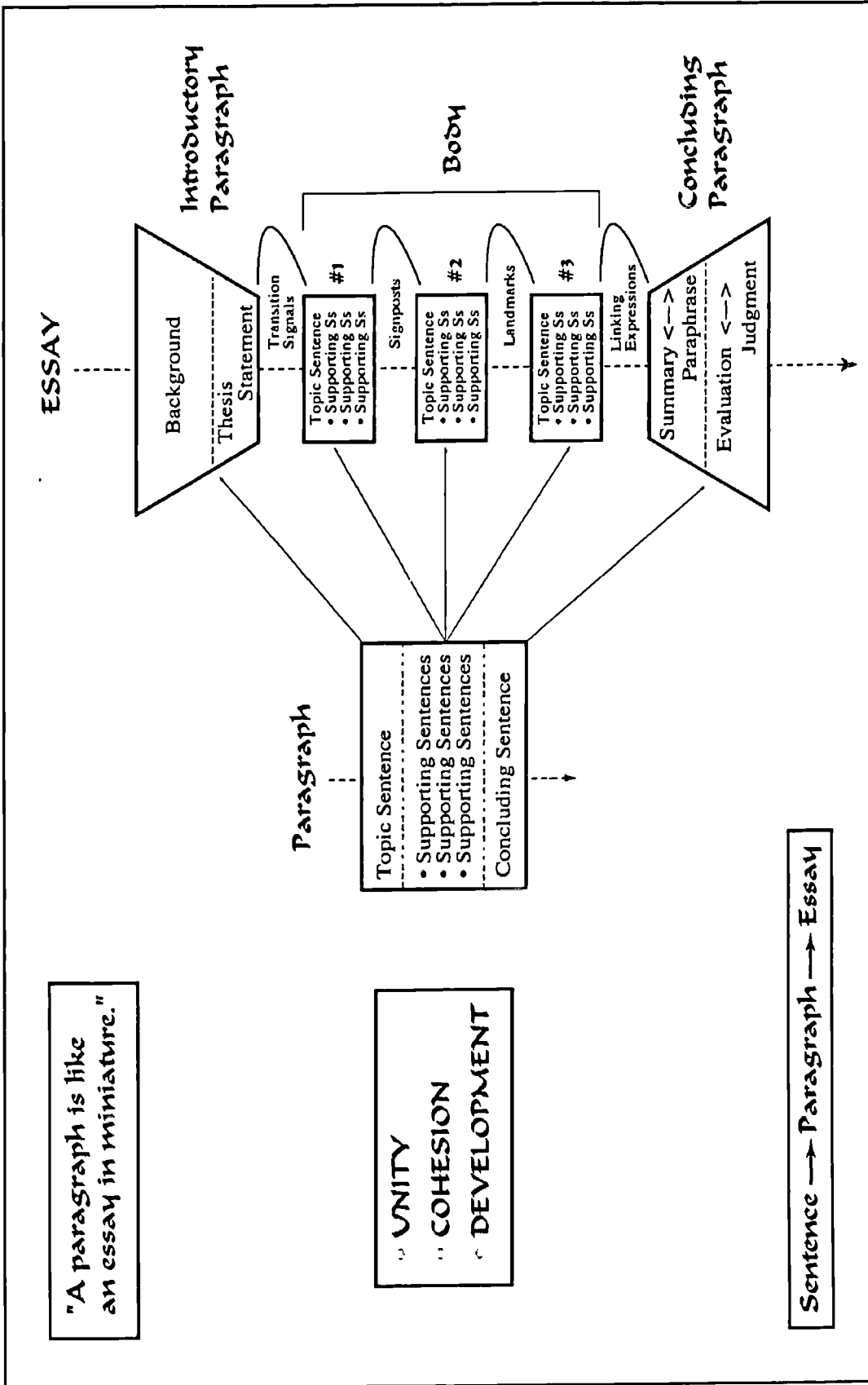
- Check for CBS (i.e., clear, brief, simple).
- Check for unity, coherence, and development.
- Check to make sure that all the ideas are logically presented.
- Check carefully for any problems with spelling, punctuation, grammar, and sentence structure.

Rewrite

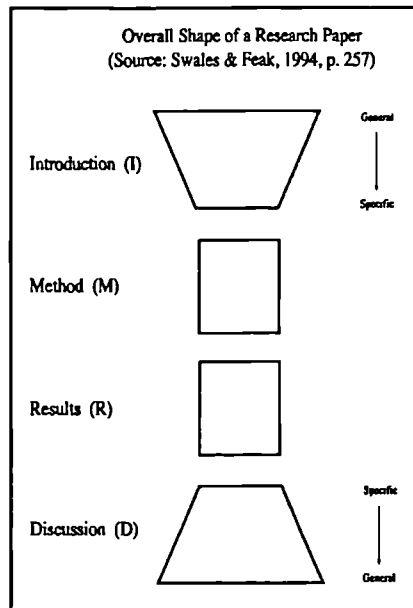
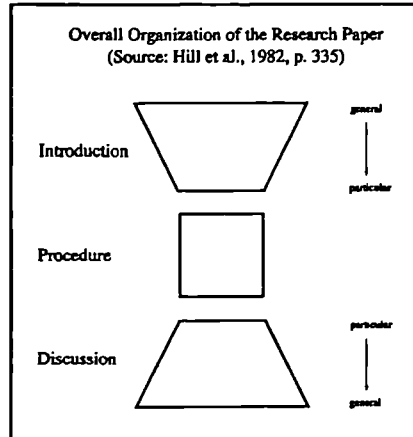
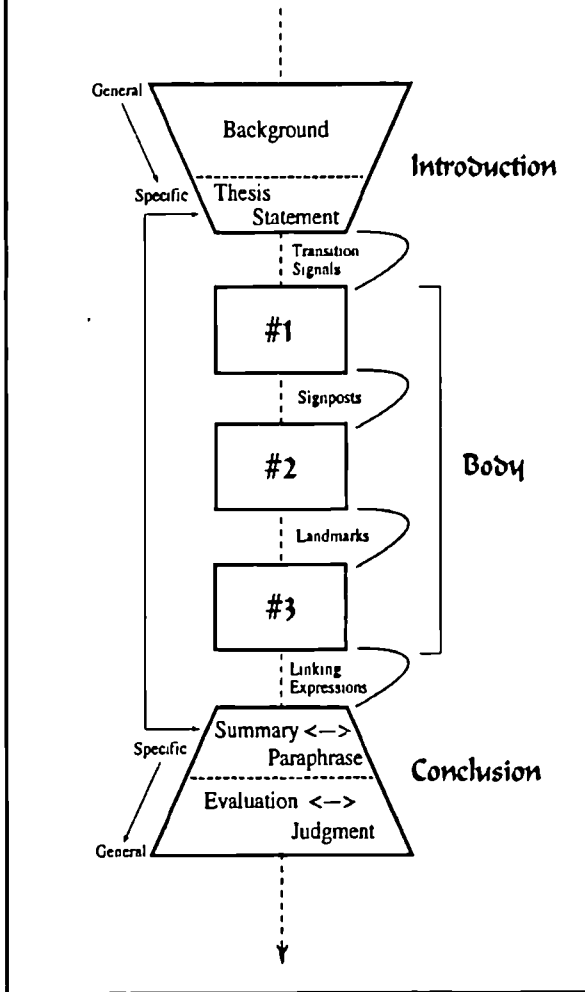
- Rewrite the essay with the editorial changes noted above.
- Proofread again for errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and sentence structure.
- Print out the essay and double-check the layout, especially the title, spacing, and margins.
- Hand in the final copy.

APPENDIX 10: The 5-Paragraph Expository Essay Model of English Rhetoric (adapted from Oshima & Hogue, 1991)

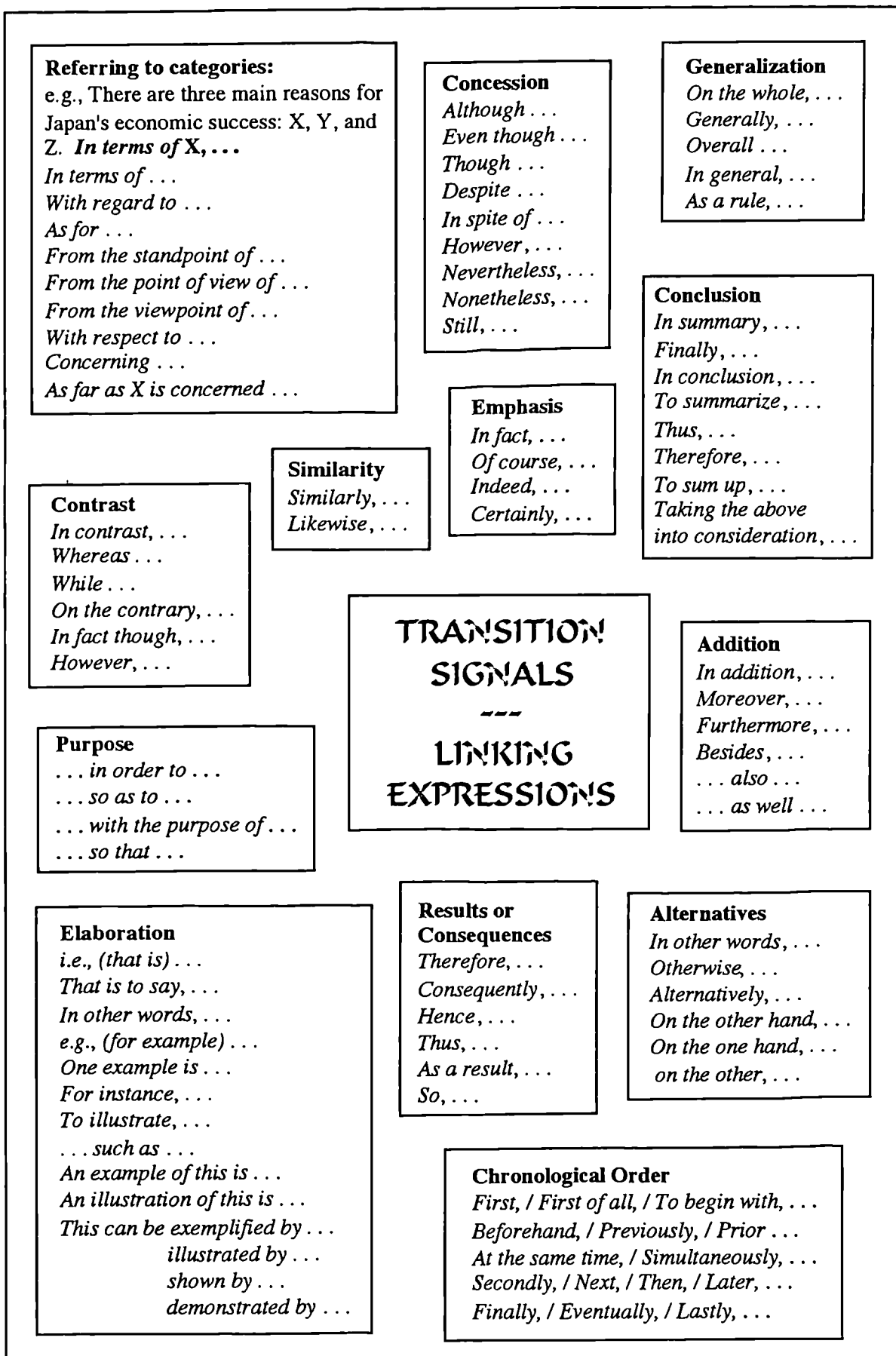




THE 5-PARAGRAPH EXPOSITORY ESSAY MODEL OF ENGLISH RHETORIC



APPENDIX 11: Transition Signals



APPENDIX 12: Error Analysis Chart

ERROR ANALYSIS CHART		Essays					TOTAL
		#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	
MS	Manuscript Conventions						
P	Paragraphing						
Cap	Capitalization						
Space	Spacing						
Punc	Punctuation						
Sp	Spelling						
SV	Subject-Verb Agreement						
VCh	Verb Choice						
V	Verb Tense/Aspect/Voice						
S/Pl	Singular/Plural						
Art	Article						
Prep	Preposition						
Pro	Pronoun						
Adv	Adverb						
Adj	Adjective						
Inf/Ger	Infinitive/Gerund						
^	Insert Word(s)						
—o	Delete Word(s)						
WW	Wrong Word(s)						
Rep	Repetition						
SS	Sentence Structure						
Clar	Clarify						
Logic	Faulty Logic						
Inapp	Inappropriate Language						

**APPENDIX 13: Modified ESL Composition Profile
(adapted from Jacobs et al., 1981)**

MODIFIED ESL COMPOSITION PROFILE				
STUDENT :		TOPIC :		DATE :
	SCORE	LEVEL	CRITERIA	COMMENTS
ORGANIZATION		30-27	EXCELLENT TO VERY GOOD: well-organized • ideas clearly stated and supported • logical sequencing • fluent expression • focused	
		26-22	GOOD TO AVERAGE: loosely organized • main ideas discernible, but limited support • logical but incomplete sequencing • somewhat choppy • lack of focus	
		21-17	FAIR TO POOR: little evidence of organization • ideas confused or disconnected • lack of logical sequencing and development • non-fluent • unfocused	
		16-13	VERY POOR: no evidence of organization • does not communicate • OR not enough to evaluate	
LANGUAGE USE/GRAMMAR		25-22	EXCELLENT TO VERY GOOD: effective complex constructions • few errors in agreement, tense, number, articles, pronouns, prepositions, word order/function	
		21-18	GOOD TO AVERAGE: effective but simple constructions • minor problems in complex constructions • several errors in agreement, tense, number, articles, pronouns, prepositions, and word order/function, but <i>meaning seldom obscured</i>	
		17-11	FAIR TO POOR: major problems in simple/complex constructions • numerous fragments and run-ons • frequent errors in agreement, tense, number, articles, pronouns, prepositions, and word order/function • <i>meaning confused or obscured</i>	
		10-5	VERY POOR: virtually no mastery of sentence construction rules • dominated by errors • does not communicate • OR not enough to evaluate	
CONTENT		20-18	EXCELLENT TO VERY GOOD: knowledgeable • substantive • thorough development of thesis • relevant to assigned topic	
		17-14	GOOD TO AVERAGE: some knowledge of subject • adequate range • limited development of thesis • mostly relevant to topic but lacks details	
		13-10	FAIR TO POOR: limited knowledge of subject • little substance • inadequate development of topic	
		9-7	VERY POOR: does not show knowledge of subject • non-substantive • not pertinent • OR not enough to evaluate	
VOCABULARY		20-18	EXCELLENT TO VERY GOOD: sophisticated range • effective word/idiom choice and usage • word form mastery • appropriate register	
		17-14	GOOD TO AVERAGE: adequate range • occasional errors in word/idiom form, choice, and usage, but <i>meaning not obscured</i>	
		13-10	FAIR TO POOR: limited range • frequent errors in word/idiom form, choice, and usage • <i>meaning confused or obscured</i>	
		9-7	VERY POOR: essentially translation • little knowledge of English vocabulary, idioms, and word form • OR not enough to evaluate	
MECHANICS		5	EXCELLENT TO VERY GOOD: demonstrates mastery of conventions • few errors in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing	
		4	GOOD TO AVERAGE: occasional errors in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing, but <i>meaning not obscured</i>	
		3	FAIR TO POOR: frequent errors in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing • poor handwriting • <i>meaning confused or obscured</i>	
		2	VERY POOR: dominated by errors in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing • handwriting illegible • OR not enough to evaluate	
TOTAL SCORE: READER: COMMENTS:				

ORGANIZATION

- 30-27 EXCELLENT TO VERY GOOD: well-organized • ideas clearly stated and supported • logical sequencing • fluent expression • focused
- 26-22 GOOD TO AVERAGE: loosely organized • main ideas discernible, but limited support • logical but incomplete sequencing • somewhat choppy • lack of focus
- 21-17 FAIR TO POOR: little evidence of organization • ideas confused or disconnected • lack of logical sequencing and development • non-fluent • unfocused
- 16-13 VERY POOR: no evidence of organization • does not communicate • OR not enough to evaluate

Descriptor	Criteria
Well-organized [SUPERSTRUCTURE]	Is there a beginning, middle, and end to the paper? Are there introductory and concluding paragraphs? Is the relationship of ideas within and between paragraphs clearly indicated by transition elements? Is enough written to adequately develop the subject?
Ideas clearly stated / supported [THESIS STATEMENT / TOPIC SENTENCES]	Is there a clearly stated controlling idea or thesis statement, providing a central focus and an overall plan of the paper? Do topic sentences in each paragraph support, limit, and direct the thesis?
Logical sequencing of ideas [MODES OF REASONING]	Are the points logically developed, using a particular sequencing of ideas such as chronological order, logical division, comparison and contrast, cause and effect, etc.
Fluent expression [COHERENCE / COHESION]	Do the ideas flow smoothly from sentence to sentence, building on one another? Are the ideas linked together by cohesive ties and transition expressions in such a way that there is a clear and easily understandable progression of thought?
Focused [UNITY]	Are all the ideas directed concisely to the central focus of the paper, without digressions? Does each paragraph reflect a single main purpose, and do the paragraphs form a unified paper?

LANGUAGE USE / GRAMMAR

- 25-22 **EXCELLENT TO VERY GOOD:** effective complex constructions • few errors in agreement, tense, number, articles, pronouns, prepositions, word order/function
- 21-18 **GOOD TO AVERAGE:** effective but simple constructions • minor problems in complex constructions • several errors in agreement, tense, number, articles, pronouns, prepositions, and word order/function, but *meaning seldom obscured*
- 17-11 **FAIR TO POOR:** major problems in simple/complex constructions • numerous fragments and run-ons • frequent errors in agreement, tense, number, articles, pronouns, prepositions, and word order/function • *meaning confused or obscured*
- 10-5 **VERY POOR:** virtually no mastery of sentence construction rules • dominated by errors • does not communicate • OR not enough to evaluate

Descriptor	Criteria
Effective complex constructions	<p>Are sentences well-formed and complete (i.e., few instances of fragments and run-ons)?</p> <p>Are sentence types and length varied (i.e., simple, complex, compound, compound-complex)?</p> <p>Does sentence construction emphasize subordination over coordination (i.e., a general preference for complex sentence types over compound sentence types)?</p> <p>Is the repeated use of simple sentence constructions, creating a choppy and simplistic effect, avoided?</p> <p>Are overly wordy sentences in which multiple clauses are strung together by coordinating conjunctions avoided?</p> <p>Are coordinate and subordinate elements linked to other elements with appropriate conjunctions, adverbials, relative pronouns, or punctuation?</p> <p>Are parallel constructions used effectively?</p> <p>Are techniques of substitution, reference, and ellipsis used effectively to avoid repetition of words or phrases?</p>
Agreement	<p>Is there basic agreement between sentence elements such as subject-verb, pronoun-antecedent, auxiliary-verb, adjective-noun, nouns-quantifiers?</p>
Tense	<p>Are tenses and aspects correctly formed and sequenced? Do modals convey their intended meaning?</p>
Number	<p>Do nouns, pronouns, and verbs convey intended quantities?</p>
Articles / Pronouns / Prepositions	<p>Are <i>a/an, the</i>, and zero article used correctly? Do pronouns reflect appropriate person, gender, number, and referent? Are prepositions chosen correctly to convey intended meaning?</p>
Word order / function	<p>Is each word, phrase, and clause suited to its intended function? Is normal word order followed? Are modifiers used appropriate to function, and properly formed and sequenced?</p>

CONTENT

20-18	EXCELLENT TO VERY GOOD: knowledgeable * substantive * thorough development of thesis * relevant to assigned topic
17-14	GOOD TO AVERAGE: some knowledge of subject * adequate range * limited development of thesis * mostly relevant to topic but lacks details
13-10	FAIR TO POOR: limited knowledge of subject * little substance * inadequate development of topic
9-7	VERY POOR: does not show knowledge of subject * non-substantive * not pertinent * OR not enough to evaluate

Descriptor	Criteria
Knowledgeable	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is there an understanding of the subject? Are facts and other pertinent data or information used? Is there recognition of several aspects of the subject? Are the interrelationships of these aspects shown?
Substantive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are several main points discussed? Is there sufficient detail? Is there originality with concrete details to illustrate, define, or compare factual information supporting the thesis?
Thorough development of thesis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is the thesis expanded enough to convey an adequate sense of completeness? Is the thesis developed by specific methods such as definition, illustration, example, description, etc.? Is there an awareness of different points of view?
Relevant to assigned topic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is all the content clearly pertinent to the topic? Is extraneous information excluded?

VOCABULARY

20-18	EXCELLENT TO VERY GOOD: sophisticated range • effective word/idiom choice and usage • word form mastery • appropriate register
17-14	GOOD TO AVERAGE: adequate range • occasional errors in word/idiom form, choice, and usage, but <i>meaning not obscured</i>
13-10	FAIR TO POOR: limited range • frequent errors in word/idiom form, choice, and usage • <i>meaning confused or obscured</i>
9-7	VERY POOR: essentially translation • little knowledge of English vocabulary, idioms, and word form • OR not enough to evaluate

Descriptor	Criteria
Sophisticated range	Is there facility with words and idioms to convey intended information, attitudes, and feelings? Distinguish subtleties among ideas and intentions? Convey shades and differences of meaning? Express the logic of ideas?
Effective word / idiom choice and usage	In the context in which it is used, is the choice of vocabulary accurate? Idiomatic where appropriate? Effective? Concise? Are strong, active verbs and verbals used where possible? Are phrasal and prepositional idioms correct? Is there an adequate understanding of synonyms, antonyms, and homonyms? Does word placement provide the intended message? Are denotative and connotative meanings distinguished? Is there effective repetition of key words and phrases? Is there evidence of an ability to paraphrase ideas using alternative expressions and avoiding excessive repetition? Do appropriate transitions mark shifts in thought, pace, tone, and emphasis?
Word form mastery	Are prefixes, suffixes, roots, and compounds used accurately and effectively? Are words correctly distinguished as to their function (e.g., adjective, adverb, noun, verb)?
Appropriate register	Is the vocabulary appropriate to the topic? To the audience? To the tone of the paper? To the method of development? Is the vocabulary familiar to the audience? Does the vocabulary make the intended impression?

MECHANICS

- 5 EXCELLENT TO VERY GOOD: demonstrates mastery of conventions • few errors in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing
- 4 GOOD TO AVERAGE: occasional errors in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing, but *meaning not obscured*
- 3 FAIR TO POOR: frequent errors in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing • poor handwriting • *meaning confused or obscured*
- 2 VERY POOR: no mastery of conventions • dominated by errors in spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing • handwriting illegible • OR not enough to evaluate

Descriptor	Criteria
Spelling	Are words spelled correctly?
Punctuation	Are periods, commas, semicolons, colons, dashes, question marks, italics, and quotation marks used correctly? Are words divided correctly at the end of lines?
Capitalization	Are capital letters used where necessary and appropriate? Are titles capitalized in the correct manner and centered on the page?
Paragraphing	Are paragraphs indented to indicate when one sequence of thought ends and another begins?
Handwriting	Is handwriting legible and easy to read, without impeding communication?

Instructions for Raters

The Modified ESL Composition Profile employs a holistic approach to composition evaluation, utilizing the *subjective* judgments of readers as they respond to the *whole* composition. The intuitions of native speakers of English and highly competent non-native speakers about the quality of a composition are both valid and necessary for reliable judgments to be made. The Profile is designed to quantify, to some extent, this intuition by specifying key factors which influence readers in making qualitative assessments. The Profile approach is also designed to minimize or control discrepancies between raters' assessments which arise from factors such as differing standards of severity or leniency, the inconsistent application of standards, and differences in what raters value in a composition.

The Profile contains five component scales, each focusing on a separate aspect of composition and weighted according to its estimated significance for effective written communication: organization (30 points), language use/grammar (25 points), content (20 points), vocabulary (20 points), and mechanics (5 points). Each component is further broken down into numerical ranges that correspond to four mastery levels: *excellent to very good*, *good to average*, *fair to poor*, and *very poor*. These levels are characterized by key-word descriptors which serve as reminders of specific criteria for excellence and of larger concepts in composition. The descriptors serve to focus attention on significant aspects of a composition, and the mastery levels provide a common standard and interpretive framework for all readers.

Each evaluation should be done quickly, taking not more than two or three minutes per paper. Generally, you should read the composition twice, once to form an overall impression, and then again to focus on specific aspects of the composition. Do not attempt to count or analyze in detail the number or kinds of errors, but consider instead the degree to which these factors facilitate or obstruct communication. The total score provides a quite reliable estimate of the quality of the writer's performance. It can range from a maximum of 100 to a minimum of 34. As a rule, it is best not to reconsider scores once an evaluation has been made, as the first score assigned is usually a more accurate assessment.

Generally, your score and another rater's should be within 10 points of each other. If two or more readers agree within this 10-point range, then it appears that they are interpreting and applying the standards and criteria for evaluation in a similar manner.

In evaluating large numbers of compositions in test situations, the following procedures are recommended: (1) divide the readers into teams, two readers per team, (2) arrange test compositions in order by student code number, (3) randomly assign papers to a number of sets equal to the number of reading teams, (4) each team member should evaluate one half of a set of papers, (5) when the first half of a set has been evaluated, team members should exchange their parts of the set and evaluate the other half, (6) do not discuss scores while scoring and make no marks on the compositions, and (7) submit any papers with a difference of more than 10 points to a third reader.

Criterion-Referenced Interpretive Guide: Levels of Mastery

(Adapted from Jacobs et al., 1981, p. 65)

<i>Mastery Level</i>	<i>Writing Characteristics/Criteria</i>	<i>Illustrative Profiles</i>	
Excellent to Very Good	Writer communicates effectively. Ideas are expressed clearly and fluently, with an obvious sequence in their development in support of the central theme. Vocabulary, sentence structure, and mechanics work effectively to convey the intended ideas and shades of meaning.	Organization	27
		Lang/Gram	22
		Content	18
		Vocabulary	18
		Mechanics	5
		TOTAL	90
Good to Average	Writer achieves minimal communication. Main ideas are apparent but may not be carefully organized to develop the central theme; supporting details may be incomplete or minimal. Incomplete mastery of some criteria for vocabulary, language use, and mechanics limits the writer's effectiveness, although the flow of ideas is not seriously impeded.	Organization	22
		Lang/Gram	19
		Content	15
		Vocabulary	15
		Mechanics	4
		TOTAL	75
Fair to Poor	Writer communicates only partially. On the whole, ideas are barely discernible and there is little if any elaboration in support of the central theme. Lack of mastery in most of the criteria for vocabulary, language use, and mechanics severely restricts the flow of ideas.	Organization	17
		Lang/Gram	13
		Content	11
		Vocabulary	11
		Mechanics	3
		TOTAL	55
Very Poor	Writer achieves almost no communication. Ideas are mostly unclear, confused, and nonfluent. Though the writer may have knowledge of the topic, it fails to show due to non-mastery of the criteria for vocabulary, language use, and mechanics.	Organization	13
		Lang/Gram	6
		Content	7
		Vocabulary	7
		Mechanics	2
		TOTAL	35

APPENDIX 14: Composition Assessment Results

EXPERIMENTAL GROUP	Organization		Lang/Grammar		Content		Vocabulary		Mechanics		Total	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
E-97-01	18	30	18	24	15	18	15	19	3	5	69	96
E-97-02	18	25	13	21	14	17	14	17	3	5	62	85
E-97-03	13	25	11	20	8	14	7	17	2	4	41	80
E-97-04	14	29	10	23	9	19	9	18	2	5	44	94
E-97-05	14	29	14	22	10	15	10	18	2	5	50	89
E-97-06	16	27	14	19	13	16	10	16	2	5	55	83
E-97-07	16	30	12	18	12	18	11	18	2	5	53	89
E-97-08	13	27	5	21	7	18	7	17	2	5	34	88
E-97-09	14	27	8	22	8	19	11	19	2	5	43	92
E-97-10	16	29	18	18	13	18	12	17	2	5	59	87
E-97-11	14	27	10	20	9	17	9	17	2	5	44	86
E-97-12	15	29	12	23	11	18	12	18	3	4	53	92
E-97-13	16	29	13	20	13	18	13	18	2	5	57	90
E-97-14	14	29	12	21	12	18	13	18	3	5	54	91
E-98-01	13	28	6	18	7	17	8	17	2	5	36	85
E-98-02	13	28	5	21	7	19	7	17	2	5	34	90
E-98-03	14	27	8	21	8	17	8	16	2	3	40	84
E-98-04	15	28	11	23	10	15	10	17	3	5	49	88
E-98-05	15	29	15	18	10	18	9	18	2	5	51	88
E-98-06	22	27	20	22	15	17	17	18	4	4	78	88
E-98-07	14	30	16	23	8	18	11	19	2	5	51	95
E-98-08	14	29	11	23	11	17	12	17	3	5	51	91
E-98-09	13	27	5	18	7	17	7	17	2	5	34	84
E-98-10	14	27	6	22	8	18	8	19	3	5	39	91
E-98-11	15	29	13	23	11	19	11	19	3	5	53	95
E-98-12	23	27	18	21	16	17	17	18	3	5	77	88
E-98-13	16	28	10	18	9	16	9	17	3	5	47	84
E-98-14	16	27	10	18	9	17	9	15	2	5	46	82
E-98-15	16	28	18	24	13	18	13	19	2	5	62	94
E-98-16	16	28	12	18	13	18	12	17	2	5	55	86
E-98-17	17	30	18	20	14	20	14	19	3	5	66	94
MEAN	15.39	28.03	11.94	20.74	10.65	17.45	10.81	17.61	2.42	4.84	51.19	88.68
SD	2.36	1.33	4.20	2.03	2.71	1.29	2.80	1.02	0.56	0.45	11.57	4.18

Gain Scores					
Org	L/Gr	Cont	Vocab	Mech	Total
12	6	3	4	2	27
7	8	3	3	2	23
12	9	6	10	2	39
15	13	10	9	3	50
15	8	5	8	3	39
11	5	3	6	3	28
14	6	6	7	3	36
14	16	11	10	3	54
13	14	11	8	3	49
13	2	5	5	3	28
13	10	8	8	3	42
14	11	7	6	1	39
13	7	5	5	3	33
15	9	6	5	2	37
15	12	10	9	3	49
15	16	12	10	3	56
13	13	9	8	1	44
13	12	5	7	2	39
14	3	8	9	3	37
5	2	2	1	0	10
16	7	10	8	3	44
15	12	6	5	2	40
14	13	10	10	3	50
13	16	10	11	2	52
14	10	8	8	2	42
4	3	1	1	2	11
12	8	7	8	2	37
11	8	8	6	3	36
12	6	5	6	3	32
12	6	5	5	3	31
13	2	6	5	2	28
12.65	8.81	6.81	6.81	2.42	37.48

CONTROL GROUP	Organization		Lang/Grammar		Content		Vocabulary		Mechanics		Total	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
C-97-01	15	17	12	12	8	13	8	13	2	3	45	58
C-97-02	15	18	14	15	11	15	10	14	3	3	53	65
C-97-03	14	16	12	12	9	12	11	14	2	2	48	56
C-97-04	15	17	11	18	8	12	11	15	2	3	47	65
C-97-05	15	18	10	16	9	14	9	14	2	3	45	65
C-97-06	17	21	14	15	12	16	13	16	3	3	59	71
C-97-07	16	17	10	15	9	12	9	15	2	3	46	62
C-97-08	16	17	13	18	10	14	10	16	2	4	51	69
C-97-09	16	17	14	12	13	9	12	11	3	3	58	52
C-97-10	16	17	10	11	9	12	9	15	2	4	46	59
C-97-11	16	18	10	15	9	16	9	16	2	4	46	69
C-97-12	20	17	16	12	14	14	17	13	4	4	71	60
C-97-13	22	18	19	13	15	14	14	12	3	4	73	61
C-97-14	13	16	5	10	7	10	7	13	2	3	34	52
C-97-15	14	16	11	12	8	12	10	13	2	3	45	56
C-97-16	14	14	10	10	9	12	9	13	2	2	44	51
C-97-17	15	17	9	12	8	12	8	14	2	3	42	58
C-97-18	15	17	10	17	12	14	10	14	2	3	49	65
C-97-19	14	17	9	16	9	14	10	16	2	2	44	65
C-97-20	13	15	10	10	8	12	8	11	2	3	41	51
C-97-21	15	18	9	12	9	14	8	14	3	4	44	62
C-97-22	14	17	15	14	12	10	9	11	3	3	53	55
C-97-23	15	17	8	12	8	10	8	13	2	3	41	55
C-97-24	17	17	17	15	13	15	13	12	3	4	63	63
C-97-25	15	18	8	16	10	16	10	14	2	3	45	67
C-97-26	20	17	12	13	10	11	10	11	2	2	54	54
C-97-27	17	16	15	11	13	12	12	12	3	4	60	55
C-97-28	15	17	14	8	12	11	12	14	2	3	55	53
C-97-29	15	21	11	16	8	14	10	15	3	4	47	70
C-97-30	15	13	8	10	8	13	9	16	2	2	42	54
MEAN	15.63	17.03	11.53	13.27	10.00	12.83	10.17	13.67	2.37	3.13	49.70	59.93
SD	2.01	1.56	3.07	2.61	2.15	1.88	2.13	1.60	0.56	0.68	8.84	6.16

Gain Scores					
Org	L/Gr	Cont	Vocab	Mech	Total
2	0	5	5	1	13
3	1	4	4	0	12
2	0	3	3	0	8
2	7	4	4	1	18
3	6	5	5	1	20
4	1	4	3	0	12
1	5	3	6	1	16
1	5	4	6	2	18
1	-2	-4	-1	0	-6
1	1	3	6	2	13
2	5	7	7	2	23
-3	-4	0	-4	0	-11
-4	-6	-1	-2	1	-12
3	5	3	6	1	18
2	1	4	3	1	11
0	0	3	4	0	7
2	3	4	6	1	16
2	7	2	4	1	16
3	7	5	6	0	21
2	0	4	3	1	10
3	3	5	6	1	18
3	-1	-2	2	0	2
2	4	2	5	1	14
0	-2	2	-1	1	0
3	8	6	4	1	22
-3	1	1	1	0	0
-1	-4	-1	0	1	-5
2	-6	-1	2	1	-2
6	5	6	5	1	23
-2	2	5	7	0	12
1.40	1.73	2.83	3.50	0.77	10.23

	RATER 1	DAVIES
E-97-13	92	90
E-98-06	77	83
C-97-07	60	62
C-97-22	62	55
E-97-02	81	85
E-98-02	40	34
E-97-13	54	57
C-97-30	42	42
C-97-06	56	71
C-97-24	50	63
C-97-21	73	62
E-97-10	79	87
E-98-03	53	40
E-97-06	84	83
E-97-12	89	92

COMBINED	Org	L/Gr	Cont	Vocab	Mech	TOTAL
RATERS	20.57	14.80	13.33	12.60	3.53	64.83
DAVIES	21.53	15.57	13.73	13.93	3.67	68.43

PRE/Both	Org	L/Gr	Cont	Vocab	Mech	TOTAL
RATERS	14.00	8.22	9.22	8.44	2.33	42.21
DAVIES	14.56	9.33	9.22	9.22	2.22	44.55
Complete Sets	15.48	11.74	10.41	10.49	2.40	50.52

POST/Control	Org	L/Gr	Cont	Vocab	Mech	TOTAL
RATERS	18.00	13.00	12.00	11.00	3.43	57.43
DAVIES	17.43	13.14	12.00	12.71	3.00	58.28
Complete Sets	17.03	13.27	12.83	13.67	3.13	59.93

POST/Experimental	Org	L/Gr	Cont	Vocab	Mech	TOTAL
RATERS	26.07	19.93	16.71	16.07	4.36	83.14
DAVIES	28.00	20.86	17.50	18.28	4.93	89.57
Complete Sets	28.03	20.74	17.45	17.61	4.84	88.67

	RATER 2	DAVIES
E-97-11	71	86
C-97-25	37	45
C-97-23	34	41
E-97-01	80	96
C-97-20	48	51
C-97-26	51	54
C-97-09	52	52
E-97-03	35	40
E-98-10	34	39
E-97-07	73	89
E-97-09	86	92
E-98-12	90	88
E-98-04	92	88
E-98-11	86	95
E-98-02	84	90

	Rater 1	Davies
Rater 1	1.00	0.91
Davies	0.91	1.00

	Rater 2	Davies
Rater 2	1.00	0.97
Davies	0.97	1.00

SAMPLING	15 x 15
Expt/Post	14
Contr/Post	7
Expt/Pre	5
Contr/Pre	4
Total	30

MANOVA	Value	F-Value	Num DF	Den DF	P-Value
Wilks' Lambda	0.062	167.787	5.000	55.000	0.0001
Roy's Greatest Root	15.253	167.787	5.000	55.000	0.0001
Hotelling-Lawley	15.253	167.787	5.000	55.000	0.0001
Pillai Trace	0.938	167.787	5.000	55.000	0.0001

Descriptive Statistics	
Experimental Group: Pre	
Mean	51.19
Standard Error	2.08
Median	51.00
Mode	53.00
Standard Deviation	11.57
Sample Variance	133.76
Kurtosis	0.13
Skewness	0.56
Range	44
Minimum	34
Maximum	78
Sum	1587
Count	31

Descriptive Statistics	
Experimental Group: Post	
Mean	88.68
Standard Error	0.75
Median	88.00
Mode	88.00
Standard Deviation	4.18
Sample Variance	17.49
Kurtosis	-0.74
Skewness	-0.06
Range	16
Minimum	80
Maximum	96
Sum	2749
Count	31

t-Test: Paired Two Sample for Means		
Expt	Post	Pre
Mean	88.68	51.19
Variance	17.49	133.76
Observ's	31	31
df	30	
t Stat	18.82	
t Crit p<.01	2.46	

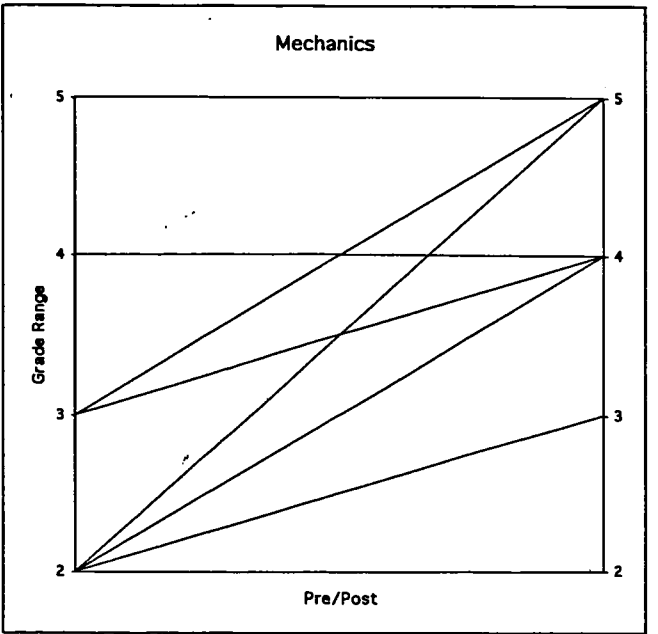
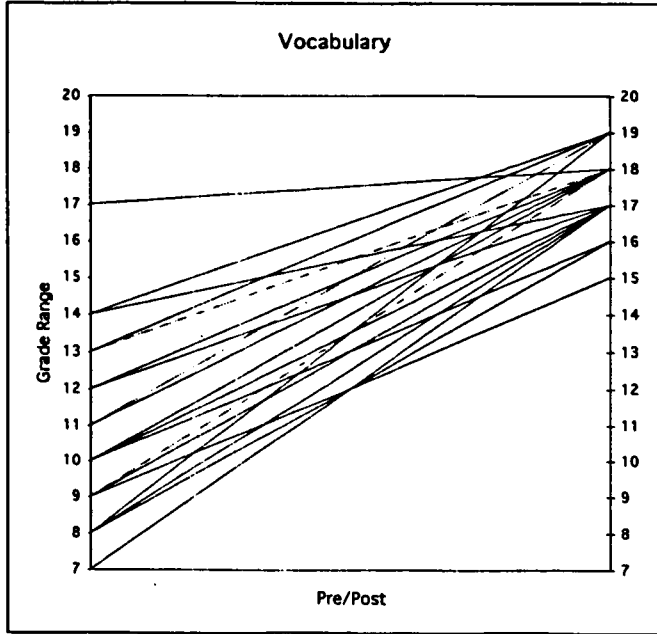
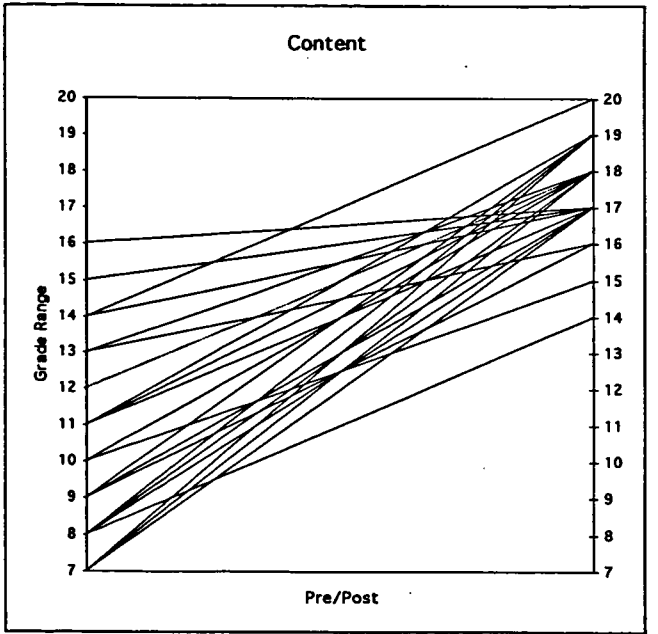
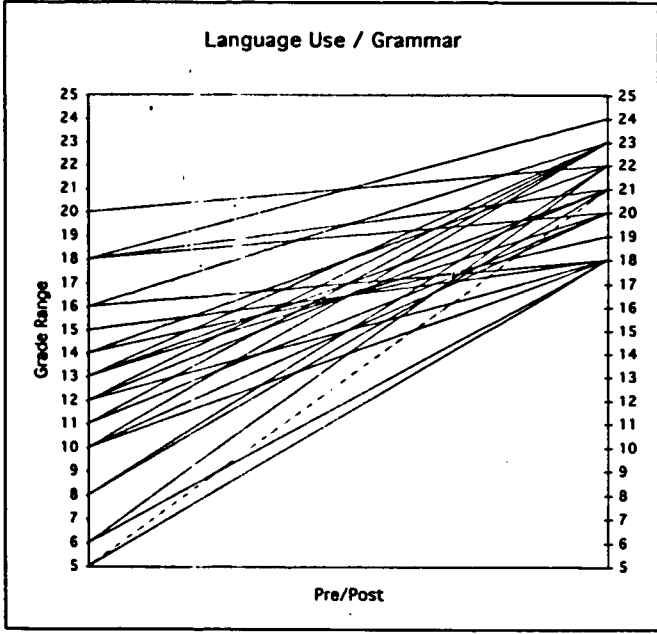
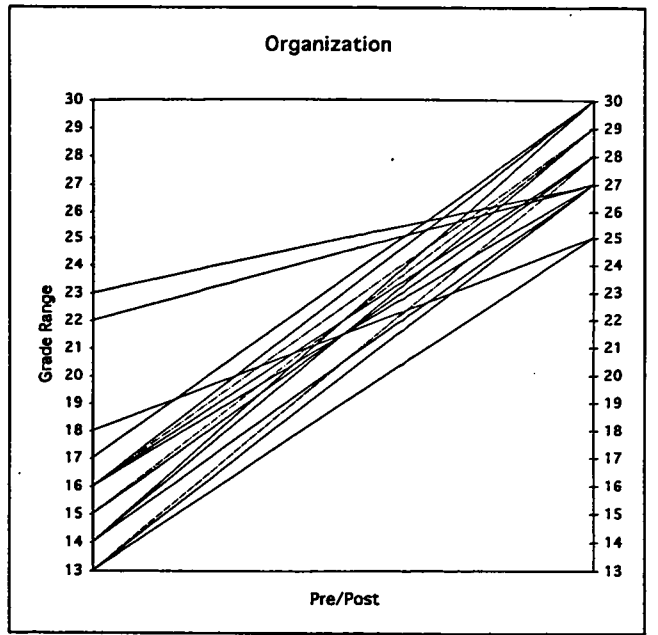
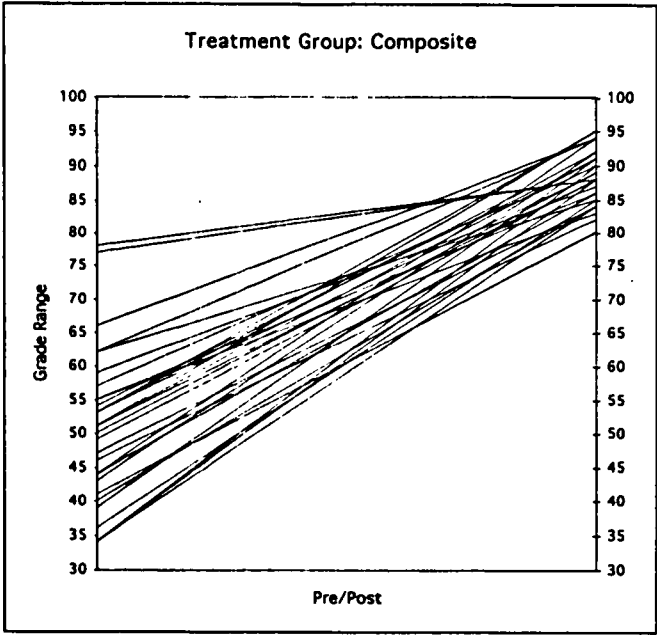
t-Test: Paired Two Sample for Means		
Control	Post	Pre
Mean	59.93	49.70
Variance	38.00	78.15
Observ's	30	30
df	29	
t Stat	5.57	
t Crit p<.01	2.76	

Descriptive Statistics	
Control Group: Pre	
Mean	49.70
Standard Error	1.61
Median	46.50
Mode	45.00
Standard Deviation	8.84
Sample Variance	78.15
Kurtosis	1.12
Skewness	1.08
Range	39
Minimum	34
Maximum	73
Sum	1491
Count	30

Descriptive Statistics	
Control Group: Post	
Mean	59.93
Standard Error	1.13
Median	59.50
Mode	65.00
Standard Deviation	6.16
Sample Variance	38.00
Kurtosis	-1.21
Skewness	0.20
Range	20
Minimum	51
Maximum	71
Sum	1798
Count	30

t-Test: Two-Sample/Unequal Var's		
Posttests	Expt	Control
Mean	88.68	59.93
Variance	17.49	38.00
Observation	31	30
df	51	
t Stat	21.24	
t Crit p<.01	2.40	

t-Test: Two-Sample/Unequal Var's		
Pretests	Expt	Control
Mean	51.19	49.70
Variance	133.76	78.15
Observation	31	30
df	56	
t Stat	0.57	
t Crit p<.01	2.67	



CORRECTIONS

References

Add:

- Carson, J. (1992). Becoming biliterate: First language influences. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, 1 (1), 37-60.
Hamp Lyons, L., & Heasley, B. (1987). *Study writing: A course in written English for academic and professional purposes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Modify:

- Corbett, P. (1990). *Classical rhetoric for the modern student (3rd ed.)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Delete:

- Isshiki, W. (1996). Tansakubunshidō-ni kansuru nenkan keikaku-no arikata-to jyugyouniokeru shidō [An annual plan for short essay writing and its instruction in class]. *Monthly Japanese Language Education Journal, May ed.*, 36-37. Inoue, N. (1986). Japanese and English rhetorical patterns. *Tsukuba English Education Journal*, 7, 69-81.

Separate:

- Andō, M., & Fujiwara, H. (Eds.). (1994). *Kokugo kyōiku kihon ronbun shūsei VI: Kokugoka gengo kyōikuron* [Basic Japanese language education, series VI: Theory of Japanese language education]. Tokyo: Meijitoshō.
Asami, T. (1997, Jan. 1). New form of nationalism emerging. *The Daily Yomiuri*, p. 5.

Re-order:

- Ueno, E. (Ed.). (1999). *Shōronbun approach TYPE II*. Okayama: Benesse Corporation.
U.K. committed to increasing overseas students. (2000, April 2). *The Japan Times*, p. 2.
Ur, P. (1996). *A course in language teaching: Practice and theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Valdés, G., Haro, P., & Echevarriarza, M. (1992). The development of writing abilities in a foreign language: Contributions toward a general theory of L2 writing. *Modern Language Journal*, 76 (3), 333-352.
van Dijk, T. (1977). *Text and context: Explorations in the semantics and pragmatics of discourse*. London: Longman.

Body

p. 65: ...reducing all expression to "linear" sequences (**ibid.**, p. 19) → (**Adolph, 1968, p. 19**)

p. 78: ...composition textbooks and classroom practices today (**Silva, 1990, p. 14**) → delete

p. 80: ...mental is actually social in origin" (**Brumfee, 1986, pp. 784**). → **Bruffee**

p. 126: ...effect on L2 writing performance (Cumming, 1989; Hirose & Sasaki, 1996; Kubota, 1998b). This suggests that there is a transfer of "cognitive skills in literacy" (Kubota, 1998b, p. 73) → **Sasaki & Hirose**

p. 130: ... facts, and this, according to Widdowson (**1995, pp. 158-159**), undermines its validity as a vehicle...

p. 131: (Tomoko Tanaka) → (Tomoko Takada)

p. 140: ... more often than private universities. According to Kasahara (**1997, p. 86**) → (**ibid.**, p. 86)

p. 161: ...the rhetorical models being taught in Japanese schools. As Moore (1986, p. 304) → (1967, p. 304); Kenzaburo Oe, arguably Japan's greatest living **writing** → **writer**

p. 179: ...particular culture. (**Stolarek, 1994, pp. 154-155**) → delete

p. 194: ...of contrastive studies for linguistic analysis and language education" (**Nickel, 1999**) → (**Nickel; see Davies, 1999b**)

p. 194: ...definition is provided by Carr & Kemmis (1986; cited in McNiff, 1988, p. 2) → **and**

p. 209: ...over 30% of the **county's** → **country's**